



Jaargang XXXIII
No. 1/2
Januari-Maart 1976

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

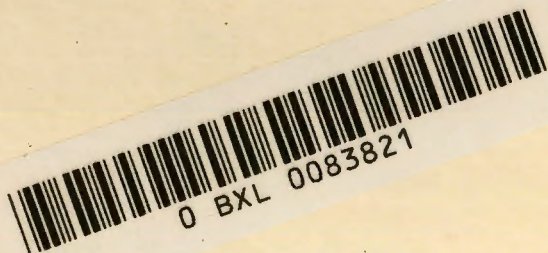
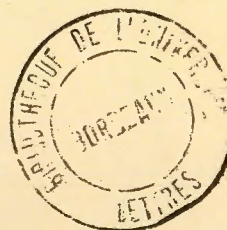
E. van DONZEL, hoofdredacteur, F. M. Th. de LIAGRE BÖHL,

H. J. A. DE MEULENAERE, M. J. MULDER, C. NIJLAND en M. STOL

Redactie en Administratie:
Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden (Nederland)

Tweemaandelijks recenserend en bibliografisch tijdschrift
op het gebied van het Nabije Oosten
Abonnementsprijs Hfl. 165.— per jaar

PL 020007°/76.33



PUBLICATIONS
DE L'INSTITUT NEERLANDAIS POUR LE PROCHE ORIENT

Tome I:

COMPTE RENDU de la Troisième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, organisée à Leiden du 28 juin au 4 juillet 1952 par le Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. 1954, 8vo, VI et 164 pp., 1 frontispiece, 11 planches, 18 figs. f 30.—

Tome II:

COMPTE RENDU de la XI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, organisée à Leiden du 23 au 28 juin 1962 par le Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. 1964, 8vo, XII et 120 pp., 9 planches, 15 figs. f 30.—

Le COMPTE RENDU de la XXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale a été publié dans la série "Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul", tome XXXVII, intitulé Le Temple et le Culte.

STUDIA FRANCISCI SCHOLTEN MEMORIAE DICATA

Volumen I:

J. Simons, S.J., Jerusalem in the Old Testament, Researches and Theories. 1952, Roy. 4to, XVI and 518 pp., 33 pls., 63 maps and figures. *Out of print*

Volumen III:

Th. A. Busink, Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes. Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des Westsemitischen Tempelbaus. 1970, Roy. 4to, XVI und 720 Seiten, 2 Tafeln, 172 Abb. und Karten Bound in buckram f 250.—

Volumen II:

J. Simons, S.J., The Geographical and Topographical texts of the Old Testament. A Concise Commentary in XXXII Chapters with 10 maps. 1959, Roy. 4to, XIV and 614 pp. Bound in buckram f 250.—

Volumen IV:

Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae. Ediderunt M. A. Beek, A. A. Kampman, C. Nijland, J. Rijckmans. 1973, Roy. 4to, VIII + 400 pp., frontispiece. Buckram binding. f 250.—

SCHOLAE

ADRIANA DE BUCK MEMORIAE DICATA

editae ab

E. van DONZEL et A. KLASSENS

Scholae III: 1965

K. Michałowski (Varsovie), La Cathédrale de Faras, Centre Artistique de la Nubie Chrétienne. 1966, 4to, VIII et 40 pages, 20 planches, 1 frontispiece en couleur. f 30.—

Scholae I: 1961

D. B. Emery (London), A Funerary Repast in an Egyptian Tomb of the Archaic Period. 1962, 4to, VIII and 14 pp., 9 plates and 4 illustrations in the text. f 20.—

Scholae IV: 1968

B. van de Walle (Brussel). L'humour chez les anciens Egyptiens. 1969, 4to, VIII et 24 pages, 8 planches. f 20.—

Scholae II: 1963

G. Posener (Paris), Les inscriptions de Mirgissa. *Manuscript pas reçu*

Scholae V: 1970

John A. Wilson, Herodotus in Egypt. 1970, 4to, VIII and 20 pages, 2 planches. f 20.—

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

JAARGANG XXXIII

1976

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET
NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN
TE LEIDEN

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

E. VAN DONZEL
F. M. Th. DE LIAGRE BÖHL
H. J. A. DE MEULENAERE
M. J. MULDER
C. NIJLAND
M. STOL

JAARGANG XXXIII
1976



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN TE LEIDEN — 1976



INHOUD

VAN

JAARGANG XXXIII, 1976 (nos 1-6)

In Memoriam F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl (W. H. Ph. Römer) I-IV

HOOFDARTIKELEN

Aartun, Kjell	Eine weitere Parallele aus Ugarit zur kultischen Praxis in Israels Religion	285—289
Albin, Michael W.	Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John G. White Department, Cleveland Public Library	294—304
Badawy, Alexander	The Harmonic Design of the Upper Temple at Teti Pyramid	3—5
Barta, W.	Bemerkungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit	131—134
Bosworth, C. E.	Jewish Elements in the Banū Sāsān	289—294
Branden, A. Van den	L'inscription phénicienne sur une petite base en bronze d'Idalon	6—9
Cornelius, Friedrich	Streitpunkte der hethitischen Geographie, Vortrag beim XXII. Rencontre Assyriologique in Göttingen, Juni 1975	283—285
Farag, F. Rofail	The Usage of the Coptic Language as a Constituent Element of the Literary Form of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa	275—283
Grayson, A. K.	Studies in Neo-Assyrian History	134—145
Popovic, Alexandre	Sur quelques publications récentes concernant la littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves et ses prolongements	154—156
Stol, M.	On Ancient Sippar	146—154
Zadok, R.	Three Iranian Words in Late Babylonian Documents	5—6
Zadok, R.	Syro-Palestinian Parallels to Lebanese Toponyms	304—310

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

Abitz, Friedrich	Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18.-20. Dynastie (L. Kákosy)	17—18
Adamec, Ludwig W.	Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan (C. Rathjens)	251
Adams, Barbara	Ancient Herakopolis (Winfried Barta)	24—25
Agredo Burillo, Fernando de	Encuesta sobre la literatura marroquí actual (C. Nijland)	379—380
Aharoni, Yohanan	Beer-Sheba I. Excavations at Tel-Beer-Sheba, 1969-1971 Seasons (C. H. J. de Geus)	58—60
Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 2-6 Augustus 1971 (T. Reekmans)		27—29
Albright, W. F.	The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible (C. H. J. de Geus)	340
Alföldi, Andreas	Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates (H. S. Versnel)	391—401
Amad, Gladys	Le baiser rituel. Un geste de culte méconnu (E. M. J. M. Cornélis)	165—166
Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock (Hans M. Kümmel)		202—204
Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Volume I (Leona Glidden Running)		354
Arkell, A. J.	The Prehistory of the Nile Valley (Fekri Hassan)	323—324
Asmussen, Jes P.	Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature (M. Delcor)	61
Atil, E.	Ceramics from the World of Islam. Freer Gallery of Art (J. M. Rogers)	88—93
Banti, Luisa	The Etruscan Cities and their Culture (L. B. van der Meer)	105—106
Batto, B. F.	Studies on Women at Mari (Stephanie Dalley)	200—201
Bauer, Josef	Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch (Raphael Kutscher)	195—198
Beek, M. A.	Travels in the World of the Old Testament. Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek (S. J. de Vries)	338—340

Benedict, Peter, Erol Tümerterkin, Fatma Mansur, Turkey, Geographic and Social Perspectives (Jacob Landau)	381—382
Bengtson, Herrmann Kleine Schriften zur Alten Geschichte (Ernst Meyer)	94—96
Bengtson, Herrmann Herrschergestalten des Hellenismus (E. J. Jonkers)	401—402
Berghe, L. Van den De iconographische Betekenis van het sassanidisch Rotsrelief van Sarāb-i Qandīl (Irān) (Klaus Schippmann)	42—43
Bernard, Paul (Ed.) Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers)	251—257
Betts, Robert Brenton Christians in the Arab East (Otto Meinardus)	80—81
Bibby, T. G. Preliminary Survey in East Arabia 1968. Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf II (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers)	81—88
Bierbrier, M. L. The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.) (J. von Beckerath)	176—178
Bittel, K., Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, E. Reiner, Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock (Hans M. Kümmel)	202—204
Blenkinsopp, Joseph Gibeon and Israel. The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel (James F. Ross)	224
Boesneck, J. und A. von den Driesch, Tierknochenfunde vom Korucutepe bei Elâziğ in Ostanatolien. In: M. N. van Loon, Korucutepe (Johannes Lepiskaar)	210—213
Borger, Rykle Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur, Band I-III (William W. Hallo) ..	37
Brodribb, A. C. C., A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker, Excavations at Shakenoak Farm near Wilcote, Oxfordshire Part II, Sites B and H. (M. E. Mariën)	114
Brunner-Traut, Emma Die Alten Ägypter (Eric Uphill)	14—15
Buxton, Jean Religion and Healing in Mandari (C. J. Bleeker)	114—116
<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Volume II, Part 2. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C. (J. Klíma)	156—159
Caplice, Richard I. The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: An Introduction (W. H. Ph. Römer)	199—200
Casson, Lionel Travel in the Ancient World (H. W. Pleket)	9—12
Champollion, Jean-François, Notices Descriptives, Vol. I. p. 600—917, Vol. II, p. 1—720 (Erhart Graefe)	21
Coggins, R. J. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah (H. H. Grosheide)	353—354
Collon, D., P. Garelli Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum, Part VI (L. Matouš)	333—335
<i>Compte Rendu de la XVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> , München, 1970 - D. O. Edzard (Hrsg.), Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten (V. A. Jakobson)	191—195
<i>Compte Rendu de la XIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i> , Paris, 1971 - Paul Garelli, Le Palais et la Royauté (M. Stol)	35—37
Daniel, Norman The Cultural Barrier. Problems in the Exchange of Ideas (C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze)	62—64
Dasberg, Jitschak De Pentateuch met Haftaroht, Deel I en II (M. J. Mulder)	341
David, A. Rosalie The Egyptian Kingdoms (Günter Vittmann)	176
Degen, Rainer, Walter W. Müller, Wolfgang Röllig, Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, Band 2 (A. van den Branden)	12—14
Dekmejian, R. Hrair Patterns of Political Leadership, Lebanon, Israel, Egypt (C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze)	250—251
Dietrich, B. C. The Origins of Greek Religion (W. den Boer)	402—403
Dion, Paul-Eugène La Langue de Ya'udi. Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest (E. Lipiński)	231—234
Doerfer, Gerhard Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Band IV (J. Krámský)	389—391
Downes, Dorothy The Excavations at Esna, 1905-1906 (Michel Valloggia)	178—179
Duncan-Jones, Richard The Economy of the Roman Empire (H. W. Pleket)	403—405
Dunham, Dows and William Kelly Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III. G. 7530-7540 (Rosemarie Drenkhahn)	25—27
Edel, Elmar Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof (R. Lebrun)	321—323

Edwards, I. E. S., C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond & E. Sollberger, <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Third edition), Volume II, Part 2, History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C. (J. Klíma)	156—159
Edzard, D. O. (Hrsg.), <i>Gesellschaftsklassen im alten Zweistromland</i> . C.R.R.A.I. XVIII, München, 1970 (V. A. Jakobson)	191—195
Eilers, Wilhelm Die vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik (L. O. Schuman)	159—162
Elsas, Christoph Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltablehnung in der Schule Plotins (R. McL. Wilson)	405—406
Eppenstein, S. Perush Rabbi Josef Kara li-Nevi'im Rishonim (Daniel Sperber)	239
Fabry, Heinz-Josef Die Wurzel Šūb in der Qumranliteratur (Daniel C. Snell)	355—356
Fakhry, Majid A History of Islamic Philosophy (G. C. Anawati)	65—69
Fakkar, Rouchdi L'influence française sur la formation de la presse littéraire en Egypte au XIXe siècle (Jacob Landau)	79—80
Fariq, Khurshid Ahmad Tarikh al-Ridda, gleaned from al-Iktifā' of al-Balansī (James F. Gould)	64—65
Fehérvári, Géza Islamic Pottery. A Comprehensive Study based on the Barlow Collection (J. M. Rogers)	88—93
Fecht, Gerhard Der Vorwurf an Gott in den „Mahnworten des Ipu-wer“ (M. Heerma van Voss)	171
Finet, André Le Code de Hammurapi (H. P. H. Petschow)	40—42
Fokkelman, J. P. Narrative Art in Genesis. Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis (C. Houtman)	341—344
<i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum I. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i> , Tome XXI (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers)	251—257
Fremersdorf, Fritz Antikes, Islamisches und Mittelalterliches Glas (W. C. Braat)	310—311
Frye, R. N. (Ed.) The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs (Eli Ashtor)	384—387
Fyze, Asaf A. A. Outlines of Muhammadan Law (Otto Spies)	246
Gabriel, Alfons Die religiöse Welt des Iran (C. J. Bleeker)	384
Gamst, Frederick C. Peasants in Complex Society (C. Op't Land)	165
Garelli, Paul (Ed.) Le Palais et la Royauté. C.R.R.A.I. XIX, Paris, 1971 (M. Stol)	35—37
Garelli, P. & D. Collon Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum, Part VI (L. Matouš)	333—335
Gasparro, Giulia Sfameni I Culti Orientali in Sicilia (C. J. Bleeker)	111—112
Gese, Hartmut Vom Sinai zum Zion. Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie (Gerhard F. Hasel)	45—48
Giovannini, Luciano (Hrsg.), <i>Kunst in Kappadokien</i> (A. A. Kampman)	208—210
Gitton, Michel L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume (Erhart Graefe)	316—320
Goedicke, Hans Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen (J. Lopéz)	16—17
Gohlman, William E. The Life of Ibn Sina (M. van Damme)	364—365
Goltz, Dietlinde Studien zur altorientalischen und griechischen Heilkunde (W. Farber)	329—333
Grantovskiy, E. A. Rannaya Istoriya Iranskikh Plemyon Peredney Azii (The Early History of the Iranian Tribes of Western Asia (R. Zadok)	387—389
Grayson, A. K. Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts (W. Schramm)	198—199
Grimm, Günter, Mohiy Ibrahim, Mohammed Mohsen, Dieter Johannes, <i>Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo</i> (C. Vermeule)	328—329
Gruber, Ernst August Verdienst und Rang. Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam (J. R. T. M. Peters)	65
Gutas, Dimitri Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation. A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia (Remke Kruk)	363—364
Güterbock, Gustav Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock (Hans M. Kümmel)	202—204
Harris, Rivkah Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.) (M. Stol)	146—154
Harris, W. V. Rome in Etruria and Umbria (H. S. Versnel)	106—108
Hasan, Ali Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten (Robert Hari)	326—327

Hawkes, Jacquetta	Geburt der Götter. An den Quellen griechischer Kultur (Th. P. van Baaren)	96
M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss, Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, N. A. van Uchelen,	Travels in the World of the Old Testament, Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday (S. J. de Vries)	338—340
Heilmeyer, Wolf-Dieter	Frühe olympische Tonfiguren (L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford)	257—258
Heinemann, J.	Aggadot ve-Toldotam (Daniel Sperber)	356—357
Helck, Wolfgang	Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (David Lorton)	321
Helck, Wolfgang	Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reiches. Register (H. J. A. De Meulenaere)	321
Hilmy, Ibrahim	The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885 inclusive (Baudouin van de Walle)	166
Hinz, Walter (et alii)	Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen (R. Zadok)	213—219
<i>Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan</i> , Volume 3: Ludwig W. Adamec, Herat and North-western Afghanistan (C. Rathjens)		251
Homes-Fredericq, D.	Les cachets mésopotamiens protohistoriques (Edith Porada)	201—202
Hornung, Erik und Elisabeth Staehelin,	Studien zum Sedfest (Dieter Mueller)	171—172
Hornung, Erik	Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei), Teil I: Text (Dieter Mueller)	315—316
Huonder, Vitus	Israel Sohn Gottes (Nic. J. Tromp)	225
Ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī,	The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices. Translated by Donald R. Hill (J. M. Rogers)	358—363
Jacobi, Heidi	Grammatik des thumischen Neuaramäisch (Nordostsyrien) (E. Lipiński)	234—236
Jacquet-Gordon, Helen & Alexandre Piankoff,	The Wandering of the Soul (J. C. Goyon)	166—171
Jansen, J. J. G.	The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt (R. Paret)	240—241
Jansma, N. S. H.	Ornements des manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc (László Török)	33—35
Jongeling, B., C. J. Labuschagne, A. S. van der Woude,	Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Volume I (Leona Glidden Running)	354
Kähler, Heinz	Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina (A. N. Zadoks-Josephus-Jitta)	111
Kapelrud, Arvid S.	The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah (S. J. de Vries)	352—353
Keel, Othmar	Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament (Herrmann Schulz)	344—347
<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, XXII. Heft</i> (Harry A. Hoffner)		335—337
Kiessling, E. und H. A. Rupprecht,	Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, 2-6 Augustus 1971 (T. Reekmans)	27—29
Kitchen, K. A.	Ramesside Inscriptions, Volume I, Fasc. 5 and 6 (W. Helck)	315
Krane, R. E. (Ed.)	Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries (Jacob M. Landau)	380—381
Krefter, Friedrich	Persepolis Rekonstruktionen (Leo Trümpelmann)	219—220
Kreiser, Klaus, Werner Diem, Hans-Georg Major,	Lexikon der islamischen Welt, Band I, II, III (Ernst Bannert)	240
Kuban, Doğan	Muslim Religious Architecture (Yolande Crowe)	249—250
Kubińska, Jadwiga	Faras IV. Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (H. Hagedorn)	182—185
Kunitzsch, Paul	Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung (David Pingree)	246—247
<i>Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo</i> von Günter Grimm, Mohiy Ibrahim, Mohammed Mohsen, Dieter Johannes (C. Vermeule)		328—329
Kurz, Otto	European Clocks and Watches in the Near East (J. M. Rogers)	311—314
Lambelet, Kurt und Peter P. Riesterer,	Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo (C. Barocas)	327—328
Lambrick, H. T.	Sind before the Muslim Conquest (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers)	258—259
Lauer, J.-Ph. et J. Leclant	Le Temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti (Alexander Badawy)	3—5
Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava	Studies in al-Ghazzali (J. R. T. M. Peters)	365—367

Leclant, J.	Inventaire Bibliographique des Isiacs A-D, E-K (J. Gwyn Griffiths)	172—173
Levine, Baruch A.	In the Presence of the Lord. A Study of Cult and some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel (M. J. Mulder)	48—51
Lewis, Bernard	Race and Color in Islam (Antonie Wessels)	357—358
Lewis, Naphtali	Papyrus in Classical Antiquity (H. Leclercq)	240
<i>Lexikon der Islamischen Welt</i> , Band I, II, III. Hrsg. von Klaus Kreiser, Werner Diem, Hans-Georg Major (Ernst Bannert)		240
Lichtheim, Miriam	Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (B. van de Walle)	15—16
Liebermann, Saul	Texts and Studies (Abraham Goldberg)	44—45
Lipiński, Edward	Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics (R. Zadok)	227—231
Lloyd, Alan B.	Herodotus, Book II. Introduction (Herman Verdin)	406—408
Loon, M. N. van	Korucutepe. J. Boesneck und A. von den Driesch, Tierknochenfunde vom Korucutepe bei Elâziğ in Ostanatolien (Johannes Lepiskaa)	210—213
Lorton, David	The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII (Raphael Givon)	18—21
MacMullen, Ramsay	Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284 (E. J. Jonkers)	109—111
Marciniak, Marek	Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III (Schafik Al-lam)	173—176
Maurey, B. and J. Revault,	Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle (J. M. Rogers)	375—379
<i>The Middle East and North Africa, 1976-1977</i> (C. Nijland)		314—315
Miller, Madeleine S. and J. Lane Miller,	Black's Bible Dictionary (Herbert Haag)	43—44
Moortgat, A. & U. Moortgat-Correns,	Tell Chuëra in Nordost-Syrien. Vorläufiger Bericht über die 6. Grabungskampagne 1973 (André Parrot)	60—61
Moss, Rosalind & Bertha Porter,	assisted by Ethel W. Burney, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. III: Memphis, Part I. Abu Rawāsh to Abūšīr (Henry G. Fischer)	21—24
Mühlenberg, Ekkehard	Psalmkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung, Band I. (T. Muraoka)	350—351
Müller, Walter W., Wolfgang Röllig, Rainer Degen,	Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik. Band 2. (A. van den Branden)	12—14
Murray, Robert	Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition (Otto Meinardus)	112—114
<i>Nag Hammadi Codices</i> XI, XII, XIII (Robert Haardt)		186—188
Nagel, Tilman	Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risālat Iftitāh ad-Da'wa (W. Madelung)	244—246
Nissen, Andreas	Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum (M. J. Mulder)	237—238
Nijland, C.	Mikhā'il Nu'aymah. Promoter of the Arabic Literary Revival (Musa Suudi)	367—368
Olschak, B. C. in Zusammenarbeit mit Geshé Thupten Wangyal,	Mystik und Kunst Alt tibets (E. M. J. M. Cornélis)	259—260
<i>Opuscula Romana</i> , Vol. VIII et IX (E. J. Jonkers)		108—109
Oren, Eliezer D.	The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan (W. H. Shea)	56—57
Orlandi, Tito	Papiri Copti di Contenuto Teologico (K. H. Kuhn)	185—186
Ostle, R. C.	Studies in Modern Arabic Literature (C. Nijland)	247—249
Otten, Heinrich & Christel Rüster,	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. XXII. Heft. Aus dem Bezirk des grossen Tempels (Harry A. Hoffner)	335—337
Palmer, Robert E. A.	Roman Religion and Roman Empire (E. J. Jonkers)	409—410
Paul, André	Ecrits de Qumran et Sectes Juives aux Premiers Siècles de l'Islam (S. Wagner)	61—62
Pearson, J. D.	A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia (Manfred Mayrhofer)	383—384
Pelikan, Jaroslav	The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (Otto Meinardus)	410—412
Pettinato, G. & H. Waetzoldt,	La Collezione Schollmeyer (William W. Hallo)	38—40
Piankoff, Alexandre & Helen Jacquet-Gordon,	The Wandering of the Soul (Jean-Claude Goyon)	166—171
<i>Pirke Aboth</i> , Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Benzion Dinur (Daniel Sperber)		239—240
Ploeg, O.P., J. P. M. van der,	Psalmen, uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd (J. Coppens) ...	221—222

Porter, Bertha & Rosalind Moss, assisted by Ethel W. Burney, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Vol. III: Memphis, Part I: Abu Rawāsh to Abūšīr (Henry G. Fischer) ...	21—24
Raymond, André	Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle (J. M. Rogers) ... 74—79
Read, Jan	The Moors in Spain and Portugal (Eli Ashfor) 375
Revault, J.	Palais et résidences d'été de la région du Tunis (XVIe-XIXe siècles) (J. M. Rogers) 375—379
Revault, J. et B. Maurey	Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle (J. M. Rogers) 375—379
Rey-Coquais, Jean-Paul	Arados et sa pèrèe aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine (R. du Mesnil du Buisson) 101—102
Reymond, E. A. E. & J. W. B. Barns, Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices (A. I. Elanskaya)	188—191
Rhodes, D. E.	Dennis of Etruria. The Life of George Dennis (L. B. van der Meer) 412
Riesterer, Peter P. und Kurt Lambelet, Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo (C. Barocas)	327—328
Risch, Ernst	Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache (Alfred Heubeck) 97—98
Röllig, Wolfgang, Rainer Degen, Walter W. Müller, Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, Band 2 (A. van den Branden)	12—14
Rosen-Ayalon, Myriam	Ville Royale de Suse IV. La poterie islamique (J. M. Rogers) 370—374
Rüster, Christel & Heinrich Otten, Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. XXII. Heft (Harry A. Hoff- ner)	335—337
Sabottka, Liudger	Zephania. Versuch einer Neuübersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar (Simon J. de Vries) 54—56
Sara, Solomon I.	A Description of Modern Chaldean (A. van den Branden) 236—237
Schatz, Werner	Genesis 14. Eine Untersuchung (John Van Seters) 220—221
Schenker, O.P., Adrian	Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke (T. Muraoka) 351—352
Schmitt, Rainer	Exodus und Passah. Ihr Zusammenhang im Alten Testament (Nic. J. Tromp) 223—224
Schneider, Carl	Die Welt des Hellenismus. Lebensformen in der spätgriechischen Antike (E. J. Jonkers) 412—413
Schramm, Wolfgang	Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften (A. K. Grayson) ... 134—145
Schulz, Hermann	Das Buch Nahum (Kevin J. Cathcart) 53—54
Schuster, Hans-Siegfried	Die hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen I. Einleitung, Texte, Kommentar, Teil 1 (Irina Dunajevskaja) 204—208
Schwartz, Jacques	Papyrus Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Stras- bourg, nos. 301 à 500 (Alan K. Bowman) 180—181
Seebold, Elmar	Das System der indogermanischen Halbvokale (R. Slonek) 413—414
Seider, Richard	Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri (E. Boswinkel) 30—31
Sharadse, Guram	Theimuras Bagrationi (Lajos Tardy) 260—261
Sherif, Mohamed Ahmed	Ghazali's Theory of Virtue (M. van Damme) 241—244
Siedentopf, Heinrich B. u.a., Tiryns VI. Forschungen und Berichte (George M. A. Hanfmann)	102—104
Silberg, Moshe	Talmudic Law and the Modern State (Daniel Sperber) 238—239
Simpson, William Kelly	The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 (O. D. Berlev) 324—326
Simpson, William Kelly and Dows Dunham, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G. 7530-7540 (Rosemarie Drenkhahn)	25—27
Slenczka, Eberhard	Figürliche bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns (George M. A. Hanfmann) 102—104
Smith, H. S.	A Visit to Ancient Egypt. Life at Memphis & Saqqara (c. 500-30 B.C.) (Janet H. Johnson) 181—182
Stahelin, Elisabeth und Erik Hornung, Studien zum Sedfest (Dieter Mueller)	171—172
Stekelis, M.	The Yarmukian Culture of the Neolithic Period (P. M. Ver- meersch) 57
Strauss, Elisabeth-Christine, Die Nunschale - Eine Gefäßgruppe des Neuen Reiches (Barbara S. Lesko)	179—180
Strong, Donald	De Oude Etrusken (L. B. van der Meer) 104—105
Studies on Prophecy. A Collection of Twelve Papers (M. Delcor)	48
Symeonoglou, Sarantis	Kadmeia I. Mycenaean Finds from Thebes, Greece. Excavations at 14 Oedipus Street (J. H. C. Kern) 414—415

Thapar, Romila	Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (P. H. L. Eggermont) 116
Thiel, Helmut van	Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der Griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L (Ernst Meyer) 98—100
Tibawi, A. L.	Arabic and Islamic Themes. Historical, Educational and Literary Studies (C. Nijland) 368—370
Tiryns VI. Forschungen und Berichte (George M. A. Hanfmann)	102—104
Tovar, Antonio	Sprachen und Inschriften. Studien zum Mykenischen, Lateinischen und Hispanokeltischen (Alfred Heubeck) 93—94
Tümertekin, Erol, Fatma Mansur, Peter Benedict, Turkey. Geographic and Social Perspectives (Jacob Landau)	381—382
Turkologischer Anzeiger (TA 1). Sonderdruck aus Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgen- landes, 67. Band (Heidrun Wurm)	380
Tushingham, A. D.	The Excavations at Dibon (Dhibân) in Moab. The Third Campaign 1952-1953 (Vera I. Kerkhof) 225—226
Vergote, J.	De Egyptenaren en hun Godsdienst (J. Zandee) 17
Vruchten van de Uithof. Studies opgedragen aan Dr H. A. Brongers ter gelegenheid van zijn af- scheid (J. W. Wevers)	338
Waetzoldt, H. & G. Pettinato, La Collezione Schollmeyer. Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico, Vol. 1 (William W. Hallo)	38—40
Watt, W. Montgomery	The Formative Period of Islamic Thought (R. M. Frank) 69—74
Watt, W. Montgomery	The Majesty that was Islam. The Islamic World 661-1100 (Josef van Ess) 62
Westendorf, Wolfhart	Koptisches Handwörterbuch, Lieferung 5 (Werner Vyčichl) 31—33
Weippert, Helga	Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches (Gerhard F. Hasel) 51—53
Whybray, R. N.	The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament (W. H. Gispén) ... 222—223
Wild, S.	Libanesische Ortsnamen. Typologie und Deutung (R. Zadok) 304—310
Wildberger, Hans	Jesaja, Kapitel 1-12 (Gerhard F. Hasel) 347—350
Yeivin, Sh.	The Israelite Conquest of Canaan (W. H. Shea) 56
Zaccagnini, Carlo	Lo scambio dei doni nel vicino oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII (Guy Kestemont) 162—164

LIJST VAN MEDEWERKERS

Aartun, K.	285-289	Hasel, G. F.	45-48, 51-53, 347-350
Albin, M. W.	294-304	Hassan, F.	323-324
Allam, S.	173-176	Heerman van Voss, M.	171
Anawati, G. C.	65-69	Helck, W.	315
Ashtor, E.	375, 384-387	Heubeck, A.	93-94, 97-98
Baaren, Th. P. van	96	Hoffner, H. A.	335-337
Badawy, A. M.	3-5	Houtman, C.	341-344
Bannerth, E.	240	Jakobson, V.	191-195
Barocas, C.	327-328	Johnson, Janet H.	181-182
Barta, W.	24-25, 131-134	Jonkers, E. J.	108-109, 109-111, 401-402, 409-410, 412-413
Beckerath, J. von	176-178	Kákosy, L.	17-18
Berlev, O. D.	324-326	Kampman, A. A.	208-210
Bleeker, C. J.	111-112, 114-116, 384	Kerkhof, Vera I.	225-226
Boer, W. den	402-403	Kern, J. H. C.	414-415
Boswinkel, E.	30-31	Kestemont, G.	162-164
Bosworth, C. E.	289-294	Klíma, J.	156-159
Bowman, A. K.	180-181	Krámský, J.	389-391
Braat, W. C.	310-311	Kruk, Remke	363-364
Branden, A. van den	6-9, 12-14, 236-237	Kuhn, K. H.	185-186
Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, L.	257-258	Kümmel, H. M.	202-204
Cathcart, K. J.	53-54	Kutscher, R.	195-198
Coppens, J.	221-222	Landau, J.	79-80, 380-381, 381-382
Cornélis, E. M. J. M.	165-166, 259-260	Lebrun, R.	321-323
Cornelius, F.	283-285	Leclercq, H.	29-30
Crowe, Yolande	249-250	Lepiskaar, J.	210-213
Dalley-Page, Stephanie	200-201	Lesko, Barbara S.	179-180
Damme, M. Van	241-244, 264-265	Lipiński, E.	231-234, 234-236
Delcor, M.	48, 61	López, J.	16-17
Drenkhahn, Rosemarie	25-27	Lorton, D.	321
Dunajevskaja, Irina M.	204-208	Madelung, W.	244-246
During Caspers, Elisabeth C. L.	81-88, 251-257, 258-259	Mariën, M. E.	114
Eggermont, P. H. L.	116	Matouš, L.	333-335
Elanskaya, A. I.	188-191	Mayrhofer, M.	383-384
Ess, J. van	62	Meer, L. B. van der	104-105, 105-106, 412
Farag, F. R.	275-283	Meinardus, O.	80-81, 112-114, 410-412
Farber, W.	329-333	Mesnil du Buisson, R. du	101-102
Fischer, H. G.	21-24	Meulenaere, H. De	321
Frank, R. M.	69-74	Meyer, E.	94-96, 98-100
Geus, C. H. J. de	58-60, 340	Mulder, M. J.	48-51, 237-238, 341
Gispen, W. H.	222-223	Mueller, D.	171-172, 315-316
Giveon, R.	18-21	Muraoka, T.	350-351, 351-352
Goldberg, A.	44-45	Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. van	62-64, 250-251
Gould, J. F.	64-65	Nijland, C.	247-249, 314-315, 368-370, 379-380
Goyon, J. C.	166-171	Op 't Land, C.	165
Graefe, E.	21, 316-320	Paret, R.	240-241
Grayson, A. K.	134-135	Parrot, A.	60-61
Griffiths, J. G.	172-173	Peters, J. R. T. M.	65, 365-367
Grosheide, H. H.	353-354	Petschow, H. P. H.	40-42
Haag, H.	43-44	Pingree, D.	246-247
Haardt, R.	186-188	Pleket, H. W.	9-12, 403-405
Hagedorn, H.	182-185	Popovic, A.	154-156
Hallo, W. W.	37, 38-40	Porada, Edith	201-202
Hanfmann, G. M. A.	102-104		
Hari, R.	326-327		

XIV

INHOUD

Rathjens, C.	251	Tromp, N. J.	223-224, 225
Reekmans, T.	27-29	Trümpelmann, L.	219-220
Rogers, J. M.	74-79, 88-93, 311-314, 358-363, 370-374, 375-379	Uphill, E.	14-15
Römer, W. H. Ph.	I-IV, 199-200	Valloggia, M.	178-179
Ross, J. F.	224	Verdin, H.	406-409
Running, Leona Glidden	354	Vermeersch, P.	57
Schippmann, K.	42-43	Vermeule, C.	328-329
Schramm, W.	198-199	Versnel, H. S.	106-108, 391-401
Schulz, H.	344-347	Vittmann, G.	176
Schuman, L. O.	159-162	Vries, S. J. de	54-56, 338-340, 352-353
Seters, J. Van	220-221	Vyčichl, W.	31-33
Shea, W. H.	56, 56-57	Wagner, S.	61-62
Slonek, R.	413-414	Walle, B. van de	15-16, 166
Snell, D. C.	355-356	Wessels, A.	357-358
Sperber, D.	238-239, 239, 239-240, 356-357	Wevers, J. W.	338
Spies, O.	246	Wilson, R. McL.	405-406
Stol, M.	35-37, 146-154	Wurm, Heidrun	380
Suudi, M.	367-368	Zadok, R.	5-6, 213-219, 227-231, 304-310, 387-389
Tardy, L.	260-261	Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, A.	111
Török, L.	33-35	Zandee, J.	17



Jaargang XXXIII
No. 1/2
Januari-Maart 1976

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

E. van DONZEL, hoofdredacteur, F. M. Th. de LIAGRE BÖHL,
H. J. A. DE MEULENAERE, M. J. MULDER, C. NIJLAND en M. STOL

Redactie en Administratie:
Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden (Nederland)

Tweemaandelijks recenserend en bibliografisch tijdschrift
op het gebied van het Nabije Oosten
Abonnementsprijs Hfl. 165.— per jaar

INHOUD

HOOFDARTIKELN:

- Alexander BADAWY, The Harmonic Design of the Upper Temple
at Teti Pyramid 3— 5
R. ZADOK, Three Iranian Words in Late Babylonian Documents
..... 5— 6
A. VAN DEN BRANDEN, L'inscription phénicienne sur une petite
base en bronze d'Idalion 6— 9

BOEKBESPREKINGEN:

- CASSON, Lionel, Travel in the Ancient World (H. W. Pleket)
..... 9— 12
DEGEN, Rainer, Walter W. MÜLLER, Wolfgang RÖLLIG,
Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, Band 2. (A. Van den
Branden) 12— 14
BRUNNER-TRAUT, Emma, Die Alten Ägypter, Verborgenes
Leben unter Pharaonen (E. P. Uphill) 14— 15
LICHTHEIM, Mariam, Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of
Readings, vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms (B. van de
Walle) 15— 16
GOEDICKE, Hans, Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen (Jesus
Lopez) 16— 17
VERGOTE, J., De Egyptenaren en hun godsdienst (J. Zandee)
..... 17
ABITZ, Friedrich, Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grab-
räuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20.
Dynastie (L. Kákosy) 17— 18
LORTON, David, The Juridical Terminology of International
Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII (Raphael
Givon) 18— 21
CHAMPOLLION, Jean-François, Notices Descriptives I, p. 600-
917; II, p. 1-358, 359-720 (Erhart Graefe) 21
PORTER, Bertha & Rosalind B. MOSS, assisted by Ethel W.
BURNEY, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian
Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. Volume III: Memphis,
Part I: Abū Rawāsh to Abūsir (Henry G. Fischer) 21— 24
ADAMS, Barbara, Ancient Hierakonpolis (Winfried Barta)
..... 24— 25
DUNHAM, Dows & William Kelly SIMPSON, The Mastaba of
Queen Mersyankh III. G 7530-7540 (Rosemarie Drenkhahn)
..... 25— 27
AKTEN DES XIII. INTERNATIONALEN PAPYROLOGEN-
KONGRESSES (Marburg/Lahn, 2. bis 6. August 1971), heraus-
gegeben von E. KIESSLING und H. A. RUPPRECHT (Tony
Reekmans) 27— 29
LEWIS, N., Papyrus in Classical Antiquity (H. Leclercq)
..... 29— 30

- SEIDER, Richard, Paläographie der griechischen Papyri; Band I:
Tafeln, erster Teil, Urkunden; Band II: Tafeln, zweiter Teil,
literarische Papyri (E. Boswinkel) 30— 31
WESTENDORF, Wolfhart, Koptisches Handwörterbuch (Werner
Vycichl) 31— 33
JANSMA, N. S. H., Ornaments des manuscrits coptes du Monastère
Blanc (László Török) 33— 35
LE PALAIS ET LA ROYAUTE (Archéologie et Civilisation).
Compte Rendu de la XIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internatio-
nale (Paris, 29 juin-2 juillet 1971), édité par Paul GARELLI
(M. Stoll) 35— 37
BORGER, Rykle, Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur (William W.
Halla) 37
PETTINATO, G. & H. WAETZOLDT, La Collezione Scholl-
meyer (William W. Halla) 38— 40
FINET, André, Le Code de Hammurapi; Introduction, traduction
et annotation (H. P. H. Petschow) 40— 42
BERGHE, Louis Vanden, De iconografische Betekenissen van het sas-
sanidisch Rotsrelief van Sarāb-i Qandil (Irān) (Klaus Schipp-
mann) 42— 43
MILLER, Madeleine S. & J. LANE MILLER, Black's Bible
Dictionary (Herbert Haag) 43— 44
LIEBERMAN, Saul, Texts and Studies (Abraham Goldberg)
..... 44— 45
GESE, Hartmut, Vom Sinai zum Zion. Alttestamentliche Beiträge
zur biblischen Theologie (Gerhard F. Hasel) 45— 48
STUDIES ON PROPHECY. A Collection of twelve Papers =
Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, vol. 25 (M. Delcor) 48
LEVINE, Baruch A., In the Presence of the Lord, A Study of Cult
and some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel (M. J. Mulder)
..... 48— 51
WEIPPERT, Helga, Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches (Gerhard
F. Hasel) 51— 53
SCHULZ, Hermann, Das Buch Nahum: Eine redaktionskritische
Untersuchung (Kevin J. Cathcart) 53— 54
SABOTTKA, O.S.B., Liudger, Zephanja, Versuch einer Neuüber-
setzung mit philologischem Kommentar (Simon J. de Vries)
..... 54— 56
YEIVIN, Sh., The Israelite Conquest of Canaan (W. H. Shea)
..... 56
OREN, Eliezer D., The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan (W. H.
Shea) 56— 57
STEKELIS, M., The Yarmukian Culture of the Neolithic Period
(P. M. Vermeersch) 57



- BEER-SHEBA I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba (1969-1971 seasons), ed. by Yohanan AHARONI (C. H. J. de Geus) 58—60
- MOORTGAT, A. & U. MOORTGAT-CORRENS, Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien. Vorläufiger Bericht über die 6. Grabungskampagne 1973 (André Parrot) 60—61
- ASMUSSEN, P., Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature (M. Delcor) 61
- PAUL, André, Écrits de Qumran et Sectes Juives aux premiers Siècles de l'Islam. Recherches sur l'Origine du Qaräisme (Siegfried Wagner) 61—62
- WATT, W. Montgomery, The Majesty that was Islam. The Islamic World 661-1100 (Josef van Ess) 62
- DANIEL, Norman, The Cultural Barrier, Problems in the Exchange of Ideas (C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze) 62—64
- TĀRĪKH AL-RĪDDA: gleaned from *al-Iktifā'* by al-Balansi and edited by Khurshid Ahmad FARIQ (James F. Gould) 64—65
- GRUBER, Ernst August, Verdienst und Rang. Die Fadā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam (= Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 35) (Jan Peters) 65
- FAKHRY, Majid, A History of Islamic Philosophy (= Studies in Oriental Cultures, nr. 5) (G. C. Anawati) 65—69
- WATT, W. Montgomery, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought (R. M. Frank) 69—74
- RAYMOND, André, Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle. I (Damascus 1973) pp. lv, 1-372; II (Damascus 1974) pp. 373-920 (J. M. Rogers) 74—79
- FAKKAR, Rouchdi, L'influence française sur la formation de la presse littéraire en Egypte au XIXe siècle. Aux origines des relations culturelles contemporaines entre la France et le monde arabe (Jacob M. Landau) 79—80
- BETTS, Robert Brenton, Christians in the Arab East. A Political Study (Otto Meinardus) 80—81
- BIBBY, T. G. (with one chapter by Holger KAPEL), Preliminary Survey in East Arabia 1968 (Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf. Volume Two (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers) 81—80
- FEHÉRVÁRI, Géza, Islamic Pottery. A comprehensive study based on the Barlow Collection (J. M. Rogers) 88—93
- ATIL, E., Ceramics from the world of Islam. Freer Gallery of Art (J. M. Rogers) 88—93

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Governors of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East herewith announce that Prof. Dr. A. A. Kampman has retired as Editor-in-chief of Bibliotheca Orientalis as from the first of August 1976. They thank Dr. Kampman for all the work he has done for Bibliotheca Orientalis during the many years he was active as its Editor-in-chief.

The Governors are glad to announce that the present Director of the Institute, Dr. E. van Donzel has been found willing to assume the function of Editor-in-chief. He will be assisted by the following editors: Prof. Dr. F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, Prof. Dr. H. J. A. De Meulenaere, Prof. Dr. M. J. Mulder, Dr. C. Nijland and Dr. M. Stol.

The Governors feel compelled to emphasize that all correspondence concerning Bibliotheca Orientalis should be directed to Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden, Holland. No responsibility can be taken for mail addressed differently.

- TOVAR, Antonio, Sprachen und Inschriften. Studien zum Mykenischen, Lateinischen und Hispanokeltischen (Alfred Heubeck) 93—94
- BENGTSON, Hermann, Kleine Schriften zur Alten Geschichte (Ernst Meyer) 94—96
- HAWKES, Jacquetta, Geburt der Götter, An den Quellen griechischer Kultur (Th. P. van Baaren) 96
- RISCH, Ernst, Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache (Alfred Heubeck) 97—98
- THIEL, Helmut van, Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien (Ernst Meyer) 98—100
- REY-COQUAIS, Jean-Paul, Arados et sa pérée aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine (R. du Mesnil du Buisson) 100—102
- SIEDENTOPF, Heinrich B., Wolf RUDOLPH, Hartmut DÖHL, Ulrich WILLERDING, Walter VOIGTLANDER, Tiryns VI (George M. A. Hanfmann) 102—104
- SLENCZKA, Eberhard, Figürliche bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns (George M. A. Hanfmann) 102—104
- STRONG, D., De oude Etrusken (L. B. van der Meer) 104—105
- BANTI, Luisa, The Etruscan Cities and their Culture. Translation by E. Bizarri (L. B. van der Meer) 105—106
- HARRIS, W. V., Rome in Etruria and Umbria (H. S. Versnel) 106—108
- OPUSCULA ROMANA voll. VIII und IX (E. J. Jonkers) 108—109
- MacMULLEN, Ramsay, Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284 (E. J. Jonkers) 109—111
- H. KÄHLER, Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina (= Monumenta Artis Romanae XII) (A. N. Zadok-Josephus Jitta) 111
- GASPARRO, Giulia Sfameni, I Culti Orientali in Sicilia (C. J. Bleeker) 111—112
- MURRAY, Robert, Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition (Otto F. A. Meinardus) 112—114
- BRODRIBB, A. C. C. & A. R. HANDS & D. R. WALKER, Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire. Part II, Sites B and H (M. E. Mariën) 114
- BUXTON, Jean, Religion and Healing in Mandari (C. J. Bleeker) 114—116
- THAPAR, Romila, Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas (P. H. L. Eggermont) 116

HOOFDARTIKEL

The Harmonic Design of the Upper Temple at Teti Pyramid

A Propos de: J.-Ph. LAUER and J. LECLANT, *Le Temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Tété. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1972 (4to, 114 pp., 38 pls.) = Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah I.*

This is the initial volume of a series of reports on the archaeological work at the pyramid temples at Saqqara. It publishes (pp. 1-57) the badly destroyed temple of Teti, whose plan and cross-section could happily be restored on the analogy with the very similar temple of Pepi II. Borrowing heavily on the latter data Lauer could restore the complete plan and estimate the heights of the various chambers. In this connection one important contribution is his suggestion that a flat vault 10 cubits span roofed each of the entrance vestibule "deep hall" (10 x 45 cubits), and the offering room (10 x 30 cubits). This find is based on two blocks from the springing of the vault and a large one (2.5 x 1.4 x 1.1 m., figs. 15a-b, pp. 60-62) belonging to the tympanum carved with scenes representing Seth and Nekhebet. The vault was sculptured with stars as usual for ceilings (fig. 3).

In the peristyle court (30 x 40 c.) that follows along the longitudinal axis stood 18 square pillars on foundation blocks of limestone set into holes in the alabaster pavement. They were at various levels below the pavement, corresponding to the heights of the pillars already dressed in the quarry — a method also known in the temple of the Sphinx at Giza. A fragment of pink granite still embedded in one hole proves that the pillars were made of that material. Most important, though badly eroded, is the alabaster altar (2.65 x 1.12, 0.75 ht.) on the longitudinal axis, but slightly east of the center of the court. When found by Firth and Gunn in 1923 the altar still bore beautiful reliefs, unhappily hardly legible in the copy of their notes (pl. XXXIV). The axial vestibule and court are flanked by vast magazines with the result that the foretemple is asymmetrical, on account of the more extensive southern ones.

The second part of the upper temple extends 66 cubits, from the girdle wall to the east face of the pyramid, and is 86 cubits broad. It is separated from the east side of the girdle wall by a passageway (5 cubits) extending the whole breadth between a north doorway built with a basalt threshold and a south one with granite threshold (0.80 m. broad), opening on to the southeast corner of the area surrounding the pyramid, containing the satellite pyramid within its own enclosure.

An elaborate monolithic stairway (2.27 x 1.35 m.) built within a deep recess of the east face rises 1 cubit to the broad two-leafed doorway provided with a quartzite threshold (3.80 x 1.40 m.: not granite as p. 27). The doorway must have been 2.05 meters wide, much larger than the double-leafed doorway (1.28 m.) to the northern chapel, built above the entrance to the ramp descending to the sarcophagus chamber. The axial doorway opens on to a transverse hall (6 x 18 c.) containing along its west side 5 statue-niches provided with double-leafed

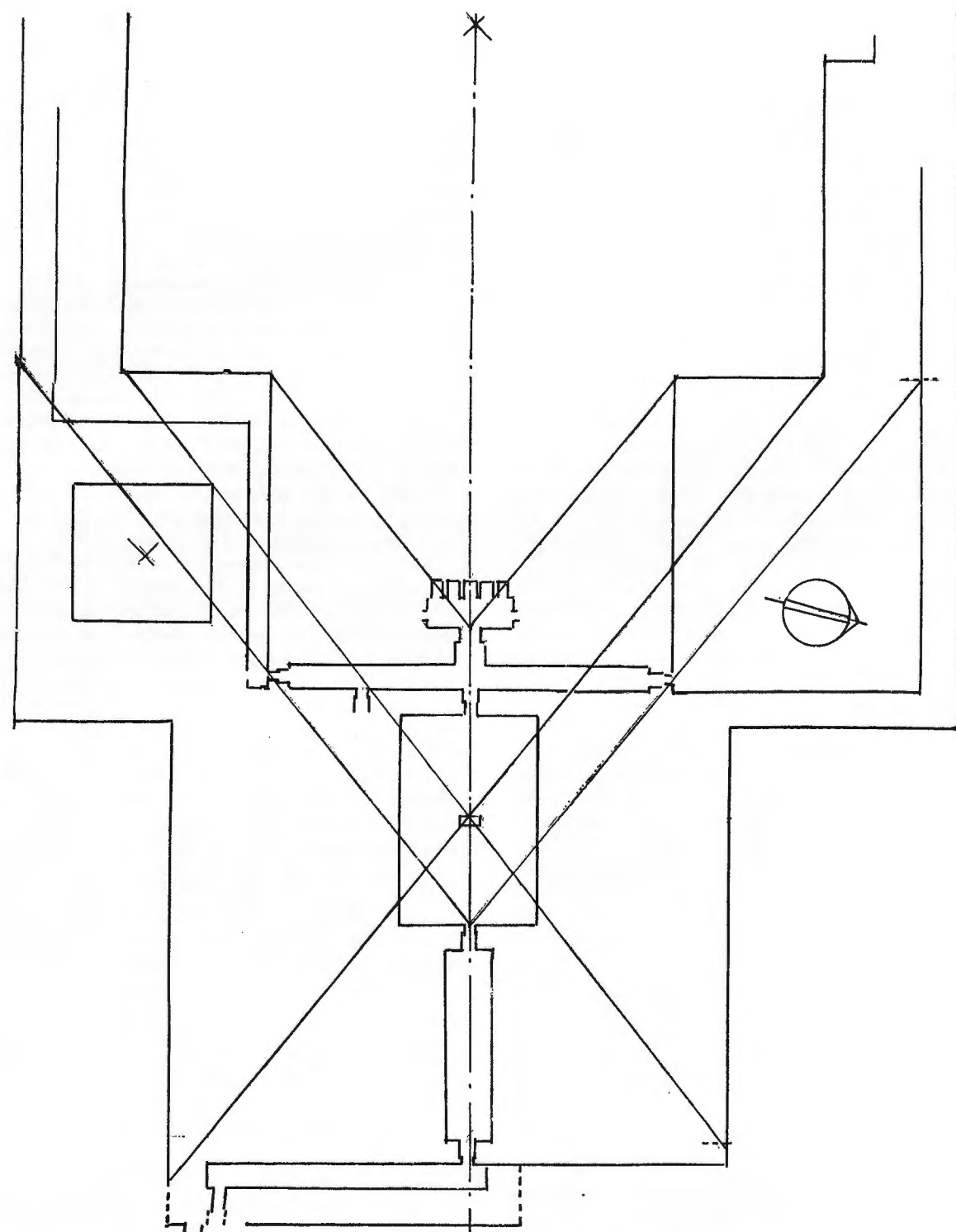
doors. It is surmised that they contained five statues of the king identified with five major deities (but not with the five names of the royal titulary). A doorway at either end, north and south, of the transverse hall opens on to the north and south complex of magazines, respectively. Beyond the south vestibule there is a square lobby with a central column, as at Pepi I, Pepi II, forming the antechamber to the hall of offerings. At the west end of this large vaulted chamber (10 x 30 c.) a granite false-door on a quartzite foundation formed the focus to which the offerings were brought and placed on a large offering-table, still delimited by its limestone foundation (8 x 4 c.) in the midst of the alabaster floor. On the analogy with the offering hall at Pepi II the scenes on the side walls must have represented processions of offering-bearers, while at the east end were scenes of the slaughter of the ox — an arrangement similar to that in the offering rooms in mastaba chapels of the Sixth Dynasty ('Ankh-m'ahor), Khentika, Mehw). A window opening at the top of the east wall could have allowed the rays of the rising sun to light the false-door. The magazines, in an arrangement to that at Pepi II, must have been two-storied. They contain rows of tables.

In the second part of the report (pp. 59-102) all the blocks belonging to the site are described and illustrated with line drawings at a scale of 1 : 5.

The architectural description and illustrations are considerably enhanced by the record of the dimensions in cubits, and an attempt to find the scheme that formed the basis of the design. Using the so-called 'sacred triangle', a right-angled triangle whose sides correspond to the ratios of 3-4-5, Lauer was able to discover the scheme for each of the rear part of the temple, the foretemple, and the court of the satellite pyramid (pl. XXXV). He justifies the restored cross-section (pp. 44-51) and plan (pp. 51-57). Though his findings are obviously correct, inasmuch as they concern the general design of groups of rooms, they do not investigate the interconnections between these groups, or between the upper temple and the pyramid, or between the rooms within the groups. As a matter of fact an investigation of such interconnections of a harmonic design, essentially dynamic, cannot be carried out by using the 'sacred triangle' 3-4-5, essentially static. If we apply, however, the method of analysis we suggested many years ago¹⁾ using the 8; 5 isosceles triangle several points which are of prime significance in the plan can at once be identified. Starting from the alignment of the east face of the pyramid, which must have represented the ground line for the triangles of the constructional diagrams, we find (see constructional diagram):

1. The vertex of the 8 : 5 triangle based on the east alignment of the pyramid and of the width of 86 cubits of the intimate temple falls on the middle of the doorway to the transverse hall of the 5 contiguous shrines. The two sides of the triangle pass through the northwest and southwest corners of the two end shrines. If the identification of the doorway with the Portal of Nwt, mentioned by the Pyramid Texts, be true this

¹⁾ A. Badaway, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design. A Study of the Harmonic System*. University of California Publications: Near Eastern Studies (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965).



Analysis of the harmonic design of the plan of Teti pyramid upper temple.

diagram would symbolize the introduction of the king to the sky at the top of his pyramid.

2. The vertex of the 8 : 5 triangle built of the east side of the pyramid 150 cubits long falls on the west side of the altar in the court. The symbolism of the offering ritual performed at the altar would be identified with a parallel ritual carried high up at the top of the pyramid itself. One is reminded that in some hieroglyphs representing the obelisk of Neuserre² the sun disk touched the top of the pyramidion. In other words the offering presented at the altar, so placed as to be at the top of the 8 : 5 triangle (= pyramid), would symbolically merge with the sun at the top of the real pyramid²).

3. The inverted triangle with its vertex at the same point meets the outer north and south sides of the foretemple along the west alignment of its entrance doorway, thus expressing the interconnection between this entrance, the altar, and the east side of the pyramid. When reversing the triangle so that its vertex be in the middle of the west alignment of the doorway its sides meet the north and south sides of the foretemple on the west alignment of the altar.

4. The 8 : 5 triangle based on the north and south centers of the two doorways to the passageway in front of the intimate temple has its vertex in the middle of the west side of the threshold of the doorway between the vestibule and the court.

With these aforementioned significant points defining the design inside the units of the plan and establishing their interrelations the harmonic analysis unravels a complete scheme of design based on the pyramid itself. This new analysis confirms our former suggestion that the constructional diagram of a temple was to be thought of — as probably did the Egyptian designers — in terms of vertical construction whose apex tended to reach heaven. In the case of a pyramid the 8 : 5 triangle based along its side is very close to, if not identical with the rabatment of the cross-section of the pyramid in the plane of the design (= ground plan).

Thanks to the thoroughness brought by Lauer in inscribing his plan with basic dimensions in cubits we are now able to check the results of our graphical analysis. For the largest diagram with 2 inverted triangles: (150 x 93.75 height) + (110 x 68.75 height), where the two heights were calculated as $\frac{5}{8}$ th of the bases (150 x $\frac{5}{8}$ = 93.75, and 110 x $\frac{5}{8}$ = 68.75), the total distance between the east side of the pyramid and the west alignment of the entrance doorway measures: 93.75 + 68.75 = 162.5 cubits, paralleled by a total of 161 cubits from actual measures inscribed on the plan. The discrepancy of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits for a total of 162.5 is less than 1%³).

Similar minimal discrepancies are checked for 93.75 cubits, versus the distance recorded on the plan between the west face of the altar and the pyramid adding to

²) Ibid. p. 185.

³) Discrepancies in dimensions as measured in situ and as found in the harmonic analysis can be due to several factors, among others: errors by the ancient master-builders, less so by the modern surveyors, and also through paring down the faces of the walls after their building.

93.5 cubits (= 22.5 + 5 + 66), and for 53.75 cubits versus the distance between the west alignment of the doorway to the five shrines and the pyramid.

We are grateful to the authors of the report about the upper temple of Teti pyramid for providing reliable data, and especially recording dimensions in cubits — a method that enabled us to check again the soundness of our theory of the analysis of harmonic design in Egyptian architecture.

Los Angeles, July 1975

ALEXANDER BADAWY

Three Iranian Words in Late Babylonian Documents¹⁾

1. *daš(š)ia*

The title *Lūda-(āš)-šī-ia* is defined in the CAD (D, 120a) as "a foreign word" and in the *AHW*. (165a) as "of unknown origin". Only two individuals are mentioned with this title. One belonged to the personnel of Gubaru, the satrap of Babylonia (*BE* 10, 91: 19, U.E., Nippur, 420/19 B.C.²), the other to the personnel of a man bearing the Iranian name *Ar-ta-a* (*BE* 9, 6: 4, Nippur, 439/38 B.C.). Both play only the passive role of witnesses in the documents. There is no information about their function otherwise. This title possibly reflects Iran. **daši-* or **dašya-* "expert" or sim. from a base **daš-*, IE **deḱ-s-*, cf. Ved. *daḱṣa-* "expert" (Pokorny, *IEW*, p. 189, s.v. *deḱ-*). It reminds one of the title *Lūsepīru* which is an Aramaic loanword in NB and LB and goes back, according to von Soden (*Or.NS* 37 [1968], p. 266 with lit.), to the Old Aramaic forerunner of Syriac *šfīrā* "doctus". *Lūsepīru* designated an interpreter-scribe in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods (see *AHW*., 1036b).

2. *pitpuda*

An interpreter-scribe (*Lūsepīru*) of *Lūpit-pu-da* is mentioned in the document *CT* 4, pl. 27, *BU*. 88-5-12, 336 (11.4. 8, collated), dated 524/23 B.C. (the place of issue is not preserved). This document records delivery of wool. The word *Lūpitpuda* is not listed in *AHW*. The reading *pit-pu-* is more likely than *pit-bu-* in view of the spellings *pi-it/ti-pa* in *pi-it/ti-pa-ba-ga*, and *ptp* in Aramaic, which may represent the same Iranian word. *Lūpit-pu-da* is likely to render Iran. **piθfa-dā-* "ration giver", cf. Av. *puθrō.dā-* "giver of sons" (*Air. Wb.* 911). **piθfa-* is well-known from the LB title *Lūpi-it/ti-pa-ba-ga* "distributor of rations". **piθfa-* is from

¹⁾ The following abbreviations which are used in this paper are not included in the list of abbreviations of the CAD: *Air Wb.* = Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg 1904; *Mir. Man.* 3 = F. K. Andreas-W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichäica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* 3. SPAW 1934; Pokorny, *IEW* = J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Bern 1950-. — The personal determinative is omitted in the transliteration of the names cited below.

²⁾ See W. Röllig, *RLA* 3, p. 671, s.v.

*paθfa- (<*paθma-)³) as *Mizda- is from *Mazda-⁴).

3. zimbāni

This term occurs only in BE 9, 30: 4 where it is spelt *zi-im-ba-ni*. The suggestion of CAD (Z, 119a, s.v. *zimanu*, allowing for the reading *zi-im-ba-ni*) that it refers to "accumulated silt in a canal, which was used as arable land" is confirmed by the Iranian etymology. It may be an Akkadian plural of Iranian *zamba-⁵) with reduction *a > i* before cluster⁶). This Iranian word is probably the ancestor of *zamb/p* "silt, loam" (from a river bed) in the Bashkardi dialects of south eastern Iran according to Dr. Gershevitch (private communication) who relates it to Parth. and Sogd. *zamb-*, *Šuyni zimb-* "bank of a river"⁷) inscriptional MPers. *dnby* (= Parth. *znb*)⁸) and Man. MPers. *dmb*⁹).

Cambridge, July 1975

R. ZADOK

L'inscription phénicienne sur une petite base en bronze d'Idalion

I. INTRODUCTION

Les savants français A. Caquot et O. Masson ont publié en 1968 dans *Syria*¹), un petit objet en bronze couvert d'une inscription phénicienne. Il s'agit d'une "sorte de base miniature en bronze", trouvée en 1868-1869 par R. Hamilton Lange sur l'emplacement d'un temple dans les environs de Dali (Idalion) à Chypre. L'objet se trouve actuellement au British Museum.

L'inscription consiste en deux lignes qui couvrent les quatre faces de ce petit monument. Les lettres qui ne dépassent pas la hauteur de 5 mm. sont tracées d'une façon assez négligée et l'influence de l'écriture cursive sur le tracé de quelques unes de ces lettres est manifeste. Les éditeurs signalent encore que la lecture de la première ligne est due à J. Février²).

L'importance de ce texte pour l'histoire de la religion phénicienne n'a pas échappé aux éditeurs. Mais il nous semble qu'ils n'en ont pas saisi toute la portée et cela à cause de certaines inexactitudes de lecture. Comme ils l'ont signalé, c'est pour la première fois qu'on rencontre ici l'épithète du dieu Rešeph, *mkl*, munie de l'article. Mais deux autres faits importants, contenus dans cette inscription, leur ont échappé. C'est d'abord la mention

³) See Henning *apud* Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, revised ed., second impression, London 1965, p. 61 and in "Mitteliranisch", *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, IV/1 (Leiden 1958), p. 113 with n. 7.

⁴) Cf. LB *Ū-ri-mi-iz-da-* (etc.) for Iran. *Ahuramazdā-* and *Mi-iz-da-bi-gi-in* for Iran. **Mazda-bigna-*, which are dealt with by Grantovski, *Rannyya Istoriya Iranskikh Plemyon Peredney Azii* (Moscow 1970), p. 76f. with nn. 9-11; cf. also n. 6 below.

⁵) For other examples of the Akkadian plural suffix *-āni* attached to Iranian words see Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, p. 9 with n. 1.

⁶) For such a reduction cf. n. 4 above.

⁷) See Henning, *Mir. Man.* 3, p. 858, n. 2.

⁸) Listed in P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (London 1972), pp. 22 and 68 respectively.

⁹) See Henning, *BSOS* 9, 1937, p. 82.

¹) A. Caquot-O. Masson, "Deux inscriptions phéniciennes de Chypre", dans *Syria*, XLI (1968), pp. 302-313, pl. XXIII-XXIV.

²) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 304.

du titre "serviteur des autels à parfums", et ensuite le sens de la formule d'invocation qui prouve que le dieu *ršp hmkl* avait été consulté par voie d'oracle. Ces faits nous semblent justifier un nouvel examen de cette inscription.

Caquot-Masson, qui se basent sur la présence du nom d'Osiris dans le nom propre de notre texte, placent l'inscription au troisième siècle avant notre ère³). Il nous semble, toutefois, un peu hasardeux de faire appel aux noms théophores pour établir la date d'un texte. En tout cas, les noms théophores avec l'élément Osiris sont déjà en usage à Chypre vers la fin du quatrième siècle⁴) et le culte de ce dieu égyptien était déjà très florissant à Larnax peu après le milieu de ce même siècle⁵). La paléographie ne s'opposera pas à une date un peu plus ancienne: fin quatrième - début troisième s. avant notre ère.

II. TEXTE ET TRADUCTION

Face A. 1: *hsml z š y* (C'est) cette statue qu'a don-

B. 1: *tn 'bd hnm* née le serviteur des autels à parfums

C. 1: *[']sršh* 'Osiršah-

D. 1: *r* ar,

A. 2: *[l]'ly lršp* à son dieu Rešeph

B. 2: *hmkl 'š b'* le Mōkil qui est à I-

C. 2: *dyl y'n* dalion. Qu'il (lui) réponde

D. 2: *rk* favorablement!

III. COMMENTAIRE

B. 1. *'bd hnm*. Cette lecture nous semble sûre et diffère donc considérablement de celle de Février qui a lu le n.pr. *'bdssm*, "Abdsasm"⁶). La lecture de cet auteur est certainement fautive puisqu'après le mot *'bd* il y a encore quatre signes. Le premier est un *h*, forme cursive du *h* dans CIS. 10 et très proche des *h* des ostracons d'Eléphantine du 5ème s. avant notre ère⁷). Février n'a pas tenu compte de cette lettre. Le signe suivant lu *s*, est en réalité un *m*. La forme est assez étirée, il est vrai, mais son identification ne nous semble pas douteuse. Suit alors un *n* également à forme étirée et partiellement endommagé. Enfin, le dernier signe, un *m*, n'offre pas de difficulté de lecture. Nous avons donc le mot *hnm*, pl. de *hmn*, en hébr. *hammān*, "autel à parfums"⁸). L'archéologie nous a fait connaître l'existence de ces autels dans tout l'Orient⁹), mais c'est pour la première fois qu'on en trouve la mention dans un texte phénicien. Le *'bd hnm* est sans doute un membre du personnel du temple qui s'occupe spécialement des autels

³) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 306.

⁴) Voir J. B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968, p. 11 à propos de CIS. 46 qu'il date de la fin du 4ème s. avant notre ère.

⁵) Cf. Larnax III daté de 350-325 par Peckham, op. cit. p. 22, note 55.

⁶) Cf. Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 304.

⁷) Cf. Peckham, op. cit. p. 111, 7.

⁸) Voir spécialement H. Ingholt, "Le sens du mot *hammān*" dans *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 795-802.

⁹) Cf. K. Galland dans *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Nashville-New-York, 1962, vol. II, p. 699.

à parfums. Signalons ici que contre toute habitude, ce titre se trouve devant le nom propre.

C. 1-D. 1. *[']sršh*, n.pr. "Osiršahar" (Osiris a apparu). Il nous est difficile d'accepter la lecture de Février: *[bn 'sr'dr*, "fils de 'Osir'addir". La restitution de *bn* ne se justifie pas puisque ce mot n'est pas précédé d'un nom propre. Les signes *l* et *d* sont en réalité *š* et *h*. La valeur *h* du dernier signe de cette ligne avait déjà été soupçonnée par Caquot-Masson¹⁰). La forme du *š* se présente dans le texte de Batno'am de Byblos¹¹) et se rapproche de celle du *š* dans CIS. 46, texte provenant de Chypre. Le nom 'Osiršahar est nouveau. Pour l'élément *šhr* voir l'arb. *zahara*, "apparaître".

A. 2-B. 2. *ršp hmkl*. L'article devant le mot *mkl* prouve péremptoirement qu'à l'époque de notre inscription, ce nom était considéré comme une épithète du dieu Rešeph et non comme un nom divin. La constatation est importante car elle a pour conséquence que le mot *mkl* sans article qui dans tous les autres textes de cette période figure derrière le nom de *ršp*, doit également être pris comme épithète. Il s'ensuit aussi qu'il faut maintenant définitivement renoncer à l'identité de *ršp mkl* et de *m'k'r*, le dieu de Beth-Shan en Palestine, identité proposée par Vincent¹²) et admise par la plupart des auteurs dont en dernier lieu Caquot-Masson¹³) et Masson-Sznycer¹⁴). Il est difficile de concevoir qu'un nom propre divin ait pu devenir une épithète divine.

L'étude que Caquot-Masson ont consacrée à cette épithète a abouti à cette conclusion: "le sens nous en échappe"¹⁵). Le mot se prête à plusieurs étymologies, mais ce sont surtout les données épigraphiques qui déroutent. Il y a les faits suivants: à Chypre, le nom de Rešeph est toujours suivi d'une épithète et celle-ci est différente selon les lieux. Ainsi à Idalion on vènera *ršp mkl* (CIS. 89, 3; 90, 2; 91, 2; 93, 5; 94, 5); à Kition c'est *ršp hš* (CIS. 10, 4); à Tamassos on adore *ršp 'lyyt* ou *'lhyts* (RES. 1212, 3-4; 1213, 4-5) et à Paleo Castro on invoque *ršp š...* (RES. 1214, 3).

Les textes bilingues phénico-chypriotes assimilent Rešeph au dieu grec Apollon. Et dans ces textes, Apollon porte également des épithètes différentes. Ainsi dans CIS. 89 on lit: *to-a-po-lo-ni-to-a-mu-ko-lo-i* = τὸ Ἀπολλ(λ)ὸν Ἀμυκλῶν (correspondant au *ršp mkl* du texte phénicien); dans RES. 1212 on a: *to-i-a-po-lo-ni-to-i-e-le-i-ta-i* = τὸ Ἰαπελλ(λ)ὸν τὸ Ἐλεῖται (correspondant à *ršp 'lyyt* du texte phénicien) et enfin RES. 1213 porte: *to-i-a-po-lo-ni-to-i-a-la-si-o-ti* = τὸ Ἰαπελλ(λ)ὸν τὸ Ἰαλασιῶτι (correspondant à *ršp 'lhyts* du texte phénicien)¹⁶).

Dans ces textes chypriotes, Apollon porte des épithètes d'origine. Il s'agit d'Apollon d'Amyclée et d'A-

¹⁰) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 305.

¹¹) Peckham, op. cit. p. 45.

¹²) L. H. Vincent, "Le ba'al cananéen de Beisan et sa parèdre" dans *RB*, 37 (1928), pp. 512-514.

¹³) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 309, mais ces auteurs écartent l'identité de *m'k'r* et de *ršp hmkl*, cf. p. 311.

¹⁴) O. Masson-M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, Genève-Paris, 1972, p. 61.

¹⁵) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 311.

¹⁶) Voir ces textes dans O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris, 1961, les n° 220b, 215 et 216.

pollon d'Hélios, villes de Laconie. Il est probable que ce dernier était également invoqué à Tamassos sous le nom d'Apollon l'Alasiote (le Chypriote). En effet, *'lhyts* et *'lyyt* sont deux transcriptions différentes de la même épithète "héleitas"¹⁷). Puisque l'épithète "alasiote" se transcrit en phénicien par *'lšyy*¹⁸), il n'est pas possible de voir dans *'lhyts* une transposition de cette même épithète comme le pensent Caquot-Masson¹⁹).

Mais comme les noms propres le prouvent, ces textes chypriotes ont été écrits par des Phéniciens, D'où donc la question: Ayant assimilé leur dieu sémitique *ršp* au dieu grec Apollon, ont-ils également attribué les épithètes grecques de ce dieu à leur dieu sémitique?

Une réponse affirmative semble bien invraisemblable. Ces épithètes ne conviennent pas au dieu sémitique Rešeph dont l'origine amorrhéenne est bien établie²⁰).

Néanmoins, les épithètes de *ršp* à Tamassos sont des épithètes grecques. Comment expliquer ce fait? A l'époque de nos textes RES. 1212 et 1213, Tamassos n'appartenait pas au royaume phénicien. C'était une ville grecque. Les Phéniciens ont dû y vivre en petite minorité parmi la majorité grecque. Il est donc probable qu'il n'existait pas de temple phénicien dans cette ville. Mais il y avait un temple d'Apollon, et comme nos textes le suggèrent, d'Apollon Héléitas, nommé aussi Apollon l'Alasiote²¹). On conçoit alors fort bien que ces Phéniciens syncrétistes ont dû aller faire leurs dévotions dans ce temple, et y ont adoré Apollon Héléitas qu'ils avaient assimilé à leur dieu Rešeph. L'épithète "héleitas" donné à *ršp* témoigne du souci de ces Phéniciens de s'adapter à leur milieu.

Mais il est difficile de concevoir que dans les villes phéniciennes telles que Kition et Idalion, centres du royaume phénicien, et dans les temples desquelles le culte sémitique phénicien était de rigueur, on est aller adorer le dieu grec au lieu du dieu sémitique. Alors, il est peu probable aussi que les épithètes que Rešeph porte dans ces centres, soient des épithètes grecques. Et cela nous amène à la double question: quelle est la signification des épithètes *mkl* et *hš* et quelle est leur origine?

Disons d'abord que déjà à première vue, *mkl* ne semble pas correspondre à l'épithète apollonienne "amycléen". On s'attendrait alors plutôt à la forme *'mkly*²²). Il reste, toutefois, le fait que l'auteur phénicien a assimilé dans son texte chypriote le nom de *ršp mkl* de son texte phénicien à celui d'Apollon d'Amyclée. Pourquoi l'a-t-il fait? Puisqu'il est peu probable que tous les habitants d'Idalion aient été bilingues, l'auteur de notre texte, en joignant une version chypriote à son texte phénicien, a dû

¹⁷) *'lhyts* est la transcription du mot grec au nominatif, *'lyyt* de ce même mot au datif. Le *ei* grec est rendu par *hy* ou *yy*, donc par deux signes comme dans les textes chypriotes, cf. notre article "Le dieu Rešeph et ses épithètes", dans *Parole de l'Orient*, II (1972), p. 414.

¹⁸) Voir Arslan Tash, II, A, 3 dans *RDSF*, II (1974), p. 51.

¹⁹) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 313, note 1.

²⁰) Cf. notre article, Le dieu Rešeph, op. cit. p. 389.

²¹) Il est probable que cette épithète a été donnée à Apollon vers 387 avant notre ère, c. à d. au moment qu'Evagoras I de Salamine contrôlait toute l'île de Chypre, cf. G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1940, vol. I, p. 133.

²²) Non *mqly* comme le pensent Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 312.

destiner celle-ci aux lecteurs grecs. Ces Grecs semblent donc fréquenter le temple phénicien de *ršp mkl* et cela suggère que leur situation à Idalion a dû être analogue à celle des Phéniciens à Tamassos. Sachant que les Grecs étaient des adorateurs d'Apollon d'Amyclée qu'ils avaient assimilé à *ršp mkl* probablement à cause d'une certaine homonymie que présentent les épithètes de ces deux dieux²³), le syncrétiste phénicien a dû s'adapter tout simplement à la mentalité de ses lecteurs grecs.

Nous pensons que la solution du problème *mkl-hmkl* se trouve dans CIS. 86A, 13 et B, 5. La lecture de CIS. 86A, 13 présente quelque difficulté, mais à notre avis, il n'y pas de doute que la fin de cette ligne porte: *'štt '[š] pn bt mk [l]*²⁴). Le Corpus a lu: *'štt '[bn b]bt mk [l]*, "[columnas lapideas] in templo Mik[alis]". Masson-Szzyner²⁵) ont adopté cette lecture et la justifient en renvoyant à la nouvelle photographie de ce texte, publiée à la pl. IV de leur volume. Mais d'après cette photographie, les lettres *pn bt mk* nous semblent sûres. Voir ce *n* au v. 4 dans le mot *bnm* et le *p* au v. 7 dans le mot *qp'*. En tout cas, la lecture *'bn* nous semble tous à fait exclue ainsi que celle de *'dn* proposée par Peckham²⁶). Nous avons traduit *'štt 'š pn bt mkl* par "les colonnes brûle-encens qui sont devant le temple, MKL..."²⁷). Dans le v. B 5, on lit clairement: *'štt mkl wš...*, "les colonnes brûle-encens MKL et Š...". Nous avons donc pris *mkl* de A, 13 et *mkl wš* de B, 5 comme des appositions à *'štt* et nous les avons interprétés comme noms propres de ces colonnes²⁸). C'est le mot *bt* "temple" qui impose cette traduction. Ce *bt* est le temple d'Astart à Kition comme aussi le *bt* des versets A, 4 et B, 5. D'ailleurs ce mot au sens de temple indique toujours l'ensemble des constructions du lieu saint. Tout en adoptant la version du Corpus, Peckham²⁹) et Masson-Szzyner³⁰) se sont bien rendu compte que dans leur traduction l'emploi du mot *bt* est plutôt insolite. Pour résoudre cette difficulté,

ils font appel à un *deus ex machina*: *bt* indiquerait ici seulement une partie du temple.

La présence de deux colonnes devant le temple est attestée par l'archéologie³¹). Mais le fait que celles d'Idalion portent des noms propres, nous rappelle spécialement les colonnes Yakin et Bo'az du temple de Jérusalem (I Rois, 7, 21). Ces colonnes posées devant le temple étaient des brûle-encens et leurs noms signifient respectivement: "il établira" et "dans la force de"³²). On sait maintenant que ces noms sont en réalité des mots initiaux d'oracles se rapportant à la dynastie, oracles dont le contenu a dû être: "Yahweh établira (*yakin*) ton trône à jamais" et "dans la force (*bo'az*) de Yahweh, le roi se réjouira" ou quelque chose d'analogue³³). Puisque ces colonnes hébraïques sont faites sur les modèles phéniciens, il est probable que leur signification symbolique provient également de cette même source phénicienne³⁴).

En ce qui concerne l'étymologie de *mkl*, beaucoup d'opinions ont été émises. Caquot-Masson les ont énumérées³⁵). Nous avons d'abord pensé que *mkl* pouvait être une forme dialectale de *mkn* (rac. *kwn*)³⁶). Nous sommes maintenant plutôt d'avis qu'il dérive de la racine *ykl*, "soutenir", étymologie déjà proposée par Vincent³⁷) et qu'il s'agit du participe yiphil au sens de "celui qui soutient", "celui qui fait tenir", signification analogue à celle de *yakin* de la colonne hébraïque. Or on conçoit bien que ce nom aussi était primitivement un mot appartenant à une formule d'oracle dynastique dont le sens a pu être: "Rešeph est celui qui soutient le trône" ou quelque chose dans ce genre. Les textes (cf. CIS. 90; 91; 92) suggèrent que Rešeph a dû être le patron de la dynastie royale, et, comme on le verra, les versets C. 2-D. 2 de notre texte prouvent qu'il était un dieu qu'on consultait par voie d'oracle. Mais l'étroite union de son nom avec le nom de la colonne brûle-encens suggère aussi qu'il a dû y exister une relation entre ce dieu et cette colonne. CIS. 86, B, 5 nous apprend que certaines personnes appartenant au personnel du temple, étaient attachées comme des servants à ces colonnes, y pratiquaient donc un culte. Les peintures dans les tombes des colons sidoniens de Marisa en Palestine, le confirment³⁸). Mais à Chypre du moins, à qui pouvait être adressé ce culte devant les brûle-encens, si ce n'est à Rešeph dont le nom signifie "flamme"?

Nous pensons donc que *mkl-hmkl* signifie "celui qui soutient" et que ce mot était primitivement le nom de la colonne brûle-encens et qui lui avait été donné à cause de son rôle dans la pratique de consulter l'oracle. Il est devenu épithète du dieu Rešeph parce que celui-ci était

³¹) Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 144.

³²) Albright, op. cit. p. 147.

³³) R. B. Y. Scott, "The Pillars Jachin and Boaz", dans *JBL*, LVIII (1939), p. 143-149; id. dans *The Interpreter's*, op. cit. p. 780-781; Albright, op. cit. p. 139.

³⁴) Albright, op. cit. p. 147.

³⁵) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 310 ss.

³⁶) Cf. notre article "Le dieu Rešeph", op. cit. p. 408.

³⁷) Vincent, op. cit. p. 526-527.

³⁸) W. F. Albright, "Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz", dans *BASOR*, 85 (1942), pp. 18-27; id. *Archaeology*, op. cit. p. 146.

le dieu de l'oracle et censé incarner le pilier dont la flamme était son symbole³⁹).

C. 2-D. 2. *y'n rk*, "qu'il réponde favorablement"; *y'n*, 3p. s.m. impf. qal du verbe *'ny*, en hébr. *'nh*, "répondre"; *rk*, en hébr. *rk*, "tendre, doux" qu'on peut traduire adverbiallement "tendrement" d'où "favorablement"⁴⁰).

Cette formule d'invocation est nouvelle et plutôt inattendue. Généralement les textes d'invocation se terminent par *ybrk*, "qu'il bénisse". C'est probablement par distraction que Caquot-Masson⁴¹) ont proposé cette dernière lecture car les lettres *y'n* sont clairement tracées et facilement identifiables sur la photographie.

Cette formule semble bien suggérer que 'Osiršahar a dû offrir sa statuette à l'occasion de la consultation de l'oracle de Rešeph. Il attend, en effet, une réponse favorable de la part du dieu. Nous avons déjà dit que l'étroite relation entre Rešeph et le nom Mōkil suggère que Rešeph était un dieu d'oracle. Son nom de *ršp hš* à Kition (CIS. 10) semble bien l'affirmer explicitement. Le mot *hš* pourrait bien correspondre à l'arb. *hazz*, "lot, chance, destin". Albright⁴²) l'avait déjà suggéré à propos de l'expression ug. *b'l hz* de PRU, II, pp. 3-5, n° 1, ligne 3. Notre invocation rend cette interprétation de *hš* fort probable.

St. Gillis Waas,
décembre 1975

A. VAN DEN BRANDEN

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

ALGEMENE WERKEN

Lionel CASSON, *Travel in the Ancient World*. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1974 (8vo, 384 pp., 20 pls.). Price: £ 5.75.

This is a most delightful book, written by a scholar who couples a fine sense of interesting, pragmatic problems with an impressing command of scattered evidence. C's questions were: who travelled in Antiquity and for what reasons? To which places did they go? What was the 'infra-structure' of travelling (roads, means of transport (ships, carriages), facilities (inns, restaurants, guide-books)? The arrangement of the book is chronological but within two of the three parts thematic. Part I (21-114) is devoted to the ancient Near East and the Greek world and deals with the above-mentioned questions in 5 more or less chronologically arranged chapters. As a result the main topics recur 5 or rather 3 times (2 chapters being devoted to the oldest

³⁹) Dans RES. 1516, texte datant probablement du troisième s. avant notre ère, on rencontre le nom fragmentaire *mkl'*... dont Z. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New-Haven, Connecticut, 1936, p. 117, a proposé la restitution *mkl'zr*. Cette restitution est possible. Dans ce nom théophore, Rešeph serait alors indiqué par son épithète.

⁴⁰) Cf. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen Kreis Moers, 1956, § 104.

⁴¹) Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 304.

⁴²) Cf. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, Londres, 1968, p. 121.

voyages of discovery (Hanno and two predecessors) and to "the first Travel writer", Herodotus). Part 2 (115-225) and 3 (229-329) deal with the Roman period (except p. 115-127, mainly devoted to Pytheas and Eudoxus of Cyzicus and Roman contacts with the Far East), but are arranged according to themes.

After a chapter on the several categories of travellers (128-137) and a further chapter on 'internal' Roman tourism ("On Holiday", i.e. on those well-to-do republican Romans who used to spend "weekends" and holidays in their "second" or rather "third" or "fourth" houses (villae) along the Campanian Coast or in the cool Apennines (138-148); for a contrast cf. the aristocratic tourism of the 18/19th century A.D.: "tourisme de rentiers privés du pouvoir par la révolution industrielle et bourgeoise, et qui tentent à la fois de fuir leur ennui et de reconstituer en permanence un mode de vie qui est celui de leur monde" (Annales E.S.C. 29 (1974), 969) Part 2 focusses on the infrastructure of travelling: roads, sea-transport, inns and restaurants (149-218). A short chapter on "mail" (219-225) concludes this part. Part 3 restricts itself to one great theme: "external" tourism (sights, sightseeing, Pausanias (the Baedeker of the Ancient World) and a special chapter on Christian tourism). The relative abundance of evidence for this aspect of ancient travelling explains why ca. 100 pp. have been devoted to one subject. This reviewer would have preferred a thematic arrangement throughout the whole book. It would have reflected the constants and variables in the various periods of the ancient world much better than the present arrangement. If the reader wants information about the rise and development of tourism in antiquity as a whole, he has to pick scattered flowers in p. 21-229, only to hit upon a garden full of flowers in the last 100 pages of the book. For other themes (roads, inns, ships, categories of travellers) the procedure is even more complicated. Admittedly the index will help the reader to piece together the scattered evidence on these matters but even so he is ultimately compelled to produce his own views on the development (or the "non-development") of a series of important phenomena in the ancient world. I must add at once that, if the reader takes the trouble, he is amply rewarded by C's pages.

In all three parts traders appear in ever-increasing numbers. This entails delightful descriptions of ancient sea-transport both of the traders' cargoes and of travellers who had to rely on the services of merchantmen, since passenger-boats were non-existent in antiquity. The absence of large crowds of travellers probably explains the latter. The description of the super-grainship 'Isis', "able to hold over a thousand tons of grain, or three times as much cargo as any merchantman that plied between Europe and America before 1820" (159) is followed by a discussion of the modest vessels "that tramped along the coast", exemplified by the ship used and described by Bishop Synesius ca. 400 A.D. It may be true to write that the "... seaways were now thronged with traders in larger numbers than the Greek world had ever known" (127) but even so the absolute number of traders should not be overestimated. As C. himself writes in his short chapter on "mail", it took seven weeks for a letter Cicero wrote from Rome to arrive in Athens; an-

²³) Cf. Caquot-Masson, op. cit. p. 312.

²⁴) Voir aussi M. Dahood, dans *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilisations*, éd. Ward, Beyrouth, 1968, p. 139.

²⁵) Masson-Szzyner, op. cit. p. 26 et p. 51.

²⁶) J. B. Peckham, "Notes on a Fifth-Century Phoenician Inscription from Kition", dans *Orientalia*, 37 (1968), p. 316.

²⁷) Cf. notre article, "Le dieu Rešeph", op. cit. p. 405. Généralement on admet l'équivalence de *'štt* et de l'hébr. *šatôt* + aliph prothétique, cf. en dernier lieu Masson-Szzyner, op. cit. p. 52. Mais le texte punique KAI. 145, 2 et 8 (cf. notre article dans *RDSF*, I (1973), p. 166) met une nette distinction entre les *štt* et les *'štt*. Par *štt* on désigne les colonnes ordinaires et par *'štt* les colonnes "du temple principal", objets d'un aménagement spécial. Il s'agit sans doute des deux piliers devant le temple. Puisque le aliph du mot *'štt* pourrait appartenir à la racine du mot, un rapprochement avec *'š*, "feu", comme nous l'avions proposé (cf. *Bibbia e Oriente*, 4 (1962), p. 48 et 8 (1966), p. 256) reste possible. Masson-Szzyner font encore le rapprochement entre notre mot et l'hébr. *'šyw*, "colonnes, piliers", emprunt accadien (*asitu*). Ce rapprochement nous semble exact. Mais remarquons qu'en phénicien, ce mot a gardé son pluriel irrégulier accadien: *asitāti*, cf. G. Ryckmans, *Grammaire accadienne*, Louvain, 1938, p. 44, n° 176.

²⁸) Le *š* de B, 5 est sans doute l'initiale du nom de la seconde colonne. Toute restitution restera hypothétique, mais il est probable que *š...* est également devenu épithète de Rešeph comme le suggère le texte de Paleo Castro qui porte *ršp š...*, cf. RES. 1214, 3.

²⁹) Peckham dans *Orientalia* op. cit. p. 320-321.

³⁰) Masson-Szzyner, op. cit. p. 61.

other took only three weeks (221/2), but that was unusually fast (cf. also *Journal of Theol. Studies* 1974, 106 with note 5). Normally it was very hard to find a ship in Rome's harbour that would bring the carrier to Athens right away. In smaller harbours the chance must have been minimal.

After a perusal of this book the innocent reader may easily get away with the impression that trade, import and export, were the main economic activities in the ancient world. On p. 128 C. enthusiastically mentions "the thousands who were making their fortune in the booming business of import and export": who knows? and in any case the "thousands" never became a pressure-group in society and politics of any weight. If I were to locate the "thousands" who were making a fortune in business, I would primarily think of the thousands of landowners all over the empire who had the products of their estates sold on the neighbouring city- or townmarket. The paragraph on the Far Orient-trade (124 ff.) through its enthusiasm suggests that this trade was an economically important phenomenon ("fleets of ocean-going freighters"; "agents of Graeco-Roman trading companies made their homes in India"), whereas we know that the total annual value of that trade was much less than the income of one wealthy Roman senator (cf. Akten VI Intern. Kongr. Gr.- und Lat. Epigraphik (1973), 250).

C. provides excellent information about roads and carriages in antiquity. Over against the primitive dirt roads of the ancient Orient and Greece — except the sacred roads in the vicinity of temples — the paved roads of the Romans stand out clearly (on the organization of road-building a reference to Th. Pekary, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (1968) would have been useful). Primitive tools produced technically good roads (166). The milestones are duly mentioned but not the anecdote of Commodus' odometer which could have saved much man-power, if it had not been assigned to the category of "items that were designed for the indulgence of his vices" (Talanta V (1974), 40/41). C. is very good on carriages. The Greeks used relatively primitive, certainly not by any standards luxurious specimens. The Persians favoured a de luxe four-wheeled closed carriage (54), used, inter alia, "for ... shuttling their harems about". Not unexpectedly the Romans, who knew a large variety of carriages, "aped" the Persians in so far as "people of wealth, particularly ladies of the court, frequently used ... a heavy two-wheeled de luxe carriage with a substantial roof supported by ornamental columns" (179). Springs seem to have been unknown in antiquity; they do not seem to have been used until the early Middle Ages (cf. L. White, *The Origins of the Coach*, Proc. Amer. Philological Society 114 (1970), 423 ff., referred to by C. on p. 350). Litters were looked down upon in Greece (67), not in Rome (180). In general the primitivity or rather the simplicity of Greece — I think of the furniture and housing of the elite (cf. e.g. the list of Alcibiades' confiscated, rather humble possessions), the size of their estates, the road-building, the construction of carriages or plain tourism — is striking in comparison with Rome.

As to tourism/sightseeing the Orient hardly knew it at all (but in Egypt we hear about a sightseeing trip of a group of scribes, p. 32/3); in the Greek world the phe-

nomenon was marginal (85), whereas in the Roman empire it was a booming business, as a result of the far greater wealth of the social elite, who produced most of the tourists, of the superior "infra-structure" (roads, inns) and the presence of high government officials (= potential tourists) in areas well-known for their touristic attractions. C's chapter on Sightseeing (262-292) is much to be recommended, with all its relevant and amusing information about the statue of Memnon and the Valley of the Kings in Egypt, with their (mostly upper-class) "mass"-tourism, their graffiti, guides and souvenirs. Guides were not particularly noted for their reliability: in the 2nd century A.D. they told people "that each pyramid extended downward into the earth the same distance it did upward" (266); their later Christian colleagues "had the effrontery to pass the pyramids off as Joseph's silos" (310).

Throughout antiquity many travellers were attracted by the great sport-events, such as the Olympic Games and the other games of the periodos (76 ff., 136 ff.¹). Spectators were men only, a point not explicitly made by C. but hopefully presupposed. Some (e.g. L. Drees, *Olympia* ... (1967), 65) have argued that according to a passage in Dio of Prusa (Or. 77.4) females did get access to the stadium in Olympia in Roman times. What Dio in fact says is that the presence of large numbers of spectators attracted a great many pimps with their girls!! Perhaps the intimate connection between "panegyris" and "agon" could have been stressed somewhat more by C.: special functionaries are on record, like the *panegyriarch* and the *agoranomos panegyrikos*, who were to supervise the business activities during such contests (cf. ZPE 10 (1973), 202, note 18 and L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (1966), 24/5, 46). In the late Republic it must have been normal for quite a few Roman aristocrats to go off to Olympia to see the Games: "he's off to Olympia" was a colloquial phrase (H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (1972), 53/4; Cicero, *Ad Att.* XII, 7, not mentioned by C.). Naturally Olympia, even without games, was part of the "grand tour" Roman tourists used to make (230/1, 255: Phidias' statue was the great attraction).

Incidentally: C. is somewhat chary of agonistica. The professional association of "wandering" (*peripolisitikos*) athletes deserves a few words in a book on travel in antiquity. In his fine chapter on "internal" Roman tourism ("On Holiday") C. rightly underlines the "snob-value" (not C's words!) of a trip of Roman intellectuals to Naples, which was not all that far from their luxurious "second" houses (*villae*) along the Campanian coast. C. mentions the Greek contests for poets and musicians, visited by "thronges of the culturally minded" (144), but he omits the famous athletic contest of the Sebastia, founded in 2 A.D. and visited by equally large throngs (cf. Dio's elogium on Melancomas and L. Robert, *L'Ant. Class.* 37 (1968), 409/11).

¹ A very nice example is on record in a Greek inscription from Beroia (Arch. Deltion 2 (1916), 156, nr 15 = L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI/XII, 14, note 4), in which a baker, named Caecilius, tells us that "he had watched the stadium in Pisa 12 times" before he died: obviously a sports-fan from the lower middle-class, who twelve times in his life took the trouble to travel all the way from Macedonia to Olympia in the hottest period of the year.

C. offers much on Inns and Restaurants (86-92: Greek world; 196-218: Roman). In both periods upperclass people strongly relied on private relations (friends with their guestrooms (*xenōnes*) in their spacious homes) or on compulsory hosts (200; cf. also *Latomus* 32 (1973), 365). For the less well-to-do there were the *pandokeia* in the Greek world, rather "un-prepossessing" (87), exactly like their Roman successors (*hospitia*, *deversoria*, *cauponae*; delightfully described by C. with their entire "infra-structure" of personnel and attractive girls). In Roman times the numerous *mansiones* and *mutationes* of the *cursus publicus* facilitated travelling, not only for the government officials but also for tourists who could make a stop at these places. In Olympia (and other sanctuaries) hostels were built from the 4th century B.C. onwards (90, 203), for well-to-do guests and for athletes. C. missed a nice text from Roman Corinth which tells us that a local benefactor had bought a place, covered with the ruins of a stoa, from the city on the condition that he would have 50 *oikoi* built, which were to be used as guestrooms by the visiting athletes during the Isthmian Games (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* I, 43 ff.; cf. C., 91, who discusses a 4th century B.C. complex in Corinth, consisting of a long portico with a two storey structure behind it: a ground floor with taverns and the second floor with "a line of two-room suites entered from a corridor approached by a staircase at either end of the portico" (91)). The Christians contributed something new: a steadily increasing chain of guest-houses for the Christian brethren and sisters, mostly run by churches and monasteries without a formal charge: the *xenodochia* (320-324). The point is not so much that by using this word the Christians wanted to convey the connotation of "private host" (so C. 366: "The word *xenodochion* ... derives from the Greek term for a private host, not an innkeeper, who in Greek was called a *pandokeus* 'one who receives all guests'") but rather that what in pagan times and cercles were places for strangers (*xenōn*; *xenodochion*, attested in Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* I, 4; cf. H. Bolkestein, *ΞΕΝΩΝ. Gastverblijf, Pelgrimsherbberg, Armhuis*, Meded. Kon. Acad. Wetensch., Afd. Letterk. 84 (1937), nr 3, 16) developed into places for poor coreligionaries.

Oracles and temples of healing gods always were important, travel-promoting institutions. On p. 82/4 and 130 ff. C. discusses the main data: Delphi, Claros, Asclepius (in Epidaurus and Pergamum; for smaller Asclepius temples, like the one in Cilician Aigeai cf. L. Robert, *Journal des Savants*, 1973) and the mineral springs (cf. our "European Spas" (134)). I missed a reference to the admittedly scarce data, so far provided by L. Robert on the "clientela" of Claros. Smaller oracles, like the one of Apollo Koropaios in Thessaly, which attracted "pleiones xenoï" and consequently had to take measures concerning the "eukosmia" in the sanctuary (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* V, 16 ff.), have perhaps been neglected a bit by C. Similarly, smaller rural temples and chapels — objects of (local) pilgrimage and more secularized tourism — did not always get the attention they deserve. I think for instance of the temple and chapels for Clitumnus and minor patrons of sources, as described by Pliny, *Ep.* VIII, 8, 7. Pl. explicitly mentions the numerous graffiti, engraved by visitors on the columns of the

temple (cf. P. Veyne, *Latomus* 26 (1967), 738/9, with note 2).

C. is excellent on the motivation of sightseeing tourists. The natural beauty of a site rarely attracted tourists. Religious and historical aspects predominated: a cave; a spring; a battlefield; works of art, too and therefore C. appropriately added a chapter on "Museums" (238-252). Temples developed into real art galleries but they also remained houses of worship: "they were museums but only incidentally" (251). Long ago Bolkestein wrote: "In de Ve eeuw in Griekenland is waarschijnlijk nooit eenig werk geschapen met de enkele bedoeling om iets schoons voort te brengen; alle kunst was gebruiks-kunst, bijna elk kunstwerk had een 'sociale' functie, alleen reeds door de omstandigheid dat het in opdracht was vervaardigd; van de stichter, niet van de kunstenaar ging het initiatief uit" (*Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 43 (1928), 133). Casson writes about the aesthetic quality of Greek anathemata (241) but it seems significant that the evidence he produces for his view that people visited sites in order to see the works of art which embodied that "aesthetic quality", is Hellenistic-Roman; and even then quite a few other factors are at work: the glory of the past, the prestige of the dedicators, the marvellous world of mythology and curios. Herondas' giggling ladies do admire the beauty of statues in the Coan Asclepieion but an immediate question is: "who paid to set it up?" (268). The first private collections of art seem to date from the world of Hellenistic kings (246) and Roman aristocrats (247/8). Seneca quotes a dictum of the 3rd century B.C. Stoic philosopher Ariston about people who talk about art like modern "habitués" of art exhibitions. Seneca himself testifies to the existence of (but also disapproves of!) people who "circa tabulas et statuas insaniunt" (cf. Bolkestein, *art. cit.*, 135, with note 8). A long road was ahead before the public museum had evolved out of the modest beginning of the Hellenistic-Roman private collections (248, 251/2; cf. P. Salmon, *De la Collection au Musée*, Brussels 1958).

A few minor points: (a) for the 2nd century B.C. "travel writer" (if that is what he is!) Heracleides see F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, Österr. Akad. Wiss., Ph. Hist. Kl. 227 (1951), Abh. 2. (b) The Greek *hēmerodromoi* are somewhat neglected by C. (218; 355); see H. Bengtson, *Symb. Osl.* 32 (1956), 35 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* (1974), 208 ff.). On pp. 219 and 303 C. mentions private "letter-carriers" (*tabellarii*) of Roman aristocrats and of late Christian clergymen. Imperial *tabellarii* are on record in inscriptions from Asia Minor: L. Robert, *Rev. de Phil.* 1934, 275 f. = *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. II (1969), 1174 f. In CIL III, 2007 (cf. ZPE 14 (1974), 187 with thanks to H. S. Versnel for the reference) we read about a 25 year old courier who prides himself on having covered a distance of ± 140 km on one day. That seems an awful lot, if one compares it with what C. has on speed of ancient travelling (e.g. 188/89; 355); but in the 4th century B.C. the Greek *hēmerodromos* Philonides perhaps covered a distance of ca. 150 km on one, admittedly very long day (Bengtson, *art. cit.*, 211).

All in all a very useful and learned book, which truly fills a gap. C. deserves extra credit for having written a book both for the scholar and the general reader. His

selection of materials and his style are lively enough for the latter and solid enough (24 pages with notes!) for the former. Particularly welcome is his attempt to actualize ancient situations and mentalities: the Roman taberna is rightly called the equivalent of our snack- and expresso-bar (211/12)! Four maps, 20 well chosen and functional illustrations and a detailed general index enhance the value of this book.

Oegstgeest, October 1974

H. W. PLEKET

* *

Rainer DEGEN-Walter W. MÜLLER-Wolfgang RÖLLIG, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, Band 2. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (4to, VI, 178 pages et 14 pl.). Prix: DM 64.—

Dans ce second volume de NESE, les auteurs publient une série d'études relatives à l'épigraphie phénicienne, araméenne, hébraïque et sud-arabe. Le prof. Röllig s'est chargé de la partie phénicienne de ce volume. Cet auteur s'est occupé d'abord d'"Eine neue phönizische Inschrift aus Byblos" (pp. 1-15). Il s'agit de cette inscription funéraire que J. Starcky, en 1969, a publiée dans *MUSJ*, XLV (1969), pp. 259-273. Dans un second article intitulé "Die Amulette von Arslan Taş" (pp. 19-36), le savant allemand a repris l'étude de la fameuse tablette magique dont il s'était déjà occupé dans KAI. 27, et donne ensuite sa version de la seconde tablette celle publiée dernièrement par A. Caquot-R. Du Mesnil du Buisson dans *Syria* 48 (1971), pp. 391-406. Dans un dernier article, "Alte und neue Elfenbeinschriften" (pp. 36-64), il examine 141 ivoires inscrits.

Les pages 65-109 sont consacrées à l'araméen. Les articles sont de la main de R. Degen. Il publie d'abord "Ein Fragment des bisher ältesten aramäischen Papyrus" (pp. 60-70). Ce fragment, conservé à la Bibliothèque de Göttingen, s'avère être le plus ancien spécimen de papyrus araméen qu'on possède jusqu'à présent. Trois nouveaux fragments du Musée égyptien de Berlin de l'ouest sont examinés dans "Neue Fragmente aramäischer Papyri aus Elephantine I" (pp. 70-78). Dix-neuf inscriptions provenant de Teima et ses environs sont énumérées et réexaminées dans "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Taimā und Umgebung" (pp. 78-79). Après avoir donné quelques notes "Zur syrischen Inschrift von Birecik" (pp. 105-109), Degen termine ses communications par la publication d'une nouvelle inscription hébraïque, "Die hebräische Inschrift DJE 23 aus dem Jemen" (pp. 111-116). Cette inscription, découverte par W. W. Müller dans la mosquée du village Bait al-Hâdir aux environs de San'ā' semble dater d'entre le 5-7 s. Elle n'énumère pas seulement les 24 classes de prêtres dont il est question dans I Chr. 24, 7-18, mais en indique également le lieu d'origine.

Non moins intéressantes sont les communications de W. W. Müller qui occupent les pages 119-165. En collaboration avec R. Degen, il étudie d'abord "Eine hebräisch-sabäische Bilinguis aus Bait al-Ašwal" (pp. 117-123). Puis il publie à partir d'un nouveau texte sabéen une étude fort intéressante sur la polyandrie en Arabie préislamique sous le titre "Sabäische Texte zur Polyandrie" (pp. 125-138). Une autre nouvelle inscription sa-

béenne, celle-ci monothéiste, est analysée dans "Eine sabäische Inschrift aus dem Jahre 566 der himjarischen Ära" (pp. 139-144). Dans l'article "Die angeblichen 'Töchter Gottes' im Licht einer neuen qatabânischen Inschrift" (pp. 145-148), prouve que l'expression *bnty/l-bnt'l* signifie "don au dieu". Ce nouveau texte qatabanite est tracé sur une statuette de la collection de S. U. Graf. D'autres textes de cette même collection sont publiés dans "Weitere qatabânische und hadramitische Stücke der Sammlung Graf" (pp. 149-153). Dans un dernier article, "Eine sabäische Gesandtschaft in Ktésiphon und Seleukeia" (pp. 155-165), l'auteur étudie le texte sabéen Šarafaddin 31. Il identifie correctement les deux villes *qtwsf wkwk*, mentionnées au v. 11, à Ctésiphon et Séleucie.

Les auteurs de ces différents articles sont des spécialistes dans la matière dont ils traitent. Cela donne déjà une assurance de la solidité de leurs contributions. Il me semble, toutefois, que l'interprétation de certains textes ne peut pas être considérée comme définitive.

L'état fragmentaire de l'inscription de Byblos en rend l'interprétation fort difficile. J'ai déjà donné dans *RDSF*, 1974, p. 142 mon interprétation du verset 2. La restitution [*prs w*] *mdy* (v. 3) s'avère possible s'il faut en croire Halphen-Sagnac, *Peuples et Civilisations, Les premières civilisations*, Paris, 1950, p. 668 qui signalent que plusieurs successeurs de Cyrus ont porté ce titre. La fin de ce même verset pourrait être restituée en *brk[bm]*, "en charrettes". Je rendrais *mkst 'qn' 'gn* du v. 4 plutôt par "d'un toit de roseau j'ai couvert". Le ' devant *qn'* me semble être un aliph prothétique et 'gn est sans doute la 1p.s. impf. du verbe *gnn*, "couvrir". Le début du v. 5 est à lire: *.h wn'm l'gd*, ".et agréable à l'équipage", cf. *'agudāh* en hébr. "bande, troupe" d'où "équipage". Enfin [*.l*] *lkt l'byty* du v. 6 pourrait être rendu par "de marcher selon mon désir", cf. acc. *abitu*, "désir, volonté".

Quant à Arslan Tash I, je suis toujours d'avis qu'il s'agit d'une incantation adressée à une seule déesse, à s. à celle qui est censée empêcher la conception. On la désigne sous les noms *'pt'*, "celle qui vole", *hnqt*, "celle qui suffoque" et aussi sous son vrai nom *lil*, "Lilit". Cette dernière lecture me semble sûre, cf. le *t* de *bbt* au v. 21. Les versets 1-3 contiennent en réalité le titre de l'incantation: "Incantation à celle qui vole. Malédiction de Sasam, fils de PDRŠŠ', ton exorciste". Sasam ne peut être qu'un hypocoristique puisqu'on n'a pas l'habitude de donner la filiation d'un dieu, cf. aussi *mlqrt*, CIS. 4062; RES. 1516; *mlk*, CIS. 4849.

Les formes *tb'n* et *tdrkn* des verset 6 et 8 sont à la 2p.s.f. impf. avec *n* *paragorique*. Comme en hébr. ce *n* *paragorique* se met derrière les désinences *y* ou *w* de l'impf. D'après la photographie que j'ai obtenu du Conservateur du Musée d'Alep, la lecture *kkrt* est sûre. Le sujet de ce verbe est *'lt*, "la déesse" ou "l'lat", cf. CIS. 149, 3; 243, 3 etc. Au v. 10 *'lm 'sr* peut être traduit: "à jamais, va-t-en", cf. *'sr*, "marcher, s'en aller". Les expressions *kl bn 'lm* (v. 11) et *rb dr kl qdšn* (v. 12) sont équivalentes: "tous les fils des dieux — l'ensemble de la famille de tous nos saints". Les versets 12-16 donnent une série d'épithètes de la déesse en vue d'accentuer son pouvoir: *'lt šmm w'rš (w)'lm* (univers?); *'lt b'lt pn 'rš*; *'lt (')št hwrn*. Le verset 21 est à lire: *bbt [wb]hšr hlk*,

"de la maison et de la cour, va-t-en!" cf. verset 5-8.

Le texte tracé sur le corps du dieu est en réalité une prière adressée à la déesse qui est ici invoquée sous le nom *'zt*, "la Puissante". D'après ma photographie qui est beaucoup plus nette que celle publiée par Röllig, pl. II, je lis:

22: *tn.'zt.ly* 23: *pth* 24: *y.wn* 25: *kd.l* 26: *m'y* 27: *pr*, d'où ma traduction: "donne-lui, o Puissante, son ouverture et une progéniture, au ventre (à son ventre?) un fruit". Le mot *pr* est clairement tracé sur la jambe droite du dieu. Le verset 28 de Röllig, tracé au-dessous de la ligne 12 doit être lu: *hlt.wld.s* et au-dessous de la ligne 13 on lit encore: *sm y...* On traduira donc: "Co-habite et enfante! Sasam...". Le *š* de *hlt* est absolument sûr. Sasam est probablement ici encore le nom de l'exorciste.

Sur la seconde tablette figurent deux textes différents comme l'avait déjà vu E. Lipinski, *RDSF*, II (1974), p. 51. Le premier est une incantation adressée au dieu de la fertilité Ba'al qu'on désigne encore sous les noms *mzh*, "arroseur", *rb 'n*, "maître de la pluie" et *'lšy*, "Alasiote". Le mot *'n*, "source", nous semble avoir ici le sens de l'arb. *'ayn*, "pluie qui tombe plusieurs jours à la suite". Je rendrais plutôt *yš' š bšdh wgl 'n bšdh* des versets 3-5, par "il a lancé des éclairs sur les champs et des giboulées sur les champs"; *'š*, "feu" (Lipinski) mais ici au sens collectif "éclairs" le *h* final de *šdh* est un *h* de direction; *gl 'n*, "ondes de pluie" peut être rendu par "giboulées". Le mot *'y* est correctement identifié comme interrogatif par Lipinski. *qrš* du v. 6 ne peut être que la réponse à la question. Je le rapproche de l'arb. *krš*, "se trouver au milieu". Ba'al se trouve au milieu des nuages qui amènent la pluie. Je traduirais donc l'ensemble comme suit: "Incantation à l'Arroseur. Ba'al a attelé ses chars, et le Maître de la pluie est venu. L'Alasiote a lancé des éclairs sur les champs et des giboulées sur les plaines. Où est l'Alasiote? Il est au milieu!".

A la base de l'interprétation de cette incantation se trouve le mythe du dieu de la fertilité. Le second texte doit être interprété à partir de la situation dans laquelle se trouve la victime du mauvais oeil. J'ai pu observer personnellement plusieurs de ces cas en Orient. La victime se trouve dans un état voisin de la démence. On croit que l'esprit du mauvais oeil s'est logé dans la tête de la victime. L'exorciste s'efforcera de la chasser après avoir neutralisé le pouvoir magique de l'homme au mauvais oeil. Il "lie" ce pouvoir par des gestes symboliques. C'est le sens des versets 1-2 (= 1-12 de Röllig): *n'lt mn'lm 'nk*, "j'ai lié de liens ton oeil". Au v. 6 (= 11 de Röllig), il dit exactement la même chose en d'autres mots: *hlmt 'n btm*, "j'ai touché parfaitement l'oeil". Voir aussi CIS. 6068, 2 où l'exorcise se sert du verbe *tkk*, "lier". Le mot *'yn* du v. 3 (= 8 de Röllig) désigne justement cet esprit du mauvais oeil. Le v. 4 (= 9 de Röllig) doit être lu: *brd br's mgmr*, "de la raison, de la tête de l'encensé"; *b = mn*, "de", prép. exigé par le verbe *brh*; *rd*, en accad, *reddu*, "raison, intelligence"; *mgmr* est le participe hoph. du verbe *gmr*, en aram. "encenser". Ce mot désigne la victime du mauvais oeil qui, durant l'exorcisme, est encensé avec de la fumée de morceaux d'étoffe qu'on brûle, cf. J. Sonnen, *Die Beduinen am See Genezareth*, Köln, 1952, p. 130. *Bnt* du v. 5 (= 10 de Röllig)

est un synonyme de *rd*; *hlm* est le verbe de la phrase et signifie "devenir sain (d'esprit)". Voir en aram. son emploi comme opposé à *šty*, "devenir fou", Yastrow ad verb. Le dernier verset est une simple notice, indépendante du texte magique. Elle se rapporte sans doute aux deux textes de cette tablette. On doit donc traduire cet exorcisme comme suit: "J'ai lié de liens ton oeil. Va-t-en, esprit du mauvais oeil, de la raison, de la tête de l'encensé! La raison dans la tête est devenue saine car j'ai touché l'oeil parfaitement, ses yeux. Mes extraits sont conformes au texte du rouleau".

La publication du texte sabéen Müller il (p. 125 ss.) ouvrira sans doute le débat concernant l'existence de la pratique de la polyandrie en Arabie préislamique. D'après l'auteur, cette pratique serait maintenant définitivement établie. L'inscription nous dit que deux hommes, probablement des frères, offrent des statuettes au dieu Almaqah pour avoir obtenu cinq garçons et une fille de leur femme (*'ntthum*) Šāfnasr. Comme l'auteur le remarque, le mot *'ntthmw*, suivi d'un seul nom propre, ne peut être qu'un singulier. D'où donc sa conclusion: "Die einfachste Erklärung erfährt die hier behandelte Inschrift durch die Annahme, dass ein Fall von geregelter Polyandrie vorliegt, also von jener Eheform, in der eine Frau gleichzeitig mit mehr als einem Mann verheiratet ist" (p. 131). Le savant allemand remarque aussi en passant qu'il ne fait pas songer ici à la pratique du Lévirat puisqu'on ne conçoit pas qu'un mort puisse être l'auteur d'une inscription. C'est sûr, mais on conçoit fort bien que le nom d'un mort soit associé à celui d'un vivant qui le remplace et agit en son nom. Voir p. ex. le texte phénicien KAI. 40. D'ailleurs, notre texte suggère bien que lors de sa rédaction, un des auteurs ne semble plus avoir été en vie puisque la promesse d'offrir les statuettes n'a été faite que par un seul d'eux: *dšfthw*; "qu'il lui avait promises", v. 2. Si le verbe *šft* est au singulier, et l'éditeur du texte en admet l'éventualité, la possibilité d'une interprétation dans la perspective du Lévirat ne peut plus être écartée. Les autres textes que l'auteur cite à l'appui de sa thèse (pp. 131-133) peuvent également être expliqués dans ce sens. Dans ces inscriptions aussi, il s'agit toujours de deux (ou trois) frères qui accomplissent leurs promesses pour avoir obtenu de leur femme un enfant mâle.

Müller tire aussi l'attention sur la fameuse titulature de Naša'karib Ya'min Yuharhib, le roi de Saba et dū-Raidān qui se dit fils des rois Ilšarah Yaḥdib et Ya'zil Bayyin (p. 136). Comme l'auteur le signale, E. Glaser avait déjà expliqué cette curieuse filiation par la pratique de la polyandrie, tandis que J. Ryckmans y voyait plutôt un cas d'adoption. D'après cet auteur, Naša'karib aurait été le fils de Ya'zil et fils adoptif d'Ilšarah. Étant donné que dans Šarafaddin 22, texte cité par Müller, Ya'zil figure comme oncle de Naša'karib, cette thèse d'adoption doit être abandonnée. Mais si *w'mhw* du texte de Šarafaddin doit être rendu par "et son oncle", la thèse de la polyandrie doit alors être écartée également. Ya'zil ne peut être dit père et oncle de Naša'karib que dans le cas qu'il est le levir d'Ilšarah. En vertu de la loi du lévirat, Ilšarah est le père légal et son frère Ya'zil l'oncle de Naša'karib. En tant que levir, Ya'zil est le père physique de celui-ci.

Si cette explication s'avère exacte, il faudrait en con-

clure que, du moins dans les maisons royales, la loi du lèvirat pourrait être appliquée durant la vie des deux frères. En effet, nous savons par RES. 3990, 7; 4150, 8; 4216, 4, qu'Ilšarah a eu un fils au nom de Watar. Celui-ci a dû mourir tôt. Désespérant de pouvoir avoir un autre fils, Ilšarah a dû recourir à la coutume du lèvirat et faire appel à son frère Ya'zil qu'il associe en même temps au pouvoir royal. D'autre part, d'après la chronologie des textes, Ilšarah semble bien avoir survécu à son frère Ya'zil puisque, après la corégence, il règne encore quelque temps tout seul. Son "fils" Naša'karib est son successeur immédiat, cf. H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Wien, 1964, p. 57, note 128 et pp. 398-399.

Il me semble donc que le problème de la polyandrie en Arabie préislamique n'est pas encore définitivement résolu.

Les quelques remarques que je viens de faire et qui ne traduisent évidemment qu'une opinion personnelle, ne diminuent en rien la valeur et la haute teneur scientifique de ce second volume de NESE. Elles ont seulement pour but de montrer, et en somme qui ne le sait pas, que beaucoup de problèmes relatifs à l'épigraphie et l'histoire sémitiques, restent ouverts à la discussion.

St. Gillis-Waas, juillet 1975 A. VAN DEN BRANDEN

EGYPTOLOGIE

Emma BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Die Alten Ägypter, Verborgenes Leben unter Pharaonen*. Stuttgart, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1974 (8vo, pp. 272, 80 blacks and white pls., 16 col., 62 texts figs., 4 maps and plans). Price: DM 78.—, ISBN 3-17-001 882-5.

This is an attractively produced book with excellent photographs in both colour and black and white, but with restricted aims and coverage in the text. One must confess to feeling distinct disappointment with it and to question the treatment, as well as asking the question to whom is it aimed? For the general public and layman it is too narrow and specialized at times, for the expert it presents nothing new or very informative. Examples of texts and pictures appear to be mainly gathered from the New Kingdom, yet even here the concealed life of the Egyptians is if anything less apparent than ordinary daily habits and customs long ago retailed for us by Wilkinson and Erman in their admirable surveys.

But there are on the credit side many new illustrations as regards the public which will doubtless be welcome.

The work is divided into sixteen chapters, with chronological table of dynasties that surely might have included some approximate dates for individual Pharaohs in the New Kingdom. While there are copious notes on the chapter subjects, the bibliography is short and very selective. The list of plates and text figures includes provenance and there is an index of ancient people and places.

After a general foreword the first chapter deals with Pharaoh, the "Great House" as the author designates him, illustrated from within. This should be of some use to the layman as it is a subject which although a very wide one has as yet received little real exposition in such

works as this. Beginning with the king as God's Son, the rôle of Pharaoh is then discussed and analyzed in about a dozen pages. The title is aptly compared to the "Sublime Porte" of the Ottomans, and the ruler's function as "living god" expanded on. But while the illustration chosen presumably as typical of this, i.e. that of a First Dynasty "palace façade" tomb wall, as carved on an Old Kingdom coffin, may be valid for this period, it would surely have been apposite to have shown at least one view of an actual royal palace such as at Malkatta, Amarna or that of Merneptah at Memphis. In this as in many other sections the work seems restricted and rather too esoteric in its content for the average reader to whom it seems to be primarily aimed. The writer wanders about from one subject to another with happy abandon without a coherent theme linking up the whole. Thus we are treated to the famous letter of Pepi II to Harkhuf quoted verbatim, to scenes of Asiatics from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb recently re-discovered and excavated by G. T. Martin, as well as other material, and the picture one gains of Pharaoh is consequently rather muddled. We are treated to an ideal life cycle as listed in *Papyrus Insinger*, but bar Pepi how many kings let alone ordinary folk aspired to one hundred years, yet we get nothing on the important course of training advocated for a young prince, especially during the Middle and New Kingdoms. Much more relevant is the section on Ramesses III to whose Medinet Habu scenes the text rapidly jumps, but here again it is only a pause before Ramesses II and his more than 100 children are introduced. Some funerary scenes of Akhenaten and one of the battle of Kadesh do not make up for what must be called a rather poor survey.

Again the second chapter is concerned with animals in the Kingdom of Heaven. The author quotes the Namer mace to show the importance of livestock in Egypt, i.e. 400,000 large and 1.4 million small cattle registered. Old Kingdom scenes are used to stress the Egyptians cow mother symbol, in the manner of birds for Upper and Lower Egypt, the snake as a royal protectress, etc. Much of this is obvious and the author fails notably to introduce an anthropological explanation or even indicate a totemic origin. Muddled in with this are references to the Deir el Bahari Hathor chapel and cow statue, the teaching of Merikarē, and Akhenaten's solar hymn. The ichneumon figure for Atum is used to illustrate zoomorphic religious conceptions but one feels the writer completely fails to get to grips with this vast subject. What she means by the question on p. 41, "war diese Spanne von 5000 Jahren ein zoologisches Kontinuum?", this reviewer fails to grasp. On the subject of animal fables the author is much more at home and one suspects that this is the purpose behind much of this work.

The remaining chapters need not detain us long, they cover such subjects as family growth, the schoolteacher, love poems, daily life and habits, and religious life in this world as well as to that relating to the next. Illustrations are in general good, but not always it must be said relevant. Why for instance in the section on tomb robbers are we given a plan on p. 234 that shows the W. bank in general but not the Valley of Kings (or Queens for that matter)? There is an excellent projection of the tomb of Seti I with even the chambers and rob-

bers' shaft lettered, but the text fails to follow this up. The Deir el Bahari cache discovery is briefly described (much too much so), but little attempt made to integrate the ancient texts on the robberies with modern finds.

In all one feels that although a pleasing looking production on superficial viewing, this book has lost a great opportunity of introducing many important subjects, at least on a semi popular level.

E. P. UPHILL

* *

Mariam LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*, vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1973 (in-8°, XXI + 245 p.). Prix: \$ 7.95.

Parmi les anthologies de la littérature égyptienne qui ont paru en ces dernières années, que ce soit en anglais ou dans l'autres langues, celle que vient de présenter Mme Lichtheim mérite de retenir spécialement l'attention, tant par l'originalité de son plan et la valeur de son contenu, que par sa présentation claire et attrayante.

Le volume que nous avons sous les yeux ne constitue que la première partie d'un ouvrage qui doit en compter plusieurs: il ne concerne encore que la production littéraire de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empire; mais son analyse permettra déjà d'apprécier les qualités dont se recommandent le plan et la méthode adoptés par Mme Lichtheim.

L'ouvrage ne prétend pas faire l'histoire de la littérature égyptienne, mais a surtout comme but de présenter les oeuvres les plus remarquables et les plus représentatives des différentes époques et des différents genres littéraires. Ceci ressort déjà de la partie introductive, où l'auteur se contente de faire connaître en quelques mots les genres et les procédés littéraires que pratiquaient les anciens Egyptiens: ces notions sont condensées dans un style clair et d'une manière accessible même aux lecteurs non spécialisés. Elle insiste également sur les différents modes de discours qui se rencontrent dans les textes et montre que, à côté de la prose et de la poésie proprement dites, les écrivains pouvaient se servir d'une prose poétique, se réservant la faculté de passer, dans une même oeuvre, d'un mode de style à l'autre.

Le lecteur ainsi préparé, est mis alors en présence des documents eux-mêmes, qui sont classés par époques et par genres. C'est ici surtout que Mme Lichtheim a fait preuve d'originalité. Comme elle le dit dans sa préface, les sociétés anciennes, avant d'arriver à la notion d'une littérature désintéressée et non fonctionnelle, ont rédigé des écrits où se manifestait une tendance plus directement associée aux besoins journaliers (purposeful), comme l'étaient, selon le cas, la commémoration, l'enseignement, l'exhortation, la glorification, ou la déploration. Et c'est la raison pour laquelle elle fait une large place à des textes qui, à nos yeux, ne relèvent pas à proprement parler de la littérature, comme par exemple, les inscriptions des stèles, que ce soient des stèles funéraires, qui portent des textes autobiographiques, ou des stèles historiques, qui exaltent l'activité politique et militaire de certains rois. Il faut reconnaître que, pour l'Ancien Empire surtout, un choix de documents vraiment représen-

tatifs n'allait pas sans risques, étant donné que l'échantillonnage de ceux-ci était assez limité et que certains genres qui, aux époques suivantes, laisseront de si nombreux témoins (par exemple le genre narratif et le genre sapiential), sont très inégalement représentés sous les six premières dynasties. Fallait-il donner de longs extraits des Textes des Pyramides? Ceux-ci constituent, il est vrai, le contingent le plus important des documents écrits de cette époque et offrent, en plus de leur valeur religieuse, un certain intérêt littéraire; mais ils restent, pour les lecteurs non spécialisés, d'un abord plutôt rebutant. Mme Lichtheim a résolu le problème en ne donnant que quelques spécimens, choisis parmi les plus évocateurs et les plus accessibles de ce genre de littérature.

Mais pour cette époque elle a fait la place la plus large au genre sapiential, où domine l'enseignement de Ptahhotep, dont elle reproduit le texte en traduction suivie. A la suite des textes de l'Ancien Empire, elle a intercalé dans une section à part, les textes se rattachant à la première période intermédiaire. On trouve ici, à côté de biographies plus ou moins développées de notables, l'enseignement à Merikarē, dont le contenu est si révélateur de l'esprit de l'époque troublée où cette oeuvre a vu le jour.

Pour le Moyen Empire, Mme Lichtheim avait l'embaras du choix; mais ce choix, elle l'a conduit de manière très éclectique. Elle reproduit le texte de quelques stèles royales de la XIIe dynastie, de quelques biographies de particuliers, mais s'est arrêtée le plus longuement au genre majeur que représente la littérature didactique en y rattachant, comme il était logique, les prophéties de Neferti, les lamentations de Khakheperre-seneb, les admonitions d'Ipouwer (qu'elle maintient à cette époque), le débat du Désespéré avec son âme, et même le conte de l'Oasien (dont la partie principale consiste en des discours à tendance moralisatrice). Elle passe ensuite aux oeuvres d'inspiration lyrique (où figurent entre autres les chants de harpistes qu'elle a si brillamment étudiés dans une de ses précédentes études), et réserve pour la bonne bouche les contes littéraires, qui comptent parmi les chefs d'oeuvres de la littérature de tous les temps.

On ne manquera pas d'apprécier la manière dont l'auteur introduit chacun des textes sélectionnés: tout en faisant précéder l'ensemble des oeuvres d'une même époque, ou se rattachant à un même genre, d'une introduction générale, Mme Lichtheim accompagne chaque texte d'une brève notice, où elle en définit la nature et la tendance; elle signale dans quelles conditions il nous a été transmis et donne finalement une bibliographie complète et tenue à jour. Dans leur concision, ces notices disent tout ce qu'il convient de dire, sans négliger de faire connaître les opinions parfois divergentes que les spécialistes ont été amenés à émettre sur la portée de certains de ces écrits.

Quant aux traductions, elles offrent le maximum de garantie. Même pour les textes les plus difficiles et les moins bien transmis l'interprétation de Mme Lichtheim, donne l'impression de la fidélité, rendant l'original d'une manière intelligible sans cependant dissimuler les obscurités de certains passages. On doit se dire que pour obtenir pareil résultat, l'auteur, qui se révèle une philologue expérimentée, a dû s'imposer une étude attentive de ces textes, en tenant compte, non seulement des éditions les

plus récentes qui en ont paru, mais également des notes et des commentaires émis par des spécialistes au sujet de tel ou tel passage épineux, dont de mauvaises copies ont contribué à obscurcir le sens. Pour chaque phrase difficile, elle retient l'interprétation qu'un examen critique lui a fait reconnaître comme la plus fondée. Si elle n'émaille pas sa traduction de points d'interrogation (dont la fréquence aurait déconcerté le lecteur), elle discute les problèmes philologiques dans des notes parfois assez étendues où elle justifie sa prise de position. On se rend mieux compte par là du rôle personnel qu'elle a assumé dans l'établissement du texte et dans la manière de l'interpréter.

On ne peut qu'approuver le parti qu'a pris l'auteur de reproduire les oeuvres dans leur intégralité, même quand elles présentent les longueurs ou des passages dont le sens exact nous échappe encore. Elle a ainsi permis au lecteur de porter un jugement plus éclairé et plus objectif sur les productions littéraires de l'ancienne Egypte.

Une observation encore sur la manière dont les textes sont présentés. Pour mieux faire ressortir la tournure poétique et la prosodie des originaux, l'auteur scinde les textes (ou certains passages de textes) en vers, disons plutôt en unités élocutives. Ce mode de présentation est parfaitement justifié là où le sujet le style sont de nature lyrique (par exemple dans les hymnes et les poèmes d'amour); mais il nous semble moins indiqué quand il s'agit d'oeuvres de nature plus prosaïque. Sans doute Mme Lichtheim a-t-elle voulu tenir compte de la ponctuation que l'on observe dans les manuscrits ramessides et qui avait sans doute comme seul but d'aider le récitant dans la lecture à haut voix. Notons en passant qu'il n'est fait nulle part mention des théories de Fecht sur la prosodie et la métrique égyptienne: or, il nous semble que ces théories, même si elles sont encore discutées, n'en méritent pas moins d'être prises en considération.

L'ouvrage se présente sans ancienne illustration. Nous le regrettons un peu, car des images bien choisies auraient encore ajouté à l'attrait que cette anthologie pourrait exercer sur des lecteurs qui ne sont pas tous des égyptologues. Dans un ouvrage de ce genre quelques spécimens de papyrus littéraires, quelques représentations de scribes au travail, quelques reproductions de scènes de la vie courante évoquées dans les textes auraient été bien à leur place. Elles eussent constitué un complément particulièrement utile là où l'auteur présente certaines stèles portant des textes biographiques: à défaut d'illustrations, l'auteur est obligé d'en donner la description et éveille par le fait même chez le lecteur le désir d'en connaître les originaux. Comme il a été dit plus haut, les bibliographies sont tenues à jour et sont de nature à guider le lecteur dans une étude plus approfondie des oeuvres reproduites. Nous sommes cependant un peu surpris de ne pas y voir figurer, à propos des contes du Moyen Empire l'ouvrage de B. Lewis, *Land of the Enchanters* (Londres, 1948), où B. Gunn a présenté une traduction originale du *Naufragé*, de *Sinuhé* et du *conte de Chéops* et des *Magiciens*, en indiquant dans un avant-propos la manière dont il concevait le rôle du traducteur.

Quand l'ouvrage sera complet, il nous offrira certainement l'anthologie la plus élaborée et la plus "à la page" de la littérature égyptienne; ce sera celle à laquelle

tiendront à se référer les historiens de la littérature aussi bien que les égyptologues.

Bruxelles, septembre 1975

B. VAN DE WALLE

* *

Hans GOEDICKE, *Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (8vo, XI + 92 p.) = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 30. Prix: DM 44.

Les pages préliminaires contiennent un index des différents passages du conte, une courte préface et trois pages d'abréviations bibliographiques.

L'auteur a divisé le conte en épisodes qui sont traduits et commentés de la page 1 à la page 71. Cette traduction et ces commentaires sont à tel point révolutionnaires qu'il arrive très rarement à Goedicke d'être d'accord avec les études antérieures du Naufragé. La plupart de ses analyses me semblent être inacceptables, soit parce qu'elles sont basées sur des erreurs manifestes de traduction, soit parce qu'elles consistent en des opinions nullement démontrées qui ne sauraient se substituer, pour l'instant, aux idées généralement admises. Je n'ai trouvé dans ce livre que peu de nouveautés immédiatement acceptables. On peut dire que l'interprétation de *ii.(wy)n*, dans Nauf. 10, comme un pseudoparticipe est très satisfaisante; l'écriture défective pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que la désinence se trouve à la fin d'une colonne et qu'elle semble avoir été ajoutée postérieurement par le scribe (voir l'édition de Blackman, page 42 a, note 2 a). D'ailleurs, les désinences du pseudoparticipe sont très souvent défectives. Mais je ne comprends pas pourquoi faut-il continuer à situer l'action au présent, "wir kommen glücklich zurück!", alors que l'action des verbes de mouvement au pseudoparticipe se situe au passé. Il faut, par conséquent, traduire: "Vois, nous sommes revenus en paix!". Dans Nauf. 13-14, l'auteur pense avec raison que la pratique de mettre de l'eau sur les doigts est une préparation rituelle avant l'audience accordée par le roi. Finalement, la traduction de *sbt* par "cadeau d'adieu", dans Nauf. 162, semble être valable. Mais supposer que ce cadeau consistait en des produits destinés à la fabrication de la momie est tout à fait gratuit, car on ne voit pas très bien comment des queues de girafe, des chiens et des singes pouvaient être utilisés dans une momification (Nauf. 163-165), et il est d'autre part clairement dit dans le texte que le protagoniste remit les présents, *inw*, à son souverain (Nauf. 174-175).

L'auteur procède ensuite à une récapitulation de la traduction (p. 72-76) et cherche la signification profonde du récit (p. 76-90). D'après lui, il ne serait plus possible de continuer à considérer Le Naufragé comme faisant partie d'une "histoire à tiroirs" (p. 76). Mais si l'on veut voir en lui une oeuvre moralisante, il est alors possible de le mettre en rapport avec Sinuhé, Le Paysan plaideur, Le Misanthrope et Le pâtre qui vit une déesse. Tous ces ouvrages, ainsi que l'Enseignement pour Mérikare et l'Enseignement d'Aménemhat Ier, auraient été écrits à la même époque, c'est-à-dire au début de la XIIe dynastie. On pourrait même envisager qu'une seule personne soit l'auteur de tous ces

textes, et Goedicke pense au "grand" Khéti (p. 76-77). Les rôles de deux personnages importants, le *h3ty-* et le *šmsw*, révéleraient "une relation entre l'aspect existentiel et l'aspect transcendant de l'homme" (p. 79). Les noms géographiques *W3w3t* et *Snmw*, ainsi que les mots *iswt* et *mš'*, seraient des jeux de mots (p. 80). Les chiffres qui indiquent les dimensions du bateau seraient elles aussi des jeux de mots (p. 82). Le "déferlement (sic!) de la mer" serait une métaphore pour indiquer "les coups du destin" (p. 85). Les "quatre mois" que le naufragé doit passer dans l'île du serpent seraient un nouveau jeu de mots (p. 86). Le "bateau" qui va le ramener à la terre natale serait une métaphore pour signifier "la mort", et "la véritable terre natale de l'homme doit être comprise dans un sens spirituel, et non existentiel" (p. 87-88).

En résumé, chaque détail du conte aurait une dimension ludique, métaphorique ou eschatologique. Ceci est peut-être vrai, mais comment le savoir? Car, dans mon opinion, Goedicke n'a nullement prouvé ses interprétations, et ses traductions ne résistent pas souvent à la comparaison avec celles d'Ermann, par exemple.

Le Chesnay, octobre 1975

JESUS LOPEZ

* *

J. VERGOTE, *De Egyptenaren en hun godsdienst*. Bussum, De Haan, tweede Auflage, 1974 (8vo, 125 S., 19 Tafeln) = De Haan Paperbacks voor Geschiedenis, Kunst en Cultuur. Preis: Hfl. 17.50.

Die erste Auflage dieses Buches erschien 1971 unter dem Titel „De godsdienst van de Egyptenaren“. Inhaltlich ist in der zweiten Auflage nichts geändert worden, so dass der Rezensent auf seine Besprechung in *BiOr* XXX, S. 393 f. verweisen kann. Weshalb der Titel geändert wurde, wird nicht deutlich. Der Titel der Erstauflage scheint richtiger als der der Zweitaufgabe, weil das Buch von der ägyptischen Religion handelt und nicht erstens von den alten Ägyptern und zweitens von ihrer Religion, wie der Titel der Zweitaufgabe vermuten lässt.

Eine Bereicherung sind die schönen Bilder auf den Tafeln I-XVIIIb. Schon in der Erstauflage wurde auf Illustrationen verwiesen, die aber vom Herausgeber nicht hinzugefügt waren. Diesem Fehler ist jetzt abgeholfen worden. Die Bilder sind gut gewählt.

Weil sonst nichts geändert ist, sind auch die in *BiOr* XXX, S. 396, Zeilen 9-28, erwähnten Druck- und Sprachfehler stehen geblieben, die zwei Verweisungen auf die Illustrationen ausgenommen. So steht jetzt noch in der Inhaltsangabe „Lijst van de goden en godinnen / 93“, während diese Götterliste im Buch auf Seite 95 anfängt.

Die Bibliographie ist nicht bis auf die Gegenwart fortgeführt worden. Die folgenden Werke fehlen:

S. 119-120, Einführung-Allgemeine Werke über die ägyptische Religion; E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, Darmstadt 1971.

Kapitel I, S. 17, zur Göttin Renenutet; J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet*, Assen 1971.

Kapitel I, S. 120, funeräre Textausgaben; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Übersetzung), Vol. I, Warminster 1973.

J.-C. Goyon, *Rituels Funéraires de l'Ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1972.

R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969.

E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, Zürich/München 1972.

Kapitel III, Kosmogonien und sonstige Mythen, S. 114, zu Note 9; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride*, edited with an introduction, translation and commentary, Cambridge 1970.

Kapitel IV, Der Kult; A. Rosalie David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos*, Warminster 1973.

Kapitel VII, Das Leben nach dem Tode; B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele*, Bonn 1970.

Dieser Liste könnten noch mehrere Werke beigelegt werden.

Der in *BiOr* XXX, S. 396 erwähnte hohe Wert des Buches wird durch die genannten Omissionen nicht verringert. Eine ergänzte Bücherliste hätte diesen Wert aber mehr erhöhen können.

Utrecht, Oktober 1975

J. ZANDEE

* *

Friedrich ABITZ, *Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (8vo, 122 S., 9 Pläne) = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Bd. 26. Preis: DM 48.—.

Das kleine Buch muss als ein interessanter Erklärungsversuch der Schächte in den Gräbern im Tal der Könige begrüßt werden. Bisher wurden diese Schächte entweder als technische Sperren gegen die eindringenden Räuber oder als Auffangbecken für das Regenwasser aufgefasst. Das Hauptanliegen des Verfassers besteht einerseits in der Widerlegung dieser beiden Theorien, andererseits in der Ausarbeitung einer neuen Erklärung, nach der die Aushöhlung der Schächte mit den Jenseitsvorstellungen des Neuen Reiches im Zusammenhang stand. Dies mag zunächst überraschen; doch erhellt sich durch die tiefgreifende Beweisführung, dass der Verfasser seine Erklärung mit gewichtigen Argumenten unterstützen kann.

Seine Argumentation gegen die älteren Hypothesen geht naturgemäß von eingehendem Studium der Grabanlagen, der Raumfolge und der Schächte selbst aus. Der Schacht im Grab des Thutmosis III. war zur Dekoration vorgesehen, und der des Grabes von Ramses II. ist tatsächlich mit Inschriften und Bildern versehen. Sowohl dies als auch die Nebenräume in den Schächten

gründen sprechen dagegen dass die Schächte zum Aufhängen des Wassers gedient hätten.

Man kann auch dem Urteil zustimmen, dass sie für die Grabräuber keine ernststen Hindernisse gebildet hätten. Die Geschichte des Königstaes zeigt dass, alle Gräber geplündert wurden. Wie sich aus den Untersuchungen des Verfassers ergibt, war der Durchgang vom Schachtraum zum inneren Teil des Grabes, selbst in manchen derjenigen Gräber, wo er vermauert wurde, gut sichtbar. Hier muss doch bemerkt werden, dass in ägyptischen Gräbern zwischen Zweckbestimmung und tatsächlicher Ausführung seit der Zeit der Pyramiden des öfteren mit einer Diskrepanz gerechnet werden muss. Seit Ramses II. ändert sich die Ausarbeitung des Durchganges, die Schachträume werden nur durch Türen verschlossen, die natürlich keinen Schutz mehr gewährten.

Wie kann also die wahre Bedeutung der Schächte eruiert werden? Um eine Antwort zu finden, hat sich die Untersuchung den Jenseitsführern in den Gräbern zugewandt. Für die Zeit von Sethos I. bis Ramses III. ergibt sich die Folgerung, dass zwischen Stunde 4 und 5 des Amduat und dem Schacht ein gedanklicher Zusammenhang bestanden haben dürfte. Die beiden Stunden wurden nämlich in dieser Zeit vor dem Schacht im dritten Korridor aufgeschrieben. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Aussage des Textes in der Einleitung der 5. Stunde, wonach der Sonnengott „in der oberen Hälfte der geheimen Höhle des Sokar“ (Hornung: *Das Amduat* 92) gezogen wird. Der Schacht sollte also die tiefe Höhle des Sokar darstellen. Der Text der 12. Stunde im Grab-schacht des Ramses II. verbindet den Schacht mit den Auferstehungsgedanken.

So scharfsinnig und gründlich der Lösungsvorschlag beigebracht sein mag, bleibt doch im Leser ein Schatten des Zweifels. Man fragt sich z.B., ob die religiöse Deutung in der zweiten Hälfte des Neuen Reiches nicht eine sekundäre Interpretation gewesen ist. Gab es nicht eine ältere Bedeutung oder doch eine praktische Zielbestimmung vor Sethos I.? Die Baukonstruktion erinnert an Gräber mit Sargkammern neben einem Schacht. Könnten sie nicht rituelle oder Scheingräber gewesen sein? Oder waren sie doch zum Irreführen der Räuber gemacht? Herodot (III. 16) hat jedenfalls von einem Begräbnis im Grab des Amasis in Sais gehört, das zum Ablenken der Aufmerksamkeit künftiger Eindringlinge vom Inneren des Grabes — wo der König bestattet wurde — bestimmt war. So konnte angeblich die Mumie des Königs vor einer Entehrung unter Kambyeses bewahrt bleiben. Scheinschächte wurden z.B. auch in der Pyramide des Amenemhat III. (Hawara) im Vorraum der Grabkammer angefertigt. (Edwards: *The Pyramids* 1975 232).

Mangels zuverlässiger Berichte von Leichenresten aus den Schächten oder aus deren Nebenräumen im Königstempel kann man aber zur Zeit für eine Hypothese von Begräbnissen keine Beweise beibringen. Nach der vollständigen Säuberung der jetzt unzugänglichen Schächte wäre es doch der Mühe wert, das Problem nochmals zu untersuchen. Bei dem heutigen Stand der Forschung wäre es jedenfalls schwierig, eine bessere Lösung als die von Fr. Abitz zu finden. Wir hoffen, dass er sein Studium auf dem Gebiet der Königsgräber fortsetzen wird.

Budapest, November 1975

L. KÁKOSY

David LORTON, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII*. Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins Near Eastern Studies. The John Hopkins University Press, 1974 (260 x 180 mm, Pp. X & 198). Price: £ 6.60.

Hieroglyphic texts are full of phrases which describe the attitude of the Egyptians towards foreigners. These texts are partly declarations of gods, kings or Egyptian officials concerning foreign lands and peoples or declarations (mainly of submission) of these strangers as to their attitude towards Egypt. As these documents were also composed by the Egyptian scribes ad majorem gloriam Pharaonis, these two types of documents are really two manifestations of the same attitude.

It is a very useful undertaking to add to the specialized dictionaries which already exist a list of all the expressions related to foreign countries. In a way the book under review is such a dictionary, restricted as to the period dealt with — mainly the 18th Dynasty — and being largely an extract of "Urkunden IV".

There are two parts to the book: "Designations of rulers" (the ruler being "lord", "lion", "sun-disk" etc. of the land) and terms expressing "Relationships between Egyptians and Foreigners". The introduction admits that some of the items included are not juridical but "expressive of a juridical situation and contain juridical terms without being juridical in themselves". In the conclusion the author admits that "the adjective 'juridical' and the expression 'international law' have been freely employed" (p. 178). We might say: too freely. The help of an expert in ancient law or intensive study of work done in this field by others could have clarified matters. The bibliography on this subject on p. 4 is not very encouraging.

The basic conception of the Egyptians as regards foreign relations was, as the author point out "essentially religious ... they depicted ... the creation of order out of chaos by ... the king ... who subjected foreign peoples on behalf of the gods". This religious conception is in natural contrast to a conception of international law. Only complete subjection of all the people of the earth to the god-given superiority of the Pharaoh would be lawful. All other behaviour is rebellion, and force — not international negotiation, according to international law and custom has to be applied. Cases where something resembling international law comes into play such as treatment of messengers, international treaties, diplomatic marriages are not dealt with in this book because they "are not reflected in technical terminology" (p. 2). The study by M. Vallogia, *Recherche sur les "Messagers" (wpwtwy) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Genève-Paris, 1976 is filling out this lacuna as far as messengers are concerned.

The material is arranged alphabetically both in Part I and Part II. As a result the organisation of the whole suffers: instead of discussing certain words and concept like *hṭp* and clarifying its semantic field we find the word *hṭp* in Part II under § E *iri hṭp*, § X *rdi hṭp* and § AN *dbḥ hṭpw*. The absurdity of this system is even more obvious in the treatment of *m3i n nswtyw* of § C in Part I of Part One. This is rendered as "lion of/for

those who are subject". "*Nswtyw* occurs again in § L "king of those who are subject" and § Y: "bull of/for those who are subject". The discussion of *nswtyw* we find on p. 10. We learn that this "term of international relations" occurs only once, on the base of the statue A 18 in the Louvre in a context of royal epithets and names which has nothing to do with war or conquest or foreign relations, let alone "juridical situations". We are therefore referred to another paragraph, where *m3i (n) hḳ3w* is discussed, namely § D. There we find four examples of the expression, three from scarabs with no other reference to "international relations" or "juridical situations", one is a conventional inscription having only epithets, titles and names; by the way the passage in question should be rendered: "the good god, lion of the rulers, fierce lion when he sees the enemies who cross his path". The simile of the king as fierce lion has nothing to do with international law: the king pursuing his enemies is compared to the fierce animal; — in iconography the king is a lion or a bull already at a very early stage of Egyptian history. For the rendering of *hḳ3* with "those who are ruled" and not as usual with "princes" we are referred back to § C with which we started. "Comparison of the epithet under consideration here with *m3i nswtyw* shows that *hḳ3* ought to be taken as 'those who are ruled'" (p. 11). We are asked to consider the expression *hḳ3 hḳ3w*, as a proof. This is discussed on pp. 33-34 (there is not a single page reference in the book, all cross-references and bibliographical notes are to Chapters and paragraphs, which makes the use of the book rather difficult). On p. 34 we find that the translation "ruler of those who are ruled" rests largely on determinatives of different writings. Of the more than ten examples given, only two have determinatives; once the determinative is a seated man. Lorton claims: "The seated-man determinative ... precludes taking *hḳ3w* as reference to royalty ..." Wb. III pp. 171-172 shows that this is not necessarily so. The other instance where *hḳ3w* is determined it is by the sign for king. This is explained away by saying that the word received the determinative "obviously under the influence of the preceding word" (which is, as in all instances quoted - *hḳ3*). The determinatives of the expression in both instances point to the usual translation "ruler of rulers". The fact that in some instances *hḳ3* or *hḳ3w* have the phonetic complement is no evidence at all for a difference in meaning. — § C from which we started has another reference for the translation of *nswtyw* as "those who are subject": this is § L in Chapter I. Here, on p. 20 is the same speculation on determinatives ("could be a bearded foreigner ...") and is followed by a pure guess on the existence of a passive form of the verb *nswy*. The conclusion being that "it is at least possible that *t* could be omitted in writings of the otherwise unattested passive participle". The rest of the discussion on the same half-page is full of uncertainties introduced by "if", "most-likely" "probably true" "it appears". There is nothing to be said against a new interpretation of these well known epithets of the king — but the proofs given here are not sufficient to transform this suggestion into a base for the interpretation of international relations of Egypt during the 18th Dynasty. If we now turn back to the first mentioning of *nswtyw* we find that, though it is confidently translated on p. 10 as "those who are subject", only on

p. 20 do we find a hesitant justification for this. — The paragraph on *nswt nsw(t)yw* (p. 18) shows another weakness in the organisation of the work. § L, like the other paragraphs starts with a list of occurrences which takes a great part of the page. All these are, like the majority of Lorton's material, gleanings from Urk. IV. All this could have been shortened and given in a line or two. After a discussion of the expression we meet the same "occurrences" again, in the same order, this time with translations (which are by their very bombastic tone in striking contrast to Lorton's highly technical explanations for some expressions: for instance "foreigners on royal property subject to the king as *nswt*"). To the translation is added again the reference to Urk. IV, this time with the name of the ruling king.

A most cumbersome system of notes has been employed: Each paragraph has its own numbering of notes. Some paragraphs have no notes at all, while § Q has 151. There are no footnotes: the notes appear after each Chapter, that is in three groups, and after the introduction and after the conclusions. The paragraph-heading for Q appears on p. 21 as the very last line of the page. This is the heading of the most important discussion, which takes up 15 pages. This and the many printing mistakes show that editing and proof-reading of the text has stopped at too early a stage.

The English alphabet, from A to Z is not long enough to give enough headings for the paragraphs in Part II. We have therefore AA, AB right down to AP. However nearly 30 paragraphs are simply cross-references to other paragraphs. An example is § G: *nbt pwnt* on p. 17. The one occurrence of this epithet is quoted by its reference in Urk. IV. Then follows: "for discussion, see *nb*, Chapter I, F, no. 4. This is p. 14 where the same reference to Urkunden occurs again, this time with translation and the name of Hatshepsut. The whole "discussion" is a not very important remark of one and a half lines.

P. 65 (and part of the preceding page) is completely devoted to a list of references which are repeated and discussed on pp. 22-37. (*hḳ3*); a similar instance is p. 105. — A simple remedy would have been to add an alphabetical index of all expressions, referring the reader to the discussion and documentation of each term. It may be that the doctoral dissertation, which was the origin of this work, had an index of some sort and this would explain the curious heading "Supplementary Index of Egyptian Words and Expressions" (p. 196).

The book suffers from lack of a clear conception what juridical terminology of international law might be and by what rules the meanings of words in a dead language should be established. The author reads into some of the terms he has chosen finesse of direct and indirect rule, crown property abroad etc., which he does not firmly establish. Terms which deal with Egyptian conquest and rule in foreign lands are discussed. The author includes these because "the ... expressions seem to be reflective of sovereignty as well; this justifies their inclusion in this study though they are not themselves juridical" (p. 10). In the conclusions it is admitted that the results of this study are rather restricted as far as the Old and Middle Kingdom are concerned. The references, on p. 176 to Sinai and Byblos are not relevant, the mining inscription from Serabit el-Khadim does not imply conquest and

the Egyptian title of the Byblian princes does not make them vassals of Egypt, voluntary or otherwise. The possibility of Egyptian rule in Canaan during the Middle Kingdom is excluded "in accordance with current scholarly opinion" as if this opinion were something definite arrived at recently by counting votes, a fashion which can be changed when it is not current any more. The execration texts are excluded because of a suspicion that they may refer not to foreign rulers but to foreigners in the service of Egypt (p. 27). Hence if the results for the Old and Middle Kingdoms are very meagre, it is natural that the great change is seen by the author in the Hyksos period. The conclusions state that "the Egyptian system of international relations was essentially the same as that of the Asiatic great kingdoms ... the Egyptians' exposure to and acceptance of this system was a result of the Hyksos interlude" (p. 177). The "crucial chance ... in the Hyksos period with the introduction of *hk3*" is overrated when taking into account the material collected in § Q (p. 22; pp. 27-29). There is no proof that the Hyksos imported an alien system into Egypt; the Egyptian conception of a world order in which Pharaoh was the natural ruler of all was hardly conducive to the acceptance of the system of the great Asiatic kingdoms; besides, this presumes the Hyksos being newcomers, alien to Egypt, its culture and administration. If that were so it is remarkable how much they used Egyptian traditional titles and that only one of the "Great Hyksos", Khyan, used the "new" title *hk3 hswt*; the three other kings to do so are known only from seals.

One weakness of the attempt made in this book to trace the development of the terms under discussion is in the treatment of the early period; the other is the neglect of anything later than the 18th Dynasty which could help to clarify the problems.

Turning to details, we restrict our remarks to some points which we think of special interest or instructive for the approach of the author to his subject.

P. 9: under the paragraph heading *itn n t3w nbw* examples are quoted which have *r'*, not *itn*; they are uselessly repeated on p. 21 as two separate paragraphs with *r'*. This shows the artificiality of the alphabetical arrangement: the discussion of *r'* and *itn* belong, of course, together.

P. 20, note 1 Helck, *Beziehungen* should have been quoted according to its second edition (1971).

P. 21 Goedicke's view on this has already been quoted on p. 18 with the same reference.

P. 22 The list for the Hyksos period is not complete: Add: Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* London 1889 No. 729.

P. 22 perusal of G. T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals* Oxford 1971 (p. 32 (No. 350) and pp. 91-92 (Nos. 1170-1181a)) would have doubled the references for Anat-Har and Khyan as "references to the Egyptian king as *hk3* over foreigners". As against this the last item mentioned on p. 22 does not belong here. Berlin 13168 bears the title given on p. 28 and nothing else; the back has a sitting Asiatic; There is no reference to the king. The explanation on p. 28 is a pure guess because there is no other title or

name. This scaraboid should have been listed in Chapter II § L. This § L (pp. 64-65) has a long list of "occurrences" of *hk3* in reference to foreign rulers. However for discussion we are referred back to Chapter I § Q which we just left. Wishing to know more about the first reference on p. 64 for the 6th Dynasty "Urk. I, 109, 1" we have to find first among the notes to the paragraph one, which has the indication "Urk. I, 109, 1". This is note 16 on p. 48. The note is merely a transcription of the passage. We must now proceed to find that part of the book to which note 16 is attached. This is on p. 23 where we learn the grammatical form of the expression: direct and indirect genitive. As far as content is concerned it is revealed to us that *hk3* "denotes the 'ruler' of a foreign land" and that "it can be assumed that the term indicates the person in question to be in control of a territory". However in the opinion of Lorton "when applied to foreign rulers *hk3* should not be regarded as indicating the juridical status of those rulers vis-à-vis the Egyptian king". In other words: there is no real discussion of the reference Urk. I 109, 1. The effort to come to this result is caused by the peculiar organisation of the material.

P. 25 for the expressions '*nh(w) n tt hk3* and *3tw* (not *wrtw*) *n tt hk3* and their meaning see G. Posener, *RdE* 15 (1963) pp. 123-8 and O. D. Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971) pp. 28-33.

P. 28 not three but four kings bear the title *hk3 hswt*. The fourth king is the one usually called *Wsr-nt*. This king is mentioned in Beckerrath, 2. Zwischenzeit, p. 280. The reference is mentioned by Lorton p. 52 who noticed that a plural sign was omitted but overlooked that we have here an additional king. Martin suggests very convincingly a reading '*pr-nt*' (op. cit. p. 318, No. 318).

P. 29 "The reproduction of Apophis' letter in Egyptian and the use of the title *hk3* both lead to the supposition that these rulers, like the Hyksos were Egyptianizing". In what language would one expect the letter, to be quoted on the Kamose-stela, to be written on behalf of an Egyptian king for Egyptians?

P. 41 The long discussion of the Hyksos scarab from Megiddo is out of place. This is one of the numberless scarabs of the *nr'*-type: we have here a group of low broad signs beginning with an inverted *nb* sign and ending, symmetrically, by another *nb* sign. Between the two there is '*n*', the usual *r'* replaced here by another low broad sign.

P. 44 Matouk's opinion is quoted which places the "scarabs with *Mn-hpr-R' nb Hk3ym* and *Mn-hpr-R' nb 'Ikrim* ... in the Late Period". There is an extraordinary confusion in this part of Matouk's "Corpus". The references to Rowe and Petrie and to his own drawings and photographs are not exact. Perhaps because of this confusion it has escaped Lorton's attention that there is no such title as "*nb 'Ikrim*". Fig. 372 and photographs 445 and 446 have *mn-hpr-r' Ykrm* (without *nb*). It is very unlikely that a toponym repeatedly and exclusively attested in the 18th Dynasty should appear together with *mn-hpr-r'* in the Late Period. For a discussion of *hk3ym* see E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem*

Totentempel Amenophis III. Bonn 1966, pp. 20-22. See also W. Helck, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 221 (1969) p. 80.

P. 53 The building blocks of Gebelein can not be compared with the small reliefs of the Amarna period.

P. 64 The Egyptian title *h3ty-* of the rulers of Byblos is not an indication of absorption of the city into Egypt. If there was such absorption it does not seem likely that the "vassals" would have written their names in royal cartouches.

P. 76 The idea, that the "limits of the unknown" refer to the very mine "C" where the inscription from the reign of Amenemhet was found is referred to again on p. 176. As a matter of fact, mine "C" is in the immediate neighbourhood of inscriptions of Amenemhet II and not far from the temple of Serabit el-Khadim. This is another attempt to be over-precise concerning a poetical phrase and thus transforming it into "juridical terminology".

P. 87 For the expression "to be on the waters of" see now also W. Westendorf, *GM* 11 (1974) (pp. 47-48).

P. 99 For the localisation of the *hryw-š'* see B. Couroyer, *Revue Biblique*, 28 (1971) pp. 561 ff.

P. 120 There is no evidence on Louvre C 1 or elsewhere that it was military activity which "led to the opening of the Dyn. XII mines at Serabit el-Khadim".

P. 135 Edel has shown that the episode involving Mit-tani, Hatti and Babylon is unhistorical (ZDPV 69 (1963) pp. 173-174).

Mishmar Haemeq, September 1975 RAPHAEL GIVEON

* *

Jean-François CHAMPOLLION, *Notices Descriptives* I, p. 600-917; II, p. 1-358, 359-720. Réproduction photographique de l'édition originale par le Centre de Documentation du Monde Oriental. Genève, Edition des Belles-Lettres, 1973/74 (A-4, in drei Hefen) = Collection des classiques égyptologiques. Preis: je 60 SFr.

Es handelt sich um die Fortsetzung der im Format verkleinerten Neuauflage der *Not.descr.*, deren erste beide Hefte (I, p. 1-599) 1973 erschienen¹⁾.

Die *Not.descr.* haben eine langwierige Entstehungsgeschichte. Mit Wiedergabe von Inschriften aus dem Tempel von Kasr Agouz (p. 600/7) endete für über 20 Jahre zunächst das Erscheinen der Lieferungen des ersten Bandes der schliesslich zweibändigen Originalausgabe. De Rougé hatte die Weiterführung übernommen. In einer Erklärung p. 607/9 begründet er die Notwendigkeit der Addenda et Corrigenda: der frühere Herausgeber [Champollion-Figeac] hatte zum Schaden des Ganzen willkürlich geändert und gekürzt. Maspero, der schon den Text des ersten Bandes ab p. 601 autographiert hatte, übernahm nach dem Tode von de Rougé auch die Herausgabe. Nach fehlgeschlagenen Verhand-

lungen wegen eines eventuellen dritten Bandes erschien dann nach dem ersten (zwischen 1844 und 1879²⁾) der zweite erst 1889.

Dieser enthält zunächst Inschriften und Reisenotizen aus Oberägypten. Dabei werden für zwei Gräber der Amarnazeit heute nicht mehr gebräuchliche Ortsangaben verwendet: Psinaula (p. 319/21), Grab des Merire I (siehe PM IV, 217) und Alabastron (p. 321/2), Grab des Panehesi (siehe PM IV, 218).

Von p. 476 ab folgen Inschriften aus Memphis/Saq-gara³⁾ und den Steinbrüchen von Tura/Massara.

Daran schliessen sich p. 490ff. Texte aus ramessidischen Königsgräbern an. Hier wird man daran erinnern, dass heute die Könige namens Ramses anders gezählt werden. So ist Ramses V (Champollion) Ramses VI und Ramses VI (Champollion) Ramses IX⁴⁾.

Das Werk endet mit Fragmenten von Notizen Champollions für seine *Histoire d'Égypte*; Inschriften und Darstellungen verschiedener Herkunft (p. 689/720).

Leider hat Hari, dem Herausgeber dieser Neuauflage, offenbar kein vollständiges Exemplar des zweiten Bandes der *Not.descr.* vorgelegen. So fehlt das Vorwort Masperos⁵⁾ (p. I/II) und, ärgerlicherweise, das Inhaltsverzeichnis (p. 721/4). Bei dessen Fehlen eines nachträglich anzufertigen, hätte in jedem Fall nahegelegen.

Freiburg, Juli 1975

ERHART GRAEFE

* *

Bertha PORTER and Rosalind B. MOSS, assisted by Ethel W. BURNEY, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. Volume III: *Memphis*, Part I: *Abū Rawāsh to Abūšir*. Second edition, revised and augmented by Jaromír MÁLEK. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1974 (8to, XXIX + 292 pp. including 1 + 40 pages of maps and plans). Price: £ 12.50 net.

When the first edition of Volume III of the *Topographical Bibliography* appeared in 1931, the entire series of Memphite cemeteries, along with the site of Memphis itself, could be covered in 254 pages. Only 65 pages of text, plus 19 pages of maps and plans, were required for the area that is dealt with in more than 400 pages of the present edition. Since, in addition, the text of the new edition is more compressed, with smaller type used in headings and a slightly longer line, the increase must be fully six to one.

The size of the 1974 edition is, of course, quite understandable if one considers how little of the Giza necro-

²⁾ 1879 nach H. Hartleben, *Champollion. Sein Leben und sein Werk* II, Berlin 1906, 600. Maspero beendete die Niederschrift 1871 und spricht im Vorwort zum zweiten Band von der Beendigung der Arbeit für beide im Jahre 1875.

³⁾ Zur Unterscheidung der Bezeichnungen siehe Zivie, *GM* 11, 1974, 53/8.

⁴⁾ Siehe PM I², 511 und 501.

⁵⁾ Deswegen ist auch in Haris Vorwort auf p. II des ersten Heftes der Neuauflage die Zeitspanne für das Erscheinen der *Not.descr.* mit 1844/79 falsch angegeben. Das Vorwort Masperos und das Titelblatt der mir vorliegenden Ausgabe sind auf 1889 datiert. Hermine Hartleben nennt in ihrer oben zitierten Biographie II, 600 kein Erscheinungsjahr für den zweiten Band.

¹⁾ Siehe meine Besprechung in *BiOr* 31, 1974, 254/5.

polis had been published before 1931. By that time Junker's excavations had come to an end, but only the first volume of his twelve-volume series had appeared. Only preliminary reports were available for Reisner's excavations at the same site, which continued until 1935¹⁾, and the much earlier work of Schiaparelli was completely unpublished, as was that of Selim Hassan, who had just concluded his second season at Giza and who was to continue there until 1938; his ten-volume series *Excavations at Giza* appeared between 1932-60. Ahmed Fakhry's *Sept tombeaux à l'est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh*, recording a series of brief excavations during the years of 1932-34, came out in 1935, and Abu Bakr's *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950* were published in 1953. More recently, in 1963, Silvio Curto's *Gli Scavi Italiani a el-Ghiza (1903)* presented a record of Schiaparelli's work. These are only a few — albeit the most important — of the sources that have been assimilated into the *Bibliography*. Besides the vastly increased amount of published material which is the main preoccupation of the editors, there are — as in earlier volumes — numerous references to unpublished records such as squeezes, including those of R. T. Lieder and Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson. One of the most valuable aspects of the book is the thoroughness with which loose ends have been pursued and brought together, whether from out-of-the-way publications or from little-known collections.

As the title indicates, the sites covered, ranging from north to south, are Abu Rawash, Giza, Abu Ghurab, Abusir, as well as a tomb between Abusir and Saqqara. Giza, as might be expected, receives the largest amount of space — about 85% of the total. As in the second edition of the Theban volumes (I, Parts 1 and 2), the indexes have been supplemented by an appendix which enables the reader to look up categories of scenes, and, in addition, certain types of texts, references to Sethe's *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, pyramids and numbered Giza tombs — the last made necessary by the fact that several series of numbers have been used at that site and not a single system, as at the Theban cemeteries. The appendix is followed by the maps and plans, which are grouped more economically. The indexes that conclude the work include not only royal and private names, as in the first edition, but also names of divinities, a very useful list of objects in museums and a list of various categories of objects (statues as well as less common finds, such as furniture) and some of the more unusual architectural features.

The result is a reference work of exceptional scope, importance and reliability, for which Dr. Málek and his predecessors deserve the very highest praise. Having undertaken a good many explorations in the literature of this field in recent years, I can attest to the quality of their work, even if I cannot equal it.

My only reservations about the *Bibliography* — and they are very minor — do not begin with this volume but apply about equally to the entire series, and have to do with the presentation of names and titles. At the outset of the project, it was decided that names should

be given in pronounceable form, rather than in the consonantal transliteration that is used by Egyptologists. Since these forms are accompanied by the hieroglyphic writing in most cases, it was doubtless thought that both specialists and non-specialists should be satisfied. That would certainly be true if the indexes likewise presented the names in both forms, but as it is, both the specialist and non-specialist must sometimes do a good deal of guessing to find their way, for the sequence of indexed transliterations in the *Bibliography* follows the modern alphabet and it is affected by the restored vowels as well as consonants. If, for example, the specialist knows that a name is to be read *K3.i-nb.i*, he must discover that the first person singular suffix is almost always omitted, and accordingly must look under "Kaneb". If the non-specialist has seen references to the dwarf Seneb, he must look considerably further along the listing for "Sonb".

For the specialist for whom this book is primarily intended, the problem would be eliminated by providing an index of names in consonantal transliteration, as well as the sort of index that is already provided. And it is possible that the first might lead to improvements in the other. 'Ankhtef, for example (p. 141), is 'nhty.fy, i.e. 'Ankhtyfy; Nebtneka (p. 54) is *Ny-k3-nbt.i* or Neka-nebti; Nis'ankh-hathor (p. 248) is 'nh-n.s-Hthr or 'Ankhnes-hathor; Nefertennesut (p. 308) is *Ny-nfrt-nswt* or Nenefretnesut. And while Nary (p. 275) is perhaps defensible, that transliteration is much less understandable than *N-3ri.i* "I am not driven away"²⁾. The use of consonantal transliteration would also make it easier to find a name such as Sienptah (*z-n-Pth*), which is disguised by the failure to make the Old Egyptian distinction between *s* and *z*; the last letter of the alphabet is reserved for *q*, e.g. Zefanesut for *Df3.i-nswt*.

As in the case of names, it could be argued that, in a work such as this, the titles should take the most recognizable or familiar form. Thus "Staff of the *rekhyt*" seems preferable to "Herdsman of *rekhyt*" (pp. 5, 228); "Privy to the secret of the House of Morning" rather than "Secretary of the Toilet-house" (pp. 235, 253, 254); "Attendant of the Great House" (lit. "he who is at the feet") rather than "Keeper of the legs of the Great House" (p. 192)³⁾, "document keeper" (*iry md3t*) rather than "book-keeper", (pp. 251, 298), since the meaning is "archivist" and not "accountant". On the other hand "Chief of the King" (p. 260) for *hk3-nswt* is preferable to "Royal ruler" in the first edition (p. 59).

Apart from these questions of preference, there are very few details that call for correction. Most of the following observations are trivial but may nonetheless be worth noting:

Names:

p. 48 — for Tepasonb read "the man of Tepa, Sonb"⁴⁾

— for Kebenwenthet read "the man of Byblos Wenthet"⁴⁾



²⁾ Cf. *Wb.* I, 11 (15-16).

³⁾ Cf. *OMRO* 41 (1960), 13.

⁴⁾ See *JNES* 18 (1959), 264-265.

p. 54 — for Iunkaf read Inkaf⁵⁾

p. 55 (G 1105) — for Petpennesut(?) read "this Nipet-nesut"⁶⁾

p. 67 (G 2009) — for Seseseekh () read Senenu ()

p. 80 (G 2178) — for Khui and wife Khuit read Iti and wife Khuit-re'⁷⁾

p. 93 (G 2420) — The dedication on the standing statue is incomplete and the name of the son Sonb(?) is to be eliminated⁷⁾.

p. 95 — for Sen'ankhwēr read Sen'ankh the elder


p. 99 — for Neferhetpes-wēr read Neferhetpes-nezeset



p. 261 — for Kanebef read Ka-ze-nebef⁸⁾

p. 274 — for Kaunesut read Nekaunesut⁹⁾

p. 348 — not Werir[ni], good name Kanüfer, but only Kanüfer⁷⁾



Titles:

p. 68 (G 2036) — not "Overseer of House of *weha*-boats" (for which see p. 264), but  *imy-r pr-sn* "Overseer of the Department of Stores"



p. 70 (G 2099) — The son's title is not "King's *wa'b*-priest" but   "King's *wa'b*-priest of Sekhmet".

p. 97 — Nüfer, Royal scribe; read Nesutnüfer, Scribe

p. 120 — Neferen is not "Overseer of female weavers"; this title, actually referring to the "house of weavers", evidently belongs to his wife¹⁰⁾

p. 295 — Redenptah is apparently not "Overseer of physicians" but   "Overseer of tooth-cleaners"¹¹⁾

Much of the following list of additions refers to publications in press; the one most frequently cited —

⁵⁾ The name is written normally on the libation basin which the same man offered to his father, as noted by Lutz, *Egyptian Statues*, p. 20; cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 96, n. 2. This use of a slightly elongated  for  is not exceptional; see, for example, Davies, *Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrāwi I* (London 1902), Pl. 8 (two upper registers). It also occurs in the name 'In-*it.s*, Boston MFA 13.4334.

⁶⁾ Cf. 'Iyt-n-hb tn "this 'Iyt-n-hb" on a twelfth Dynasty stela: R. Engelbach and B. Gunn, *Harageh* (London 1923), p. 28 and Pl. 73. Other examples are known.

⁷⁾ See references below, among additions.

⁸⁾ See *JEA* 60 (1974), 247.

⁹⁾ See the writing of this name in S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, Fig. 86.

¹⁰⁾ See *Varia* (full title given below), Section IX, note 21 and Fig. 1.

¹¹⁾ So Grdseloff, *ASAE* 42 (1943), p. 38; the second sign is clearly recognizable on Petrie's photograph, and there seem to be faint traces of the first.

Varia — is the first of a series of mine called *Egyptian Studies* to be published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The abbreviation *MMJ* refers to *Metropolitan Museum Journal*.

p. 40 — foundation deposit of Amenophis II: T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum I* (*Wilbour Monograph* 6, Brooklyn 1974), nos. 216-234, Pl. 54.

p. 52 — Katep and his wife Tepemnefert are probably the parents of the Katep whose reliefs are in the British Museum (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 12 [British Museum, London 1961], Pl. 5), and the latter was probably also buried at Giza: *Varia*, Section IV, Pt. 3.

p. 54 (G 1039) — statue of Ipiwēr: *Varia*, Section X, Fig. 6 (inscription).

p. 58 (G 1208) — drum lintel of entrance: *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 20, p. 20 (drawing).

pp. 61, 353 (G 1301) — detail of false door with name of funerary priest: *JEA* 59 (1973), Fig. 1, p. 44 (drawing).

p. 64 (G 1452 + 1453) — offering stands and false door of Zaduwa': *MMJ* 7 (1973), Fig. 6, p. 125 (drawing).

p. 73 (G 2110, b3) — additional fragment of west wall, Birmingham 241 '57: *Varia*, Section IV, Figs. 7-8 (photograph and reconstruction).

p. 75 (G 2132) — false door of Senwehem in Boston: *Varia*, Section V, Figs. 14-16 (drawing and photographs).

p. 80 (G 2178) — inscription on statue: *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 5, p. 10 (drawing).

p. 93 (G 2420) — base of standing statue: *Varia*, Section X, Fig. 4 (drawing).

p. 94 (G 2430) — the tomb of Hetepnptah was cleared by an epigraphic expedition under Alexander Badawy in the fall of 1973, and will be more completely published by him. A preliminary report is due to appear in *Archaeology* before the end of 1976.

p. 101 (Sonb) — correction of name of scribe on false door: *JEA* 60 (1974), pp. 247-248.

p. 116 (D 203) — panel, Or. Inst. 10812, published by Kaplony, *Orientalia* 41 (1972), p. 244 and Pl. 6; a long architrave of the same man is known from Reisner's G 1000 area (excavation records of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

p. 119 — the Yale architrave of Meruka was reclaimed by the owner shortly after publication, and is presumably in London.

p. 130 (G 4522) — inscription of statue: *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 11, p. 13; for the location see also *ibid.*, n. 13.

p. 136 (2) — Sethu panel in Brooklyn: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, no. 34, Pls. 2, 18.

p. 170 (G 6020) — has been recopied for publication by the epigraphic expedition under Kent Weeks; see

¹⁾ With some minor clearance in and around the old excavations in the seasons of 1935-6, 1936-7 and 1937-8 (Reisner, *BMFA* 36 [1938], 26 ff.).

JARCE Newsletter 83 (Oct. 1972), p. 20. and J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 42 (1973), 399.

pp. 184-185 (G 7101-7102) — to be published by W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, in 1976.

pp. 191, 193 — G 7152 (Sekhem'ankhptah) will be published by Alexander Badawy, and G 7391 (Iteti) will be republished more fully; see above, to. p. 94.

p. 197ff. (G 7530 + 7540) — the publication by Dows Dunham and W. K. Simpson has now appeared: *Giza Mastabas*, Vol. I: *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1974).

p. 199 (G 7540) — other fragments of relief: *ibid.*, p. 3 and Pl. 13; drawing of fragment in Pl. 13 (c): *JEa* 61 (1975).

p. 208 (LG 63) — the tomb of Kaemnefert was cleared by an epigraphic expedition under Alexander Badawy in the fall of 1974 and will be more completely published by him.

p. 215 — false door of Neferka and Thentet: line drawing of upper part in *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 15, p. 17.

p. 236 — Debhen (5) VIII, correction of text: E. Edel, *Das Akazienhaus* (*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 24, Berlin 1970), pp. 9-10 and Fig. 1.

p. 267 — Ra'wēr; statue of male child is in Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 66.195.

p. 270 — Mersu'ankh, upper serdab, double statue of man and woman; drawing in *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 4, p. 10; identified as son and daughter, p. 15.

p. 283 — Nima'etrē (2), title of sunshade bearer: *MMJ* 6 (1972), p. 155, with Fig. 4.

p. 284 — Nima'etrē, III (12), detail of false door inscription restored: *JEa* 60 (1974), Fig. 3, p. 99.

p. 295 — Neferherenptah lintel, Manchester 4617: *MMJ* 8 (1973), Fig. 21, p. 20 (drawing).

p. 299 — the statue of Memi-Sabu and wife probably belongs to the burial of the latter: *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 14, with Fig. 12.

p. 307 — the Cairo doorjambs of Wep are CG 57165 (left) and 57166 (right).

pp. 308-309 — relief showing oxen, Brooklyn 49.62, is probably to be added: James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Texts*, no. 49, Pl. 22.

p. 309 — lintel of Thenent; granite statue Or. Inst. 14054 probably belongs to same person: D. Silverman, *JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 466-476.

p. 315 — Neuserre' sun-temple, restoration text of Kha'emwaset: Farouk Gomaā, *Chaemwese Sohn Ramses' II* (*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 27, Wiesbaden 1973), pp. 76, 101 (Abb. 1a).

p. 335 — Sahurē' pyramid, restoration text of Kha'emwaset: *loc. cit.* (Abb. 1b).

p. 348 — fragment of incised offering text of supposed Werir[ni]: *Varia*, Section III, Fig. 1 (drawing).

New York, June 1975

HENRY G. FISCHER

Barbara ADAMS, *Ancient Hierakonpolis*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1974 (8vo, XX + 88 S., 48 Tafeln); Supplement. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, Ltd., 1974 (8vo, VI + 169 S.). Preis: £ 13.50.

Die Ruinen des alten Hierakonpolis, der Hauptstadt des 3. oberägyptischen Gaues auf dem Westufer des Nils, wurden in den Jahren 1897 bis 1900 durch J. E. Quibell und F. W. Green für den Egyptian Research Account untersucht. Neben der vorgeschichtlichen Nekropole war es vor allem der Stadt- und Tempelbezirk, der entdeckt wurde und den Ausgräbern eine erstaunliche Menge bedeutendster Stücke des alten Kultinventars bescherte. Darunter waren so berühmt gewordene Weihgaben wie die Narmerpalette oder die beiden Keulenköpfe der Könige Skorpion und Narmer sowie der Falkenkopf aus getriebenem Gold mit eingelegten Obsidian-Augen aus der 6. Dynastie. Auch die Tierpalette in Oxford, die beiden Statuen des Königs Chaseschem aus Grünschiefer bzw. Kalkstein und die Kupferstatuen der Könige Pepi I. und Merenre stammen aus den so erfolgreichen Grabungen Quibells und Greens.

Die Fülle des gefundenen Materials konnte freilich von seinen Ausgräbern nur ungenügend veröffentlicht werden¹⁾; denn der weitaus grössere Teil der Objekte blieb entweder gänzlich unpubliziert oder wurde durch Photographien bzw. Zeichnungen wiedergegeben, die heutiger Anforderung nicht mehr entsprechen. Als Fl. Petrie seine als Petrie-Collection bekannte Sammlung neben privaten Ankäufen vor allem aus dem Grabungsmaterial des Egyptian Research Account und der British School of Archaeology in Egypt zusammenstellte, kam auch eine beträchtliche Anzahl der in Hierakonpolis gefundenen Stücke in seinen Besitz. Petrie selbst hat in einer Reihe thematisch orientierter Kataloge mit der Veröffentlichung seiner Sammlung begonnen und dabei eo ipso auch Fundstücke aus Hierakonpolis mit einbezogen²⁾, ohne freilich sein geplantes Vorhaben, eine Gesamtpublikation zu erstellen, erreichen zu können. Umso begrüssenswerter ist es, dass sich das Department of Egyptology at University College London entschlossen hat, mit der Veröffentlichungsarbeit der im Jahre 1913 erworbenen Sammlung fortzufahren. Die einzelnen Kataloge mit Material der Petrie-Collection sollen sich jedoch in Zukunft nicht mehr aus bestimmten Sachgruppen, sondern aus Stücken einheitlicher Provenienz zusammensetzen. So behandelt der erste Band der neuen Katalogreihe eine Auswahl der wichtigsten Objekte aus Amarna³⁾, während der hier vorliegende zweite Band von Barbara Adams das gesamte, aus Hierakonpolis stammende Material der Petrie-Collection ausbreitet.

Der Hauptband mit dem Katalog enthält 388 Stücke, die sorgfältig beschrieben und durch Photographien bzw. Zeichnungen dargestellt werden⁴⁾. Sie setzen sich z.B.

¹⁾ J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, London 1900; J. E. Quibell-F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis II*, London 1902.

²⁾ Vgl. z.B. *Amulets*, London 1914; *Tools and Weapons*, London 1917; *Scarabs and Cylinders*, London 1917; *Prehistoric Egypt*, London 1920; *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, London 1925; *Objects of Daily Use*, London 1927; *Shabtis*, London 1935; *Funeral Furniture of Egypt, Stone and Metal Vases*, London 1937.

³⁾ J. Samson, *Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, Guildford 1972.

⁴⁾ Nur fünf Stücke davon sind nicht abgebildet worden.

aus Statuetten, Tierplastiken, Waffen — vor allem Keulenköpfen —, Werkzeugen, Gefässen oder reliefierten Elfenbeinen zusammen und sind bisher zu über zwei Dritteln unpubliziert geblieben. Neben diesen 388 Katalognummern, unter denen auch kleine und kleinste Fragmente zu finden sind, werden ausserdem noch in Form einer Liste die durch G. Brunton in Hierakonpolis ausgegrabenen Stücke wiedergegeben⁵⁾.

Dem Hauptband hat die Autorin noch einen Supplementband beigegeben. In ihm wird das gesamte Material einschliesslich dem der Petrie-Collection aufgeführt, das bei den Grabungen Quibells und Greens in Hierakonpolis zutage getreten ist, gleichgültig, wo es sich auch im Augenblick befinden mag. Neben dem Museum in Kairo und dem Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge ist es das Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, das die meisten und auch bedeutendsten Stücke aus Hierakonpolis besitzt. Die nach Museen geordnete Aufzählung der Objekte bildet jedoch lediglich eine der im Anhang zusammengestellten Listen. Die eigentliche Ordnung des Materials dagegen ist getrennt nach den hierakonpolitischen Fundstellen vorgenommen worden, wobei die meisten Stücke neben dem Tempelbezirk, der Stadt und dem Friedhof aus dem sog. Main Deposit stammen. Die Zuordnung an eine bestimmte Fundstelle wurde dabei mit Hilfe einer Orts-Bezifferung möglich, die von den Ausgräbern auf den Objekten selbst angebracht worden war. Den Schlüssel für die Bedeutung dieser Bezifferung lieferten, indem sie die Numerierung mit den verschiedenen Fundorten gleichsetzten, die Manuskripte Greens, die im Jahre 1966 von der Faculty of Oriental Studies Cambridge erworben und von Barbara Adams ausgewertet worden sind⁶⁾. Sie überschreibt daher das den Supplementband hauptsächlich ausfüllende Materialverzeichnis „The F. W. Green Manuscript Analysis Register“ und gibt dabei als Durchzeichnungen auch die Skizzen wieder, die Green in den Manuskripten von einzelnen Objekten angefertigt hatte.

Die wohl alle aus dem Main Deposit stammenden, über 60 Elfenbeine der Petrie-Collection waren bereits bei ihrem Fund in z.T. schlechtem Erhaltungszustand, da sie durch feuchte Bodenverhältnisse gelitten hatten. Eine erst in letzter Zeit vorgenommene, sachgemässe Behandlung hat die Stücke glücklicherweise vor weiterer Zerstörung bewahrt und durch sorgfältige Reinigung der Oberfläche bisher unbekannte Details sichtbar werden lassen. Das gilt besonders für die Elfenbeine mit der Darstellung von Tierreihen, von denen die Petrie-Collection etwa ein Dutzend besitzt. Kunstgeschichtlich beachtenswert sind auch die elfenbeinernen Tierfiguren (Hunde und Löwen) oder die relativ gut erhaltene und bisher unpublizierte Elfenbeinstatue einer Frau von immerhin über 20 cm. Höhe (Nr. 360).

Nur einige wenige Objekte mit Inschriften aus Hierakonpolis sind in die Petrie-Collection gelangt. Es handelt sich dabei um fünf Steingefässe (Nr. 225-229), deren Inschriften von der Autorin lediglich transliteriert

⁵⁾ Veröffentlicht in den *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, S. 272 ff. und T. 32 f.

⁶⁾ Im Anhang werden in Form einer Liste alle Fundortziffern, die sog. Site Numbers, zusammen mit ihrer Ortsfestlegung aufgeführt. Ausserdem geben die inneren Umschlagblätter beider Bände den durch die Ortsbezifferung verdeutlichten Tempelplan wieder.

rend beschrieben werden, während ihre Deutung den als Zitat mitgeteilten Ansichten Quibells und Petries überlassen bleibt. Wir haben hier jedoch sicherlich nicht Horusnamen der Könige Skorpion, Ka oder gar „Ro“ vor uns⁷⁾, sondern wohl eher Titel nach dem Muster zhn + Gottesname, wobei zweimal der Skorpion und dreimal der Falke im Himmelsboot⁸⁾ als Gottesbezeichnung erscheinen⁹⁾.

Als interessanteste Stücke der Petrie-Collection aus Hierakonpolis sind ohne Zweifel die Fragmente zweier Keulenköpfe (Nr. 1 und 2) anzusehen. Während auf dem einen Bruchstück Männer mit spitzem Bart und Haarzopf offenbar Tribute herbeibringen, erscheint auf dem anderen Fragment der unter einem Baldachin thronende König geschmückt mit der unterägyptischen Krone¹⁰⁾. Vor ihm ist ein hockender Falke sowie die niedergesunkene Figur eines Mannes mit Haarzopf erkennbar. Ausserdem blieb noch ein Teil des Strickes erhalten, der bogenförmig über dem Männerkopf dargestellt war. Ebenso wie auf der Narmerpalette scheint hier also der Falke dem König einen gefesselten Gegner am Strick vorgeführt zu haben. Ob es sich bei dem König — wie vermutet worden ist¹¹⁾ — um König Skorpion handelt, lässt sich mit Sicherheit nicht sagen, da sich die möglicherweise Schriftzeichen wiedergebenden Relieffreste vor dem Kopf der Königsfigur nur mit dem grössten Vorbehalt als Schwanz des Skorpions deuten lassen.

München, Oktober 1975

WINFRIED BARTA

Oktober 1975

* *

Dows DUNHAM and William Kelly SIMPSON, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III. G 7530-7540*. Boston, Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1974 (folio, V + 26 pp., 6 plans, 20 pls., 16 figs.) = *Giza Mastabas*, Volume I.

Es ist sehr begrüssenswert, dass 47 Jahre nach dem Erscheinen des Vorberichtes von G. A. Reisner in *BMFA* 25 (1927) nun die vollständige Publikation der Mastaba der Königin Meresanch (Mersyankh) III. (G 7530-40) aus der späten 4. Dynastie vorliegt. Dieses Buch ist zugleich der erste Band einer neuen Serie, welche die Veröffentlichung von weiteren Giza-Mastabas zum Gegenstand hat, die aus Reisner's umfangreichen Manuskript stammen¹⁾. Die vom Herausgeber W. K. Simpson angekündigten folgenden Bände sollen ebenso

⁷⁾ Die Existenz eines Königs Ro ist bereits von K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, UGAÄ 3, Leipzig 1905, S. 30 f. mit guten Gründen abgelehnt worden.

⁸⁾ Wie auf dem berühmten Kamm des Königs Djed (Fl. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, London 1925, T. 12/445) wird hier wohl eher das Himmelsboot als ein Krummholz oder der nb-Korb wiedergegeben worden sein.

⁹⁾ Vgl. auch die Titel zhn + n'r-Fisch oder zhn + š3-Tier (P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* I, AgAb 8, Wiesbaden 1963, S. 207).

¹⁰⁾ Eine vergleichbare Darstellung des Königs findet sich auf der ebenfalls aus Hierakonpolis stammenden Narmerkeule.

¹¹⁾ A. J. Arkell, in: *Antiquity* 37, 1963, S. 31 ff.

¹²⁾ Das ursprünglich als 2. Band der „History of the Giza Necropolis“ vorgesehen war.

wie der vorliegende in einer mustergültigen Weise erscheinen: Pläne, Photos, Umzeichnung, Beschreibung der Bauanlage und der Darstellungen, Übersetzung der Inschriften und ein bewusst begrenzter Kommentar. In diesem Band runden eine Liste über Fundobjekte, die zum Grab bzw. der Grabinhaberin gehören, sowie ein Index der im Grab dargestellten Personen und ihrer Titel die Veröffentlichung ab. Als sehr nützlich und hilfreich erweist sich die Bezifferung der Szenen und Statuen sowie ihre entsprechende Eintragung auf dem Grundrissplan, so dass ein schnelles Auffinden und Lokalisieren der einzelnen Darstellungen möglich ist. — Im vorliegenden Band wurden die „Allgemeinen Bemerkungen“ (Teil 1) von W. K. Simpson und die „Beschreibung“ der Kultkapelle mit ihren Szenen (Teil 2) von D. Dunham verfasst.

Die Mastaba G 7530-40 an der Ostseite der Cheopspyramide ist wegen ihrer mehrfachen Besonderheiten von grosser Bedeutung: 1. Das Grab einer Frau, die zur königlichen Familie gehört; 2. der ausgezeichnete Erhaltungszustand der Darstellungen und Farben; 3. die ungewöhnliche bauliche Ausführung, in der sowohl Elemente der Mastaba wie des Felsgrabes (rock cut tomb) vereinigt sind. Der Oberbau ist als Kernbau einer Mastaba erbaut, während die Kultkapelle (G 7530 sub) unterirdisch aus dem gewachsenen Felsen herausgearbeitet wurde. Der Oberbau war zunächst als eine fast quadratische Mastaba G 7520 geplant, wurde jedoch nie als Grab benutzt. Durch den neuen, südlich daran angebauten Teil G 7530-40 einer Doppelmastaba entstand die auffallende Staffelung (échelon) dieser Mastaben-Reihung. Die ältere, dann aufgegebene Anlage (G 7520) und die jüngere Anlage (G 7530-40) waren ursprünglich für die Königin Hetepheres II., der Mutter der Königin Meresanch III., geplant. Dies geht eindeutig aus den Steinmetzzeichen (quarry marks) hervor, die auf den Verkleidungssteinen an der West- und Ostseite der Mastaba G 7530-40 gefunden wurden. Zwei von ihnen nennen neben dem Datum den Namen der Hetepheres und den höchsten von ihr geführten Königinnentitel (wrt hts Htp-hr.s). Die angegebene Jahreszahl „sieben“ bezieht sich nach Reisner auf das 13./14. Jahr des Chephren (p. 3). Aber auch aus der Beschriftung des in der Grabkammer gefundenen Sarkophages ist zu entnehmen, dass dieser Sarkophag ursprünglich für Hetepheres bestimmt war und sie ihn an ihre Tochter Meresanch weitergegeben hat.

Meresanch III. ist also vor ihrer Mutter gestorben, und zwar in einem Alter von ungefähr 50 Jahren. Zu diesem Ergebnis ist D. Derry gekommen, der die im Sarkophag gefundenen Skelettreste untersucht hat (pp. 21f.). Die am Eingang zur Grabkapelle befindlichen Inschriften nennen zwei Daten, die sich auf den Tod bzw. Einbalsamierung (21. I. šmw, Jahr 1) und die Beisetzung (18. II. prt, Jahr 2) der Meresanch III. beziehen, (also zu Beginn der Regierungszeit eines Königs liegen, den Reisner mit Schepseskaef und Dunham mit Mykerinos identifiziert (p. 8). Dunham's Gleichsetzung ist aber von grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit; denn das festgestellte Lebensalter der Meresanch III. (ca. 50 Jahre) und das auf den quarry marks genannte Jahr „sieben“ (= 13./14. Regierungsjahr des Chephren) lassen nur diese Schlussfolgerung zu.

Die verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen von Hetepheres II. und Meresanch III. lassen sich anhand von Darstellungen in der Kapelle und durch Gräber weiterer Familienmitglieder (z.B. Nebemachet) rekonstruieren: M. III. ist die Tochter von H. II. und Kawab, die ihrerseits Kinder von Cheops und der Königin Merjtjtes sind. Der Königssohn Kawab starb frühzeitig, und H. II. war nachmalig mit Rededef und Chephren verheiratet. Ebenso ist M. III. mit Chephren verheiratet gewesen (p. 7). Aus dieser Verbindung stammen vermutlich die im Grab dargestellten Kinder von denen der älteste Sohn Nebemachet durch sein eigenes Grab (LG 86) am besten bekannt ist (s.u.). Bei einem jüngeren Sohn mit dem Namen Nj-weser-Re nimmt Simpson an (p. 5), dass die Kartusche um seinen Namen und das Anch-Zeichen dahinter sekundär zur Zeit des Königs Nj-weser-Re (6. König der 5. Dynastie) hinzugefügt worden sind, was bedeuten würde, dass das Grab bis in diese Zeit zugänglich war (s. p. 13 n. 29).

H. II. hat ihrer Tochter die Mastaba überlassen. Die aus dem Fels herausgearbeitete Grabkapelle (G 7530 sub) besteht aus Hauptraum, Nordkammer und Westkammer mit Grabschacht. Der Hauptraum und die angrenzende Nordkammer sind durch zwei Pfeiler und eine nicht mehr vorhandene Holztür voneinander getrennt; die gemeinsame Wand von Hauptraum und Westkammer hat zwei Durchgänge, rechts und links von einem Pfeiler.

Bemerkenswert sind die in allen drei Räumen befindlichen Statuen, die aus dem Felsen herausgearbeitet sind: 10 weibl. Statuen verschiedener Grösse an der Nordwand der Nordkammer; 2 Gruppen von je zwei Statuen, die vermutlich H. II. und M. III. darstellen, an der Westseite der Westkammer; die an der Südwand der Hauptkammer befindlichen Statuen in Schreiberhaltung werden als Totenpriester der M. III. gedeutet: Chemetnu und sein gleichnamiger Sohn — beide erscheinen auch innerhalb der Darstellungen an den Wänden — sowie deren Nachkommen.

Während die Darstellungen in der Westkammer teilweise nicht vollendet worden sind, befinden sich im Hauptraum die sehr gut erhaltenen farbigen Relief-Szenen, von denen hier nur einige herausgehoben werden sollen: M. III. mit ihrer Mutter beim Papyruspflücken; neu ist die Szene vom Verprügeln eines Mannes bei der Steuerabgabe (p. 5); ebenso sind die Handwerkerszenen die früheste bekannte Darstellung dieses Themas. Innerhalb der Handwerker, welche die Grabausrüstung anfertigen, sind Bildhauer und Statuenmaler durch die Nennung ihrer Namen besonders hervorgehoben. Auffallend ist auch, dass der Maler Rehaq nochmals — ausserhalb der Handwerkerszene — neben schon fertigen Gegenständen erscheint und dort eine Statue der M. III. bemalt. Im Grab ihres Sohnes Nebemachet (LG 86) befindet sich ebenfalls eine Handwerkerszene, und an einem Durchgang ist der Bildhauer Inkaef dargestellt, der möglicherweise mit dem bei M. III. genannten identisch ist. Es wäre zu bedenken, ob nicht aus der Darstellung einer Person zusammen mit ihrer namentlichen Nennung (z.B. der Totenpriester Chemetnu oder der Bildhauer Inkaef) ein sozusagen „verbriefter“ Versorgungsanspruch abgeleitet werden darf, d.h. die Berechtigung auf Zuwen-

dung von dem Totenopfer²⁾. Dieser Anspruch wäre dann durch die im Grab genannte und dargestellte Person dokumentiert.

Abschliessend sei noch auf zwei Bemerkungen hingewiesen: Der eine Metallarbeiter giesst nicht Metall aus (p. 12), sondern schlägt schon erkaltetes Metall zu Blech oder z.B. zu einer Klinge (vgl. LD II, 13 aus dem Grab des Nebemachet). Statt der Lesung 'gnwtj' für „Bildhauer“ (p. 12) wäre die Lesung 'qstj' vorzuziehen, weil die Berufsbezeichnung von dem Werkstoff 'qs' „Knochen“ abzuleiten ist.

Hamburg, Februar 1975

ROSEMARIE DRENKHahn

GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE

AKTEN DES XIII. INTERNATIONALEN PAPYROLOGENKONGRESSES (Marburg/Lahn, 2. bis 6. August 1971), herausgegeben von E. KIESSLING und H. A. RUPPRECHT. München, C. H. Beck, 1974 (8°, XX + 501 pp. + 8 planches) = Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, vol. 66. Prix: DM 120.—

Du 2 au 6 août 1971 a eu lieu à Marburg a.d. Lahn le 13e congrès international de papyrologie, un congrès fort actif, puisque sur 149 participants¹⁾ environ 70 ont pris la parole soit en séance plénière, soit dans la *juristische, philologische ou historique Abteilung*²⁾. Félicitons MM. E. Kiessling et H. A. Rupprecht d'avoir réussi à publier les actes de ce congrès sans trop de retard et remerçons avec eux les éditeurs des *Münchener Beiträge* de les avoir accueillis dans cette série de haute classe.

Les actes contiennent le texte intégral de 49 communications, ainsi qu'un résumé de 4 autres; par le programme du congrès (pp. XI-XVI des Actes) et par les *Abstracts of Papers delivered at the Thirteenth International Congress of Papyrology*, publiés dans le *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 8 (1971) pp. 55-89, on apprend l'existence de 18 communications qui ne sont ni reproduites ni résumées dans les Actes. S'il est compréhensible qu'un grand nombre des *Arbeitsberichte* présentés sommairement au cours d'une seule séance du congrès (matinée du 6.8.1971, cf. *Akten*, p. XVI) n'ont pas été reproduits, on s'étonne toutefois que certains rapports détaillés³⁾ ainsi que quelques exposés sur divers thèmes⁴⁾ n'ont même pas été résumés dans

les actes, d'autant plus que pour sept d'entre eux les éditeurs auraient pu se servir des résumés rédigés par les auteurs et publiés dans le *Bulletin* mentionné ci-dessus⁵⁾.

Comme le nombre des conférenciers était très élevé, les organisateurs du congrès ont dû leur imposer la loi de la clepsydre. Cela a eu des effets non seulement sur l'ampleur des exposés mais aussi sur les modalités de leur publication. Certains auteurs, non satisfaits du texte communiqué au congrès, en ont publié une version plus étendue soit dans les Actes⁶⁾ soit ailleurs⁷⁾. D'autres, tout en procurant aux éditeurs des Actes le texte de leur conférence, ont écrit sur le même sujet une étude plus détaillée qu'ils ont publiée ailleurs⁸⁾. Ce dernier procédé complique dans une certaine mesure la bibliographie des savants en question.

En ce qui concerne la matière des communications, nous nous contenterons d'indiquer brièvement le thème des conférences qui n'ont pas été résumées dans le *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*. Danielle Bonneau, „Liturgies et fonctionnaires de l'eau à l'époque romaine: souplesse administrative“ (pp. 35-42) s'occupe de la différence des tâches incombant au liturge et au fonctionnaire de l'irrigation, du déplacement de la main

romischen Reiches“ (p. XIII); F. C. Görschen, „Ueber die Kunst des Papyruslesens“ (p. XIV); J. F. Oates, „New Ptolemaic Papyri at Duke University“ (p. XV); A. E. Samuel, „On Economic Goals and Tacit Assumptions“ (ibidem); J. Van Haelst, „Le problème des éres utilisées dans l'Égypte byzantine“ (ibidem); N. I. Picous, „Zur Frage der Sozialen Lage der griechischen Bauern und Handwerker im Ägypten des 3en Jahrhunderts v. Chr.“ (connu par les *Abstracts*); G. Malfeld, „*Paucae quaestiones papyrologicae fragmentorum biblicorum graece traditorum ac disputationes adhuc attentas*“ (même remarque).

⁵⁾ Il s'agit des conférences de F. C. Görschen, J. F. Oates, J. Van Haelst, N. I. Picous et G. Malfeld, dont les titres ont été donnés dans la note précédente et de deux rapports, celui de M. Gigante, „Attività del Centro Internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi nel primo triennio (1969-1971)“ et de J. Scherer, „Les papyrus carbonisés de Mendès appartenant à la Collection Reinach“.

⁶⁾ Il en est ainsi pour la conférence de J. Modrzejewski, cf. p. 263.
⁷⁾ Il en est ainsi pour le rapport de H. Riad-L. Koenen (cf. note 3; voir „Das photographische Archiv griechischer Papyri; Mitteilungen über neue Lesungen an Kairener Papyri“, *Zeitschr. f. Papyr. und Epigr.* 11 (1973) pp. 201-234) et pour les conférences de R. Coles (résumé: *Akten*, p. 89; „full account with an extensive commentary“ dans *A New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus: the Hypothesis of Euripides' Alexandros*, Londres, Institute of Classical Studies, 1974), A. Henrichs (résumé: *Akten*, p. 157; „erweiterte Fassung“ dans „Towards a New Edition of Philodemus' Treatise on Piety“, *Greek, Roman & Byz. Stud.* 13 (1972) pp. 67-98), D. Simon (résumé: *Akten*, p. 389; „in erweiterter Form“ dans „Zur Zivilgerichtsbarkeit im spätbyzantinischen Ägypten“, *Rev. int. Droits Antiq.* 3e série 18 (1971) pp. 623-657), P. P. Speidel (résumé: *Akten*, p. 391-2; „in erweiterter Form“ dans „The Pay of the Auxilia“, *Journ. Roman Stud.* 63 (1973) pp. 141-147).

⁸⁾ M. Amelotti (*Akten*, pp. 27-34; voir „Le costituzioni giustiniane nei papiri“, *Scritti Casanova*, Milan 1971, pp. 119-129), O. Montevecchi, *Akten*, pp. 293-299; voir „Nerone a una polis e ai 6475“, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970; imprimé fin 1972) pp. 5-33), R. Roca-Puig (*Akten*, pp. 373-379; voir *Selecció de variants a les Catilinares de Cicero*, P. Barc. I et II in *Catilina*, Barcelona, 1971), G. Wagner (*Akten*, pp. 439-445; voir „Inscriptions grecques du temple de Karnak I“, *Bull. Inst. franç. Arch. orient.* 70 (1971) pp. 1-38), W. H. Willis (*Akten*, pp. 461-467; voir „A New Fragment of Plato's Parmenides on Parchment“, *Greek Roman & Byz. Stud.* 12 (1971) pp. 239-261), H. C. Youtie (*Akten*, pp. 481-487; voir „*Βραδὴς γράφω*: Between Literacy and Illiteracy“, *Greek Roman & Byz. Stud.* 12 (1971) pp. 239-261).

²⁾ Vgl. Wolfgang Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde* des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends, MÄS 31 (1974), S. 143.

¹⁾ Ce nombre dépasse légèrement celui des participants au 11e congrès (Milan, 1965); au 12e congrès international, organisé aux Etats Unis (Ann Arbor, 1968) il n'y avait que 93 participants. Notons que le public du congrès de Marburg représente plus d'un tiers des papyrologues affiliés à l'A.I.P. en 1972, cf. la liste des membres publiée dans la *Chronique d'Égypte* 47 (1972) pp. 357-374.

²⁾ A titre de comparaison, signalons qu'au 11e congrès on a entendu 51 communications en 7 jours, au 12e congrès 55 en 6 jours.

³⁾ H. G. Gundel, „Arbeiten an den Giessener Papyri“ (p. XI) et H. Riad-L. Koenen, „Arbeiten des Photoarchivs in Kairo: Neue Lesungen (Menander-Vergil). Ein Zauberpapyrus und zwei Dokumente“ (p. XII).

⁴⁾ N. Mathwich, „Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis der Entwicklung der Liturgie in Ägypten und in den anderen Gebieten des

d'oeuvre selon les nécessités du système, ainsi que des termes d'office du *limnastês*, de l'*ekboleus* et de l'*hydrophylax* et du flottement caractérisant le statut administratif de certaines tâches. A. Kränzlein, "Zur Urkundenklausel *κυριεύτω τῶν καρπῶν ἑως*" (pp. 215-224) fait la critique des réponses données récemment aux trois problèmes posés par la clause *κυριεύτω* des baux d'époque ptolémaïque et romaine: 1. s'agit-il d'un accord concernant la propriété? 2. voulait-on sauvegarder en faveur du bailleur quelque chose qu'il aurait perdu à défaut de cette clause? 3. quel était le but de la convention exprimée par cette clause? J. Modrzejewski, "A propos de la tutelle datée des femmes dans l'Égypte romaine" (pp. 263-292) attribue au règne de Claude ou de Néron le sénatus-consulte dont il est question dans divers documents concernant le régime de la tutelle déferée par un magistrat et sollicitant ou prononçant la *datio tutoris e lege Iulia et Titia* et *ex s.c.* M. G. Raschke, "The Office of Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt" (pp. 348-356) étudie la distribution géographique, le ressort et les termes d'office des *agoranomoi*, ainsi que les rapports entre l'*agoranomeion*, le *mnêmonion* et le *graphion*. R. Roca-Puig, "Ciceronis I et II in Catilinam. Varianten in den Papyri Barcinonenses" (pp. 373-379) signale quelques cas où la leçon du P. Barc. constitue une variante dans l'ordre des mots, dans la flexion nominale ou verbale ou dans un élément des mots composés, ainsi que quelques omissions et quelques leçons manifestement erronées. E. Seidl, "Griechisches Recht in demotischen Urkunden" (pp. 381-388) étudie la "Doppelurkunde", le *symbolon*, l'*homologie*, l'acte bilatéral ainsi que certaines particularités de la procédure, du droit des personnes et du droit public, pour arriver à la conclusion que la présence d'éléments non-égyptiens dans un document démotique ne doit pas nécessairement être attribué à l'influence du droit grec. A. Swiderek, "Les BGU de Varsovie" (pp. 393-396) donne un aperçu d'un lot de 80 documents confiés par les Staatliche Museen de Berlin à l'Institut de Papyrologie de l'Université de Varsovie en vue de leur publication dans la série des BGU. K. Treu, "Zwei weitere Berliner Septuagintfragmente" (pp. 421-426) publie le P. Berol. inv. 6785 (Psalme 36, 4-8 et 18-23) appartenant au même codex et à la même feuille que le P. Berol. inv. 6747 (= BKT VIII.8) ainsi que le P. Berol. inv. 17097, constituant la première attestation papyrologique de la 12 Ode, la seule des Odes jointes aux Psaumes qui ne soit pas extraite d'un autre livre biblique. H. C. Youtie, "Between Literacy and Illiteracy. An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt" (pp. 481-487) revient sur le n° 11 de son *Archive of Petaus*. En écrivant (ou plutôt, en faisant écrire) au sujet d'Ischyron, le comogrammate de Tamais: *μη εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀγγράμματον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ὑπογράφειν οἷς ἐπιδίδωσι βιβλίοις* (11.35-37), Petaus, le comogrammate de Ptolemais Hormou, classait son collègue dans la catégorie des *βραδὲως γράφοντες* (dont il faisait partie lui-même) afin de sauvegarder, (en se ralliant à une interprétation indulgente de l'obligation, imposée aux greffiers publics, de connaître l'art d'écrire) la fonction d'Ischyron et implicitement sa propre fonction. K. Th. Zauzich, "Entzifferung der karischen Schrift" (pp. 489-497), en se basant sur cinq textes bilingues (rédigés en hiéroglyphes

égyptiens et en langue carienne) et en partant de la supposition que la version carienne, plus concise que le texte égyptien, contient au moins les noms des personnes mentionnées dans les hiéroglyphes, propose un déchiffrement de l'écriture carienne; celle-ci serait une écriture alphabétique et la langue carienne serait apparentée au grec.

La plupart des communications lues au congrès sont ou bien informatives, ou bien critiques. Au premier groupe on trouve principalement des exposés concernant les résultats de recherches individuelles sur des textes littéraires ou documentaires⁹⁾, sur la paléographie¹⁰⁾, la diplomatique¹¹⁾ et la codicologie¹²⁾, sur l'évolution administrative¹³⁾, sur l'histoire culturelle¹⁴⁾ et sociale¹⁵⁾, sur la lexicologie¹⁶⁾ et la linguistique¹⁷⁾, et sur des problèmes littéraires¹⁸⁾ et juridiques¹⁹⁾. D'autres communications informatives concernent les instruments techniques de la recherche²⁰⁾, la portée de l'in-

⁹⁾ Recherches sur des textes littéraires antérieurement publiés: D. Del Corno, "P. Berol. 9571 verso über den Dithyrambos. Pindar und die Poetik des Aristoteles" (pp. 99-110), M. Gigante, "Su alcuni luoghi dell'opera filodemea 'De libertate dicendi'" (pp. 125-135). Publication de nouveaux textes littéraires: K. Treu (cf. p. 28)), W. H. Willis, "A Parchment palimpsest of Plato at Duke University and the Ilias Ambrosiana" (pp. 461-467). Recherches sur des papyrus documentaires antérieurement publiés: G. M. Browne, "Ad P. Oxy. XXIV 2705" (pp. 53-59), J. R. Rea, "A New View of P. Soc. VII 870" (pp. 357-366). Nouveaux textes documentaires: J. G. Keenan, "Two Papyri from the University of California Collection" (pp. 207-214), N. Lewis, "A Centurion's Will Linking Two of the Fourth-Century Karanis Archives" (pp. 225-233), H. Maehler, "Ein römischer Veteran und seine Matrikel" (pp. 241-250), O. Montevicchi-G. Geraci, "Documenta papyracea inedita ad Neronis atque Othonis principatus pertinentia in papyris Mediolanensibus reperta" (pp. 293-307), J. D. Thomas, "A New List of Names from Oxyrhynchus" (pp. 397-403).

¹⁰⁾ Cf. G. Cavallo, "Papiri greci letterari della tarda antichità. Note grafico-culturali" (pp. 69-81, partim), J. O'Callaghan, "Consideraciones sobre los 'nomina sacra' en los papiros griegos del Nuevo Testamento (del siglo IV al VIII)" (pp. 315-320), W. H. Willis (cf. note 9).

¹¹⁾ Cf. H. J. Wolff, "Zur Geschichte der Sechszugendoppelurkunde" (pp. 469-479).

¹²⁾ Cf. la conférence de G. Cavallo (voir note 10), pp. 73-76 et celle de E. G. Turner, "Some Questions about the Typology of the Codex" (pp. 427-438).

¹³⁾ Danielle Bonneau (cf. p. 27), A. K. Bowman, "Some Aspects of the Reform of Diocletian in Egypt" (pp. 43-51), C. A. Nelson, "Eiskrisis: The Identity and Function of the Officials" (pp. 309-314), M. G. Raschke (cf. p. 28), O. M. Pearl, "The 94 Klerouchies at Karanis" (pp. 325-330).

¹⁴⁾ Cf. G. Cavallo, "Papiri greci letterari della tarda antichità. Note grafico-culturali" (pp. 69-81, partim).

¹⁵⁾ I. F. Fikhsman, "Slaves in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus" (pp. 117-124), Geneviève Husson, "L'hospitalité dans les papyrus byzantins" (pp. 169-177).

¹⁶⁾ Cf. Hélène Cadell, "Le renouvellement du vocabulaire au IV^e siècle de notre ère d'après les papyrus" (pp. 61-68).

¹⁷⁾ F. T. Gignac, "Loss of Nasal Consonants in the Language of the Papyri" (pp. 137-146); B. G. Mandilaras, "Confusion of Aorist and Perfect in the Language of the Non-Literary Greek Papyri" (pp. 251-261).

¹⁸⁾ Cf. C. Corbato, "Note a papiri comici" (pp. 91-98).

¹⁹⁾ J. Herrmann, "Interpretation von Vollmachtsurkunden" (pp. 159-167), J. Modrzejewski (cf. p. 28), E. Seidl (cf. p. 28), H. Wagner, "die Formel *πρωτοπραξίας φυλασσόμενης* und die fiskalische Salvierungsklauseln des Reichsrechts" (pp. 447-459).

²⁰⁾ W. E. H. Cockle, "Taking Photographs of Papyri" (pp. 83-88), A. Tomsin-J. Denooz, "Application à un groupe de textes papyrologiques grecs relatifs aux outis d'un programme d'analyse automatique sur ordinateur" (pp. 405-420).

formation procurée par les sources papyrologiques²¹⁾ et sa mise à l'oeuvre par les chercheurs²²⁾, ainsi que l'état des travaux entrepris par divers centres de papyrologie²³⁾. Quant à la communication d'ordre critique, elle est représentée par les conférences de A. Kränzlein (cf. p. 28), H. Heinen²⁴⁾ et E. Seidl (cf. p. 28).

En lisant les Actes des derniers congrès de papyrologie on peut se réjouir "quod vigent studia", comme le disait Pliny le Jeune; il se pourrait toutefois que les éditeurs de ces Actes, forcés à trouver des subsides pour couvrir les frais de publication dont le montant augmente d'un congrès à l'autre, considèrent le nombre croissant des conférenciers comme un phénomène d'inflation et qu'ils n'en veulent pas trop aux auteurs qui décident de publier ailleurs le texte de leur conférence. Le pourcentage toujours croissant des conférenciers pose d'ailleurs déjà des problèmes aux organisateurs des congrès qui se voient forcés, faute de pouvoir allonger la durée des congrès, à réduire de façon radicale le temps accordé à chaque conférence et à la discussion de celle-ci. Tant les organismes de financement que les organisateurs des congrès pourraient faire quelque chose pour remédier à cette situation, les uns en revisant les critères dont ils se servent pour rembourser les frais de participation aux congrès, les autres en exigeant que le texte communiqué se prête à l'audition.

Nous voudrions terminer ce compte rendu par deux suggestions supplémentaires. 1. Les discussions faisant suite aux conférences étant loin d'être dénuées d'intérêt, il serait utile d'en rendre compte dans les actes. 2. Il serait souhaitable que les communications joignant l'enquête à l'information, comme p. ex. celle de E. G. Turner²⁵⁾ soient précédées, bien avant l'ouverture du congrès, par un questionnaire pour que ce type de conférence puisse porter tous ses fruits.

Wilsele, avril 1975

TONY REEKMANS

* *

N. LEWIS, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, University Press, 1974 (in-8°, VIII + 152 p., ill.). Prix: £ 5.50.

Dans l'introduction de son livre, M. Naphtali Lewis, Professeur à la City University of New York et Vice-Président de l'Association internationale de Papyro-

²¹⁾ Cf. le discours prononcé par Mme Claire Préaux à la séance d'ouverture du congrès: "La place des papyrus dans les sources de l'histoire hellénistique" (pp. 1-26).

²²⁾ Cf. l'exposé du regretté R. Rémondon sur la "Situation présente de la papyrologie byzantine" (pp. 367-372); cette conférence devait être son ultime message d'historien.

²³⁾ Cf. W. Peremans, "Rapport sur les activités du séminaire de papyrologie à l'Université de Louvain" (pp. 331-338) et A. Swiderek, "Les BGU de Varsovie" (pp. 393-396). Les rapports de H. G. Gundel, ("Arbeiten an den Giessener Papyri"), H. Riad-L. Koenen ("Arbeiten des Photoarchivs in Kairo"), M. Gigante ("Attività del Centro Internaz. per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi"), C. Corbato ("Preparazione di un spoglio lessicale dei papiri comici adespoti"), H. J. Wolff ("Freiburger Arbeiten") et autres n'ont pas été publiés dans les Actes.

²⁴⁾ "Les mariages de Ptolémée VIII Evergète et leur chronologie. Etude comparative de papyrus et d'inscriptions grecs, démotiques et hiéroglyphiques" (pp. 147-155).

²⁵⁾ Cf. note 12.

gues, rappelle les critiques qui suivirent la publication de sa thèse doctorale, il y a quarante ans, *L'industrie du papyrus dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*. Bien que l'auteur ait élargi depuis lors le cadre géographique de son sujet à tous les pays de l'antiquité classique, l'Égypte reste, il va de soi, le centre de tout ce qui concerne le papyrus.

Dans la première partie, l'auteur passe en revue de façon critique les différents textes d'auteurs anciens qui mentionnent la plante. Nous y trouvons également l'opinion d'historiens et de philologues qui comprennent le mot "papyrus" comme "celui du pharaon" — "that of the pharaoh" (cf. en outre J. Vergote, dans *Mélanges H. Grégoire III*, Bruxelles, 1951, p. 411-416, sur l'origine du mot "papier") et de ceux qui l'interprètent comme "croissance de la rivière" — "growth of the river". M. Lewis rappelle les divers usages de la plante, dont rien ne se perdait. On ne s'étonne pas que l'emploi du terme "papyrus" pouvait amener des confusions, p. ex. quand on parlait de la cendre de papyrus utilisée en médecine, il pouvait s'agir aussi bien de la cendre de la plante que de celle du "papier".

Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la deuxième partie, "The Paper", débute par le fameux extrait de l'Histoire naturelle de Pliny, NH XIII, 74-82; ce texte considéré à plus d'un point comme obscur et confus, a depuis la Renaissance procuré pas mal de difficultés aux éditeurs et aux commentateurs. Texte et traduction sont suivis d'un commentaire fouillé d'une trentaine de pages. M. Lewis y fait preuve de beaucoup d'esprit critique, tout comme dans les notes abondantes dans lesquelles il ne ménage pas les auteurs auxquels l'esprit critique fait défaut. On retrouve la même acribie lorsque notre auteur reconnaît ses erreurs de jeunesse en corrigeant à juste titre certaines interprétations de son ouvrage de 1934. Dorénavant, celui qui devra commenter le texte de Pliny ne pourra pas se passer des pages que M. Lewis y a consacrées. Après avoir discuté les termes techniques *χαρτης*, *βιβλος*, *κόλλημα* (et e.a. *πρωτόκολλον*) et *σέλις*, l'auteur passe en revue les différents pays où les papyrus étaient employés; on retiendra que pendant toute l'antiquité classique et post-classique l'Égypte a été le fournisseur de tout le monde méditerranéen.

Dans la troisième partie, "The Paper Industrie", notions à propos de la culture et de la moisson du papyrus cette réflexion importante: on pouvait presque sans interruption fabriquer le papyrus puisqu'on pouvait le moissonner tout le long de l'année. A propos de la manufacture et de la vente du papyrus-papier, on peut souligner quelques observations de M. Lewis: l'eau du Nil n'a pas de qualité adhésive, on ne fabriquait pas uniquement le papyrus à Alexandrie et quoique la fabrication fût sévèrement contrôlée, il est douteux qu'elle ait été monopolisée. Au sujet du prix du papier, discutant si le prix était élevé ou modique, notre auteur compare le coût d'un rouleau de papyrus à Athènes, à Délos et en Égypte au salaire d'un ouvrier (mais de quel ouvrier?). A propos de ces prix M. Lewis remarque encore que beaucoup de gens n'avaient jamais besoin de papier et que pour les riches cette manière n'était pas chère. Les spécialistes en affaires financières et fiscales trouveront particulièrement intéressant le dernier chapitre "taxation: unresolved problems".

Dans ce livre agréablement édité, comme on l'est ha-

bitué à l'Oxford U.P., M. Lewis n'a omis aucun aspect de tout ce qui a rapport à la plante, au papier, à l'industrie et à la vente du papier. Plus d'une fois le lecteur trouvera la discussion d'un problème à différents endroits. Ce qui est naturel: le sujet est tel qu'il y a une liaison étroite entre les trois parties du livre, dès lors rien d'étonnant que certains détails soient mentionnés plus d'une fois.

Korbeek-Lo — Leuven, juin 1975

H. LECLERCQ

* * *

Richard SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*; Band I: Tafeln, erster Teil, Urkunden; Band II: Tafeln, zweiter Teil, literarische Papyri. Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1967 und 1970.

Ein wesentliches Hilfsmittel für den Papyrologen ist eine, in chronologischer Reihenfolge angeordnete Gruppe Abbildungen von Papyri und Ostraka, welche für ihre Zeit charakteristisch sind. Unsere Vorgänger konnten noch über die schönen Tafelbände von Wilcken, Schubart und Norsa verfügen, aber diese vorzüglichen Werke sind jetzt schon längst vergriffen. Wir sind deshalb Herrn Seider grossen Dank schuldig, dass er sich die so schwere Aufgabe gestellt hat mit seiner „Paläographie der griechischen Papyri“ den heutigen Papyrologen aufs neue dieses Hilfsmittel zu beschaffen. Dieses grosszügige Werk soll drei Bände erhalten: I Tafeln der Urkunden, II Tafeln der literarischen Papyri und III Darstellung der Entwicklung der griechischen Schrift. Teil III ist jetzt noch nicht veröffentlicht worden.

Fangen wir an mit einer Besprechung des ersten Bandes; der Verf. geht von den folgenden, sehr richtigen Grundsätzen aus: 1. die Tafeln müssen chronologisch angeordnet sein; 2. deshalb können nur datierte Texte aufgenommen werden; 3. die Entwicklung der Schrift muss aus den gegebenen Abbildungen hervorgehen; 4. die Struktur des Beschreibstoffes muss in den Abbildungen zur Geltung kommen; 5. die Texte müssen in Originalgrösse abgebildet werden und 6. jeder Tafel muss der Text gegenüberstehen, d.h. eine kurze Mitteilung über Inhalt und Fundort der Urkunde, die Texteditionen, sowie die wichtigste Literaturangabe der abgebildeten Urkunde und schliesslich die Transkription. Hinsichtlich des 5. Grundsatzes muss hier erwähnt werden, dass manchmal das Buchformat die Abbildung der ganzen Urkunde nicht erlaubt hat; in diesen Fällen wird in der Transkription durch Doppelstriche angedeutet, wo der abgebildete Text anfängt, bzw. aufhört.

Der 4. Grundsatz ist auf ausgezeichnete Weise realisiert worden: die sehr schönen photographischen Abbildungen der Urkunden geben einen äusserst deutlichen Eindruck von der Struktur des Papyrusblattes und von der Weise wie das Blatt beschrieben wurde. Die sehr gute Qualität der Abbildungen geht z.B. besonders deutlich hervor aus einer Vergleichung der Abbildungen von Texten aus P. Heid. III in diesem Band mit denen in der Originaledition.

Nur farbige Abbildungen können noch deutlicher sein, besonders für die Frage, welche sich bei der Abbildung eines Papyrus so oft vortut, ob ein bestimmter schwarzer

Strich auf der Abbildung Tinte oder Schatte wiedergibt. (Man vergleiche z.B. die farbige Abbildung von S.B. III 7263 in der Propyläen Weltgeschichte, Band III, zwischen S. 520 und S. 521, mit Seiders Nr. 5.)

Auf den 6. Grundsatz (der Text muss jeder Tafel gegenüberstehen) hat man, wohl aus finanziellen Gründen, leider verzichten müssen: sehr oft findet man die Transkription nicht gegenüber der zugehörigen Abbildung. Aus diesem Grund wurden im Album Tafelnummern und Abbildungsnummern angewandt, was m.E. doch leicht zu Verwechslung Anlass geben kann.

Die Auswahl von 57 Papyri und 6 Ostraka ist ausgezeichnet, die 63 Texte geben einen sehr guten Eindruck der Schriftentwicklung in den Papyrusurkunden von 310 v. Chr. bis 616 n. Chr. Es war dem Verf. aber sicher möglich gewesen noch mehr Urkunden auszulesen, von welchen noch nie eine Abbildung in einem Tafelband gegeben war; in Seiders Band finden wir m.E. zu viele „alte Bekannte“.

In den meisten Fällen stimmt die Transkription der Texte mit der in der Originaledition überein; auf Grund der in diesem Tafelband gegebenen Abbildungen hat man in den Besprechungen dieses Albums verschiedene Berichtigungen vorgeschlagen für P. Baden 22, 74 und 75, für C.P.R. 10, für P. Hamb. 24 und für P. Ryl. 196; (vgl. B.L. VI, die bald erscheinen wird). In der heiklen Frage, ob immer die richtige Wahl zwischen Strich und Punkt unter einem beschädigten Buchstabe getroffen wurde, stimme ich nicht immer mit dem Verf. überein.

In den Transkriptionen werden die Siglen und Symbole genau so abgebildet als wie sie im Text geschrieben wurden; sie werden dann in der annotatio erklärt. Dies ist an sich ein sehr richtiges Verfahren, aber leider hat der Drucker viel zu grosse und viel zu fette Klischees für diese Symbole und Siglen benützt, so dass das Gesamtbild der Transkription oft sehr störend wirkt (besonders Nr. 47!). In den Transkriptionen findet man einige Druckfehler (z.B. Nr. 12, Z. 8, Nr. 50, Z. 8 und 11).

Das sind nur einige kleinere Bedenken; grössere Einwendungen muss ich aber erheben gegen das System der Bezeichnung der Texte. Mit Recht hat der Verf. auf eine Bezeichnung nach Inventarnummer verzichtet und gibt er die üblichen Abkürzungen der Editionstitel. Hier ist er aber nicht folgerecht vorgegangen: so bezeichnet er z.B. Nr. 5 als P. Lond. 2653, obgleich der Text als S.B. III 7263 herausgegeben wurde; ebenso sollte man Nr. 6 als S.B. VIII 9796 bezeichnen, Nr. 12 als Mitt. Chrest., Nr. 233, Nr. 42 als S.B. I 4639, Nr. 43 als C.P.R. I 32, Nr. 44 als S.B. I 4440, Nr. 55 als S.B. IV 7438, Nr. 61 als S.B. I 5638 und Nr. 62 als Wilcken, Chrest., Nr. 256. Bei den Literaturangaben und im Verzeichnis der Editionen fand ich einige Lücken; sicher, der Verf. will nur das Wesentliche geben, aber er hätte m.E. doch unbedingt die Fälle angeben müssen, dass seine Texte auch in den Tafeln der (New) Palaeographic Society oder in Thompsons Introduction abgebildet sind; auch eine Angabe der Neudrucke in P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* hätte nahe gelegen.

Als Einführung auf die Abbildungen gibt der Verf. erst eine Übersicht der „Veröffentlichungen der Papyri und Ostraka“ (S. 9-17), dann ein „Verzeichnis der ab-

gebildeten Papyri und Ostraka“ (S. 18), in welchem Verzeichnis er m.E. manchmal eine andre Signatur für die Texte hätte geben müssen (siehe oben). Dann folgt ein „Verzeichnis der Fundorte“ (S. 19); diese Liste würde m.E. noch zweckmässiger gewesen sein, wenn der Verf. die Fundorte nach Gau geordnet hatte so dass die Stichworte „Fajūm“ und z.B. „Euhemeria“ nicht als gleichwertig untereinander stehen würden. Auch die Andeutung Qarāra würde dann unter einem zugehörigen Gaunamen gestanden haben. Darauf folgt das „Verzeichnis der Standorte“ (S. 20), die „Bedeutung der Zeichen“ und die „Abkürzungen“ (S. 21). Dann zwei äusserst nützliche Karten, die erste von ganz Ägypten, die andre von den Fundorten im Fajūm (S. 22-23). Darauf folgen noch eine Zeittafel (S. 24-26) und eine Bibliographie (S. 27-30); hier vermisste ich die Erwähnung der Akten der papyrologischen Kongresse.

Mit seinem zweiten Band gibt der Verf. einen Einblick in die reiche literarische Überlieferung auf Papyrus. Der Plan dieses Bandes stimmt dem des 1. Bandes überein: auch hier werden die Abbildungen auf Originalgrösse, gegeben, auch hier gibt die Abbildung einen sehr genauen Eindruck des Beschreibstoffes, auch hier war es leider unmöglich immer die Transkription gegenüber den Abbildungen zu drucken, so dass auch hier wieder Tafelnummern und Abbildungsnummern vorkommen. Von jedem Text wird, wie das für eine literarische Text erforderlich ist, eine Abschrift und eine Umschrift gegeben.

Das Album enthält 71 Textabbildungen, die jüngste stammt aus dem Mitte des 4. Jhrh.s v. Chr., die älteste aus dem 7.-8. Jhrh. n. Chr.. Auch hier hat der Verf. seine Texte mit grösstem Sorgfalt erwählt. In der Literaturangabe zu den Texten werden gegebenenfalls die Abbildungen in den Tafeln der (New) Palaeographic Society oder in Thompsons Introduction erwähnt.

Für einige Texte hege ich Bedenken gegen die Andeutung der Editionen oder gegen die Signatur. In Nr. 4 muss Zenon Papyri IV stehen; in Nr. 5 ist die Signatur P. Petrie 45 nicht deutlich genug; es muss P. Petrie II 45 sein, was auch aus der Editionsangabe hervorgeht; Nr. 10 kann man nach der Publikation der P. Würzb. (erwähnt in der Liste „Veröffentlichungen der Papyri“, S. 22) nicht mehr als P. Würzb. 1 angedeutet werden, hier muss der Zusatz Inv.Nr. hinzukommen.

Bei Nr. 13 vermisste ich die Edition in den „Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres Bibliothèques“, Tome XVIII, Paris 1865, S. 77-109.

Am Anfang dieses zweiten Bandes steht ein „Verzeichnis der abgebildeten Papyri“ (S. 11-12), in welchem bei P. Petrie und P. Würzb. die Signatur nicht richtig ist (siehe oben); das Verzeichnis ist nach Tafelnummern und zum zweiten Male nach Inventarnummern angeordnet. Es folgen ein „Verzeichnis der Fundorte“ (S. 13), ein „Verzeichnis der Standorte“ (S. 14) und die Liste „Veröffentlichungen der Papyri und Ostraka“ (S. 15-25), welche mit einigen Auslassungen auch im 1. Band vorkommt; in der Liste des 2. Bandes werden zwei Signaturen gegeben für die Soknobraisis-Papyri, u.zw. P. Bacchias und P. Soknabr. Nach dieser Liste folgen dann

noch ein „Literaturverzeichnis“ (S. 26-29) und ein „Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen“ (S. 30-32). Nach den Texten gibt der Verf. noch ein „Personenregister“ (S. 181-184), ein „Sachregister“ (S. 185-188) und ein „Orts- und Länderregister“ (S. 189).

Für seine glückliche Initiative und für die vorzügliche Verwirklichung dieser Initiative sind wir dem Verf. zu dem grössten Dank verpflichtet; wir hoffen, dass der 3. Band bald erscheinen wird.

Bloemendaal, November 1974

E. BOSWINKEL

CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

Wolfhart WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs Wilhelm Spiegelbergs. Lieferung 5. Heidelberg, Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1974 (in-8°, S. 321-400).

Le cinquième fascicule du Dictionnaire copte de W. Westendorf comprend sur 80 pages les lettres š (à partir de špiēt), F, H (jusqu'à htīt), ce qui correspond chez Crum à 150 pages sur 844 (de p. 577 à p. 727).

La lettre š comprend les noms à première radicale š, dans certains cas également h et, plus rarement, en raison d'une assimilation, s. La lettre F ne couvre que 3 pages et seules dix entrées possèdent une étymologie égyptienne. En revanche les mots commençant par H sont extrêmement fréquents en copte (comme d'ailleurs en arabe: h) ce qui provient d'une part de la fréquence des mots à h initial en égyptien et du fait que 4 lettres de l'ancien alphabet (h, h, h, h) sont représentées sous Hori dans la plupart des dialectes coptes. L'existence d'un ancien préfix h est un fait, bien que son rôle n'a jamais pu être défini avec exactitude. G. Thausing lui assigne 7 fonctions différentes (Über ein h-Präfix im Ägyptischen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXXIX, 1932, p. 287-294), à savoir (a) une généralisation: 11 cas, (b) une relation inconnue: 1 cas; (c) la marque du verbe transitif ou actif: 11 cas, (d) une valeur opposée à celle du simplex, comme dans le cas des 'addād de l'arabe: 9 cas, (e) des noms de lieu: 5 cas, (f) aucune différence avec le nom primitif: 18 cas et (f) comme support d'interjections: 4 cas. Ce sujet mérite d'être repris avec plus de rigueur et l'auteur du Dictionnaire a bien fait de ne citer que l'étude de Baines (*Orientalia* XXXIX, p. 404).

Aussi le fascicule présent se distingue comme les précédents par une disposition claire, un très grand nombre d'indications précises et toujours accompagnées de références bibliographiques mises à jour et une foule de remarques, personnelles ou provenant d'autres savants dont les études ne sont pas encore publiées. Pour ne pas encombrer le Handwörterbuch, l'auteur a renoncé à inclure des mots à signification mal définie, des graphies aberrantes ou évidemment erronées, en se bornant au vocabulaire que l'étudiant — et aussi l'étudiant avancé — peut rencontrer au cours de ses lectures. On ne peut qu'admirer la somme de travail que l'auteur a fournie pour mettre ce dictionnaire à la disposition du public.

Špiēt „pudique“, f. špieete est bien noté comme dérivé de šipe „avoir honte“ (p. 321) et indépendamment (p.

322). La forme nominale a été étudiée dans mon article sur la désignation du *wšb.t-y* (*Muséon* LXXXV, 1972, p. 533-534: Ushebti).

Špat (A₂) une partie du corps est mentionné entre le coeur et les reins. On peut se demander si cette localisation est d'une précision scientifique, sinon le mot pourrait bien correspondre à *hpd-w* (pl.) "buttocks" chez Faulkner (p. 190). Dans ce cas il s'agirait bien entendu du singulier *hpd*.

Šōp "plante du pied" ne se trouve que chez Kircher (78) et non dans les textes. Il s'agit de la prononciation "arabe" du *šima*, phénomène assez tardif.

Sponu est, malgré son aspect étrange, bien attesté comme désignation de la "jeune fille" et ne mérite pas le point d'interrogation.

Šōs "berger", pl. *šōos* est bien indiqué comme dérivé de *šs-w* "Umherschweifende" (*itinérants* ou sim.). Pour le sens on peut comparer arabe *sāriḥ*, pl. *surrāḥ* "berger". Il s'agit apparemment d'un ancien participe **šā3is*, pl. **šā3s-u* (issu de **šā3is-ū*). On ne comprend pas l'étymologie de l'hébreu *šāsāḥ* "piller".

Šsne "évènement, coïncidence" de l'égyptien *šhny* peut avoir un rapport avec l'arabe *ššna* (même signification, aussi "chance") que j'ai entendu en Égypte chez les 'Ababda.

Šēt "200" (m.) est évidemment une forme "refaite". Nous savons que la terminaison du duel féminin survit en copte comme *-te*. On peut penser qu'il y avait deux formes, **šēte* (considéré comme f.) et *šēt* (sans *-e* comme m.). Aussi *snaw* "deux" a perdu son *-e trop* "féminin" pour un nom de nombre masculin.

Šteko "prison" est expliqué comme démotique *štḳ* = *št3 ḳ3* "haut secret". Il est difficile de suivre le développement de ce terme. Est-il permis de penser aux "oubliettes" du Moyen Âge? Pour l'instant nous n'avons pas d'étymologie sûre. Peut-être il y a un rapport avec *s-dg3* "cacher", comp. notre mot "cachot".

Šathūl "ichneumon", en vieux copte *ḥatūl* est indiqué comme provenant de néo-égyptien *ḥ3trw*. La vieille étymologie de Rossi reprise par Crum (hébreu *ḥātūl*) est supprimée, probablement à cause du sens ("chat").

Des nombreuses formes (1) *šwēb*, (2) *šwēēb*, (3) *šwebe*, (4) *šwefe*, (5) *šbīb*, (6) *šēb*, (7) *šēwe*, (8) *šwe*, (9) *šwē*, (10) *šbē* désignant le "perséa" (égyptien *šw3b*); elles sont difficiles à classer. Il y a d'abord un groupe (no. 1-5) qu'on serait tenté d'opposer au reste (no. 6-10). Dans le premier groupe les formes à voyelle longue *šwēb* (*šwēw*), *šbīb* pourraient constituer un ancien singulier (**šaw3ibaw*), tandis que celles à voyelle brève comme *šwēbe* (*šwēfe*) pourraient dériver d'un pluriel. Les formes du deuxième groupe remontent à *šwy* (écrit *š3w3yw*). Il s'agit d'un nom botanique typiquement africain, comme les désignation du palmier-dattier (*bnyw*) et du palmier doum (en copte *kūk*).

Šweit "vide, vain, versé" (phon. *šwīt*) est correctement indiqué comme le *qualitatif* de *šwo* "verser, vider, s'écouler". Mais dans *xen-u-šwīt* (B) "en vain" c'est

un *nom*. Il y a donc des *noms* qui proviennent d'anciens *qualificatifs*.

Šcilcil, *škelkil* "clochette" survit chez les Coptes comme *šqilqil* (à Louxor *šgilgil*) en arabe.

Ftow "quatre" correspond à l'égyptien *fdw*. Il semble pourtant que la forme correcte doive s'écrire *yfd-w*, comp. *yfd.t* "tétrade" = copte *aftē*. De plus **yefdāw*: *ftow* montre la même structure que **seysāw*: **ssow* = *sow* "six" avec les formes f. *ftoe*, *fto* et soe, so. L'étymologie proposée par Zyhlarz (bedja *faḍig*) est à écarter. Bedja *d* provient d'un ancien *g* (*Βουγαῖται* = *Bedā*). Nous ne connaissons aucun cas où bedja *d* remonte à un ancien *d*. Aussi l'étymologie de *ftōte* "essuyer" = bedja *fid* "se moucher" (également proposée par Zyhlarz) est à abandonner (*fdy*: *3fg*). Il n'y a qu'une consonne de commun et la signification des deux verbes ne concorde pas: la forme correcte est d'ailleurs *'afid* "to sneeze, to spill" (E. M. Roper, *Tu Bedawie*. Hertsford, England 1928, p. 144).

Hē "partie avant, commencement" avec les variantes *hiē* et *ehē* ne peut remonter à *h3t*. A la rigueur on pourrait admettre **h3y.t* bien que cette forme ne soit jamais écrite en toutes lettres.

Hē "brise" (m.) dans *hē n tēw* provient selon Osing de *wh3* "Wehen des Windes" (souffle du vent, chez Faulkner "full blast of storm"). On aurait donc un nom verbal **h3w* = *hē* (S) et **he* (B). Or, les nom verbaux de ce type (verbes I *aew*) ont tous, sans exception, en sémitique un *i* bref, comp. arabe *si'a.t* "largeur" (*w-s-*), comp. égyptien *šhw*, prob. **siḥaw*. Il se trouve cependant que seul l'arabe dialectal connaît également des formes à *i* long (par ex. *ḡiḥa*, Louxor, arabe classique *ḡiḥa.t*). S'agit-il d'une innovation? La question reste posée. En hébreu la voyelle était brève (*lêdēt* "naissance" mis pour **lid.t*: plus tard **lad.t*).

Hoi "roue hydraulique, sāqiya" pl. *hieew*, *hieew[e]* a un rapport avec *h3y.t* "terre irriguée" comme il est indiqué. Il semble que *ehēw* du nom de l'île de *Panehēw* chez Amélineau (Géographie), en arabe *ḡazira.t as-sawāqi* ("île des roues hydrauliques") constitue le pluriel normal de *hoi*. Nous avons son "frère" pl. *snēw*, *čoy* "bateau" pl. *ečēw* et maintenant *ehēw* (de *Pa-n-ehēw*). Les structures sont les mêmes **sānyaw*, **dā3yaw*, **hā3yaw* et au pluriel **snīyw-u*, **ed3īyw-u*, **eh3īyw-u*. Pour *hēbs* "lampe, bougeoir" (B) Westendorf ne signale pas la graphie syllabique *ḥu-ba-sa* d'Albright. Dans ce cas la voyelle *ū* (comme type, prononciation réelle *ō* ou sim.) est certaine et on le sait parce que le son du *h* s'est maintenu en bohairique (*hēbs*). Un ancien **ḥi-ba-sa* aurait donné *šēbs*.

Hēke "pauvre" est interprété comme "affamé" (*hkr*). Je connais en arabe moderne *ḡī'an* "affamé" dans le même sens (Louxor: *nās ḡa'anin* "des gens pauvres"). *Hko* "avoir faim" est mis en rapport avec bedja *haraug* (plus exactement *hara'g*) d'après Zyhlarz. Cet auteur s'est approprié l'étymologie de Leo Reinisch (*Wörterbuch der Bedauye-Sprache*, Wien 1895, p. 125). Bien que l'équation pose des problèmes *h*: *h*, *k*: *g*^w et une métathèse) il est tout à fait possible qu'il y ait un rap-

port. D'ailleurs *hkr* ne semble pas avoir de correspondance en berbère et en sémitique.

A sujet de *hako* "sorcier" on pourrait citer mon article sur le nom d'agent en égyptien (*Muséon* XLV, 1952, p. 1-4) où la relation entre les deux formes est exposée. Cette forme est aujourd'hui bien attestée en copte (et aussi en berbère: Berberische Nomina agentis im Dialekt des Djebel Nefusa (OLZ 67, 1972, 533-5). Pour le sahidique on pourra reconstruire *hakkā3* ce qui correspond parfaitement aux formes du sémitique et du berbère. Pour *ham-nifi* "asthme" (B), nom cité sans référence, on pourrait aussi bien mentionner *ham-nifi* (B) forme bien établie par Crum. Elle correspond également mieux à l'étymologie proposée par l'auteur. *Hir* (B) "rue" avec un pluriel *hair* (Kasser, Bodmer VI) est comparée avec l'accadien *hurru* (signifiant, non "rue", mais "trou"). Le lecteur aurait aimé voir comment se résolvent les problèmes du sens et des formes.

Hrman "grenade" (S) est mis en rapport avec l'accadien *armannu* "abricot" selon Helck, *Vorderasien* 606, note 4. Cette dernière traduction a été fortement mise en doute par le grand Dictionnaire accadien de Chicago. Ici également, des éclaircissements auraient été bien venus, car on ne voit pas très bien comment un abricotier peut porter des grenades. Pour ma part, j'aurais mieux aimé citer les nombreuses formes de l'accadien qui signifient la "grenade" du type de *nurmu*, (*nuzi nurumu*), aussi *lurmū*, *nurimtu*, *lurimtu* et *nurmānu*. La forme *nurm* survit d'ailleurs en arménien sous la forme de *nur* dont le *r* "fort" (*ra*) rappelle l'existence d'une ancienne nasale (**nurm*).

Hrēre "fleur" (S) est comparée avec *λεῖριον*, *lilium*: mauvaise suggestion de Gardiner. Le mot possède une excellente étymologie sémitique. Enfin *hroti* "enfants" (B) est défini comme un singulier: "Kind, Junge, Junges". Le singulier, d'ailleurs attesté est *hrōt* (O) et se trouve dans le nom du dieu Harpokrates "Horus l'enfant", *Hr p3 hrd*. C'était apparemment en égyptien *harād*, nom verbal du verbe *hrd*, plus tard réduit en *hrad* = *hrōt* (O) écrit avec *ω*. Mais *hroti* (B) doit remonter à *hrd-(y).t* le collectif "enfants" vocalisé **harād-y-a.t*, forme qui explique la vocalisation du mot bohairique et qui se trouve écrite en néo-égyptien en toutes lettres comme *hrd-y.t=f* "ses enfants" (WB).

Ces remarques qui ne portent que sur une partie très petite du dictionnaire ne portent aucune atteinte à l'utilité du grand travail accompli par M. Westendorf. Le sens des mots — et c'est l'essentiel pour tout dictionnaire — est donné avec une grande précision et nous attendons avec intérêt les livraisons suivantes.

Genève, septembre 1975

WERNER VYICHL

* *

N. S. H. JANSMA, *Ornements des manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc*. Groningen, Wolters-Noordhoff Publishing, 1973 (4to, 253 S., 1 farbiges Titelblatt, 111 unnummerierte zeichnerische Tafeln im Text) = Scripta Archaeologica Groningana 5. Preis: f 57.70.

Trotz eines immer wachsenden Interesses seitens der

Fachleute wie auch der Laien, dem sich die ägyptische christenzeitliche — koptische — Kunst erfreut, stösst man noch immer auf bedeutende Hindernissen, will man irgendeine Frage der Geschichte der koptischen Kunst beantworten, sollte sie sich auf ein Detailproblem beziehen oder sei sie von umfassender Bedeutung. Der Hauptgrund der Schwierigkeiten, denen die Forschung begegnet, ergibt sich — wenn wir hier von allgemeinen kunsttheoretisch-methodischen Fragen absehen — aus Problemen der Bestimmung entsprechend der Provenienz, bzw. der Datierung des bekannten Denkmalmaterials. Wie bekannt, kennen wir Provenienz, wie auch Zusammenhänge der relativen und absoluten Chronologie des Grossteils der Denkmäler nicht. Die Chronologie der koptischen Kunst wurde so in einem grösseren Masse den verschiedenen Theorien über ihre Entwicklung unterworfen, als irgendeines anderen Bereiches der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung.

Deshalb verdient auch jede Arbeit, welche Daten der relativen und vielleicht auch absoluten Chronologie zu ermitteln, Merkmale von Denkmalgruppen zu bestimmen versucht, oder die Vorausbedingungen zu verschaffen bestrebt ist, eine besondere Beachtung. Das Buch von N. S. H. Jansma ist ein trefflicher Repräsentant der letzteren Kategorie, und sollte es auch gewissermassen ungerecht klingen, muss ich schon im vornhinein betonen, dass ich seine Bedeutung in erster Reihe darin sehe, wo es Gelegenheit zu einer, seine eigentliche Thematik überschreitenden Verwendung bietet.

Jansma griff aus dem ornamentalen Schmuck der Manuskripte, welche aus dem Bestand des Weissen Klosters von Sohag erhalten geblieben sind, die Rankenornamentik hervor; die beiden anderen Ornamentengruppen der koptischen Handschriften, nämlich das Flechtmuster und den Tierfigurendekor lässt sie aus methodologischen Gründen ausser acht. Die eine, weil „l'ornamentation d'entrelacs est représenté sommairement dans les manuscrits du Monastère Blanc et est utilisé, contrairement à l'ornamentation florale, avec peu d'invention"; die andere, da deren Analyse von der Methodik des vorgelegten Buches wesentlich abweichen würde (S. IX). Beiden Begrenzungen können wir beistimmen, doch erwarten wir in der Zukunft von Jansma auch die diesmal übergangenen Untersuchungen, da die Bearbeitung der Ornamentik der Sohager Handschriften sich nicht mit der Veröffentlichung eines aus dem Ganzen herausgegriffenen Teiles erschöpfen kann, desto weniger, da die einzelnen Ornamentarten sich auch chronologisch überschneiden.

Schon aus der Untersuchung des Pflanzenschmuckes wird es klar, dass „l'ornamentation des manuscrits du Monastère Blanc démontre clairement un caractère propre, qui la distingue des autres bibliothèques monastiques" (S. X). — Kapitel I ist eine kurze Übersicht der von der Geschichte des Weissen Klosters bekannten Daten. Zu der trotz ihres sehr bündigen Stils präzisen Übersicht soll jedoch bemerkt sein, dass es übertrieben ist, von dem koptischen Inschriftenmaterial der Kathedrale von Faras folgendes zu sagen: „la plupart d'entre elles datent du VIII^e siècle" (S. 3). Auch ist es vielleicht übereilt, über eine Auswanderung der Kopten nach Nubien, wie über die sogenannte Ansiedlung der Nubier in

Oberägypten so einen entschiedenen Urteil zu formen, wie es Jansma tut.

Kapitel II bespricht im allgemeinen die Arten der koptischen Manuskripte, ihren ornamentalen Schmuck, die zur Illuminierung verwendeten Farben, die Frage der Skriptoria, usw. Kapitel III bietet eine Zusammenstellung der Aufbewahrungsorte der aus dem Bestand der Bibliothek des Weissen Klosters erhalten gebliebenen Handschriften. Jansma untersucht 9000 handschriftliche Seiten von zehn Sammlungen (London, British Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum; Oxford, Bodleian Library; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale; Cairo, Coptic Museum; Wien, Nationalbibliothek; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Papyrussammlung; Leyden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden). Kapitel IV gibt eine Übersicht über die bisherige Forschung der Ornamentik koptischer Handschriften, von Maspero bis Petersen — jedoch keineswegs eine Vollständigkeit erstrebend; so kann es erklärt werden, dass z.B. das Werk von P. du Bourguet (*Die Kopten*, Baden-Baden), veröffentlicht 1967, nicht erwähnt wird. Kapitel V berichtet über die vier Grundformen der Dekoration von Handschriftenseiten (1. Initialendekor; 2. aus dem Anfangsbuchstaben auf die Seitenränder übergehendes Ornament; 3. einfaches, grosses Ornament an den Kapitelfanfängen; 4. zusammengesetzte Verzierung an den Kapitelfanfängen — von welchen für die Sohager Handschriften Typ 2 und 4 charakteristisch sind). Der eigentliche Hauptteil fängt mit Kapitel VI an. Einer mit ausgezeichneten Zeichnungen begleiteten Aufzählung von 51 Arten des aus der Koronis auslaufenden Dekors folgen 9 Arten der aus der Diple gebildeten symmetrischen Blattornamente. Kapitel VII ist ein Versuch, die 26 Glieder (A-V) des Katalogs von Ornamentengruppen in eine chronologische Reihenfolge zu stellen: 1. (Motivengruppen A-B); Grundmotiv Koronis und Diple; „on experimente avec les diverses variations possibles de développement sur une thème avec des feuilles, fruits et hachures“; der Dekor ist meistens farblos, ein kleinerer Teil mit grüner, roter, orange-farbiger und rosa Füllbemalung verziert (S. 41). 2. (Motivengruppen C-S); die Koronis verschwindet: „toute l'attention est fixée sur la cohérence et les éléments végétaux“. Von der Fauna sind lediglich die Vögel vertreten, von dem Pflanzenmotiv nur sehr selten unabhängig. 3. (Motivengruppen T-V): das ursprüngliche Pflanzencharakter des Ornaments verschwindet, eine geometrische Tendenz wird vorherrschend. Wir begegnen mit verschiedenen Tierfiguren. Kapitel VIII und IX untersuchen die charakteristischen Motive der verschiedenen koptischen „Ornamentmischschulen“, bzw. die Verbindung unter den Motiven der Ornamentik der Handschriften und dem Gesamtgebiet der koptischen Kunst, wie auch den Kunsterzeugnissen anderer Gebiete. In diesem letzteren, die Anfänge und Parallele untersuchenden Kapitel ist zweifellos die Feststellung eines Zusammenhanges zwischen nubischen Keramiken und dem Buchschmuck der Sohager Handschriften (S. 53 ff.) für die originellste Beobachtung zu halten. Es wäre jedoch erwünscht, wenn die von Jansma bemerkten Übereinstimmungen von den Spezialisten der Keramikforschung auch vom Standpunkt der nubischen Keramik untersucht wären, ob sie auch Möglichkeiten zu einer genaueren

Datierung der bemalten nubischen Gefässe bieten könnten. Nicht weniger interessant ist die Frage, die letzten Endes auch auf die Untersuchung des koptischen Buchschmucks zurückwirkt: nämlich durch welchen Vermittler waren die Buchornamente von Sohag nach der Töpferwerkstätte von Faras gelangt (die Frage eines Musterbuches).

Von S. 56 bis 232 finden wir einen detaillierten Katalog der 26 grossen Motivengruppen der Sohager Handschriftenornamentik (= „une groupe d'ornements se compose d'un ou de plusieurs groupes de fragments ou de fragments isolés comportant le même genre d'ornements“, S. 101), und eingehende Informationen über die Handschriften, die einzelnen Motive enthaltend (A: „Catalogue des groupes de fragments“ S. 56-90; B: „Catalogue des fragments isolés“, S. 91-100). Die Ornamente begleiten in sorgfältig ausgeführten Zeichnungen im Verhältnis von 4 : 5 die knappen, doch sehr brauchbaren Beschreibungen. Am Ende des Buches werden noch zwei weitere Behelfe gegeben: „Catalogue résumé des fragments faisant l'objet de la présente étude selon leur groupe d'ornements“ S. 232-7; „Classement par bibliothèques des fragments faisant l'objet de la présente étude“ S. 238-45.

Jansmas Buch — wie alle sorgfältig durchgeführte, korpusartige Unternehmungen — zeigt über die Dokumentation des dargereichten Materials hinaus. Einerseits gibt es eine Grundlage, um nach weiteren Untersuchungen die Entwicklungsetappen des Skriptoriums des Weissen Klosters und die Variabilität der durch die Schreiber verwendeten Ornamente aufmessen zu können. Werden die chronologischen Fragen einmal geklärt sein, so gewinnen wir in Kenntnis der Veränderungen und der Entwicklung der Handschriftenornamentik eine Einsicht in die Gesetzmässigkeiten der Umwandlungen der koptischen Kunst des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Ein weiterer Nutzen des Buches, usw. ein weniger vermittelter ist, dass es uns ermöglicht, von Handschriften unbekannter Provenienz festzustellen, ob sie aus dem Weissen Kloster stammen; oder nicht; in positivem Fall erlauben uns die im Kapitel VI und im Katalog der Motivengruppen befindlichen Analogien ihres ornamental Schmuckes, die betreffende Handschrift einer engeren Handschriftengruppe zuzuweisen.

Schliesslich sollen hier einige Bücher und Studien erwähnt werden, deren Verwendung noch zur Vertiefung der Feststellungen des vorliegenden Buches beitragen könnte:

aus den über Aufbau, Wirkung und Geschichte der ägyptischen Mönchsklöster geschriebenen Arbeiten fehlt die Erwähnung folgender grundlegender Werke: E. C. Amelineau, „Étude historique sur St. Pachome“. *Inst. d'Ég. Bull. ser. 2*, 7 (1886) 306-399; ders. *Les moines égyptiens. Vie de Shenoudi*. Paris 1889; St. Schiwietz, „Geschichte und Organisation der Pachomianischen Klöster im vierten Jahrhundert“. *Archiv f. Kath. Kirchenrecht* 81 (1901) 461-490; 630-649; J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national-ägyptischen Christentums*. Leipzig 1903.

Eine genaue Anführung des Werkes von Monneret de Villard lautet, *Les couvents près de Sohag 1-2*, Milano 1925-1926; hier fehlt jedoch noch eine weitere Studie:

„La fondazione del Deyr el-Abiad“. *Aegyptus* 4 (1923) 156-162.

Aus den Bearbeitungen des Gesamtgebietes der koptischen Kunst fehlen: J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*. Cat. Gén. Mus. Cairo. Vienne 1904; G. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte*. Paris 1931; E. Kitzinger, „Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture“. *Archaeologia* 87 (1937) 181-215; J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture 300-1300*. London 1963. — Zu einigen Detailfragen: A. Baumstark, „Ein illustriertes koptisches Evangelienbuch vom J. 1250“. *Or. Chr. n.s.* 4 (1915) 341-344; Chr. R. Morey, „East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection“, in: Dennison, Walter and Morey, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*. New York 1918, 1-86; A. Baumstark, „Beiträge zur Buchmalerei des chr. Orients“. *Or. Chr.* 31 (1934) 99-104, 261-267; K. Wessel, „Flechtband IV. Das F. in der koptischen Kunst“. *Reallex. Byz. Kunst* Lfg. 12 (1969) 573-578.

Es ist zu bedauern, dass Jansma eine hochwichtige Studie von E. J. Grube, „Studies in the Survival of Pre-Muslim Traditions in Egyptian Islamic Art“, *JARCE* 1 (1962) 75 ff. nicht in Anspruch genommen hat.

Die vorgeführten Mängel berühren jedoch das Meritum des Buches nicht.

Budapest, November 1975

LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK

SUMEROLOGIE - ASSYRIOLOGIE - HETTITOLOGIE

LE PALAIS ET LA ROYAUTE (Archéologie et Civilisation). *Compte Rendu de la XIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Paris, 29 juin-2 juillet 1971), édité par Paul GARELLI. Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner S.A., 1974 (8vo, 490 pp., pls. + figs.). Price: 250.— FFr.

In this book we have before us most of the papers read in Paris during the 19th Rencontre Assyriologique (1971). The book is very rich in contents and its concentration on one topic, „palace and kingship“, adds much to its value¹.

We must thank the Groupe François Thureau-Dangin for the pains they took to organize and promote the rethinking of this theme; they even went so far as to make suggestions on the different aspects of „palace and kingship“ to be touched upon by the prospective speakers (p. 148: „questionnaire“; p. 236: „Richtlinien“).

The editor, Paul Garelli, has arranged the different contributions in a clear and convenient way.

Many Assyriologists will regret (or even resent) the price of the book, however fine its presentation may be.

The following papers have been published in this book:

J. Margueron, „Les palais de l'âge du bronze en Mésopotamie: bilan de nos connaissances et problèmes“ (p. 11-26), presents the reader with a list of all excavated non-Assyrian palaces, from the beginnings down to the

¹ Note that the theme of the 20th Rencontre (Leiden 1972) was „Le temple et le culte“. See now *Compte Rendu de la vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, Vol. XXXVII), Leiden 1975.

end of the Bronze Age. He investigates their chronological and geographical distribution, their architecture (p. 19-24), their economic and religious functions (p. 25-26).

Madame M.-Th. Barrelet and J.-M. Durand, „La figure du roi dans l'iconographie et dans les textes depuis Ur-Nanše jusqu'à la fin de la I^{re} Dynastie de Babylone“ (p. 27-138), wrote a lengthy and thoughtful article on the problem of the extent to which we can relate descriptions of kings in the texts (notably year names) to their representations in art. They drew up a complete catalogue of both groups, „D“ and „F“ (p. 66-129), and give a justification of their methods and categories (p. 28-65). They offer a new interpretation of royal figures displaying a forked beard („roi en courrier“, p. 35, 58-9, cf. 45-46); they question the usual interpretations of the king in „praying attitude“ (p. 49-52, 54, 62-63) and think they have found in iconography the distinction between Sumerian š à NE.š a₄ and š u d_x . d è (p. 63).

D. O. Edzard, „Problèmes de la royauté dans la période présargonique“ (p. 141-149), studies the title *lugal*, *en*, *ensi*, *lugal kiški*, and *sanga* in Presargonic texts. He uses personal names as additional evidence (p. 142-144) and he considers the „kingdom of Kish“ as an „empire-fantôme“ (p. 147-8).

B. Hruška, „Die Reformtexte Urukaginas: der verspätete Versuch einer Konsolidierung des Stadtstaates von Lagaš“ (p. 151-161), may now be compared with Sollberger's observations in *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, ed. André Finet, p. 33-36.

S. N. Kramer, „Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: the Ideal King“ (p. 163-176), describes what Sumerian royal hymns (between 2100 and 1600 B.C.) tell us of the king's birth (p. 163-166; cf. W. G. Lambert in this volume, p. 427-429, and A. W. Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 21, 1972, p. 87ff.), the animal symbolism (p. 166-7), the benedictions the king received from the gods (p. 167-169), his education, his physique, bravery and wisdom (p. 170-174), his religious and social tasks (p. 174-6).

Cl. Wilcke, „Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit“ (p. 177-201), studies the royal titles, the king as a god, the succession to the throne, the king and the Counsel (see now Wilcke in *La voix de l'opposition* ... p. 38 and 49ff.), his priestly functions, and „the ideal king“. Lengthy footnotes (p. 185-201) contain numerous additional observations, for instance on the „houses“ of the Ur III kings (note 51) and the Utubengal inscription (note 63); some lexical studies are incorporated in notes 58 (cf. p. 231 note 57), 67 and 119.

In an Excursus, „ki-en-gi und ki-uri bis zum Ende der Ur III-Zeit“ (p. 202-232), Wilcke gives additions to and criticisms on F. R. Kraus' book *Sumerer und Akkader* (1970); see now also Wilcke in *La voix de l'opposition* ..., p. 38-50.

F. R. Kraus, „Das altbabylonische Königtum“ (p. 235-261), concentrates on the words „king“ (*šarrum*) (p. 236-39) and „priest“ (*en*, *išib*) (p. 240-1). He cannot find in the texts any real proof for a „sacred

marriage" in the OB period (p. 243-247) and he believes that the divine status of some OB kings was only a (literary) fiction (p. 247-250). There follow some remarks on the king as a shepherd (p. 253), his genealogy (p. 254-5; cf. W. G. Lambert, p. 429-430), and his royal administration (p. 259-260).

O. Rouault, "Quelques remarques sur le système administratif de Mari à l'époque de Zimri-Lim" (p. 263-272). Rouault has written a book on Mukannišum (*ARMT XVIII*, forthcoming) and in this article he studies the activities of Mukannišum and other high officials in Mari. He has found that in those higher levels of bureaucracy "les responsabilités générales restent flottantes" (p. 267); there exists "la polyvalence dans les hautes sphères du système". The organization of the lower levels of the administration is far more strict and hierarchic.

H. Klengel, "Königtum und Palast nach den Alalah-Texten" (p. 263-272), describes how entangled were the public and private affairs of the kings of Alalah (p. 272-282) and considers the nature of their dependence on the kings of Yamkhad (Level VII) or Mittani (Level IV) (p. 273-277).

M. T. Larsen, "The city and its king. On the Old Assyrian notion of kingship" (p. 285-300), investigates the OA royal titles *iššiak Aššur* ("Assur's vicar"), *rubāum* ("the most distinguished individual"), *waklum*, *bēlum* (leader of the city assembly, *alum*). The office of the *limmum* is quite distinct from the office of the ruler (p. 298-9).

H. Otten, "Die Königin von Kaniš" (p. 301-303); see now *StBoT* 17, "Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa" (1973).

H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Palace" (p. 305-314), points out that É.LUGAL ("royal family" or "estate of the king") is to be kept apart from É.GAL "palace". He assumes that the Hittite word for "palace" is *ḫalentuwa-* (p. 307-311) and he concludes his contribution by describing the parts of the palace (p. 311-14). Assyriologists will find his footnote 27 (p. 313) on *aluzinnu* interesting.

V. Korošec, "Les rois hittites et la formation du droit" (p. 315-321), studies the legislative activity of Telepinu (p. 316-7), Ḫattušili I (p. 317), Šuppiluliuma (p. 317-8), Ḫattušili III, Tudḫaliya IV (p. 318-9) and the traces of royal legislature in the Hittite Laws.

F. Cornelius, "Das hethitische Königtum verglichen mit dem Königtum der sprachverwandten Völker" (p. 323-326). On "Thron und Szepter; Namengebung; Berufung; Funktion; Gefolge; Harem".

M. Liverani, "La royauté syrienne de l'âge du bronze récent" (p. 329-356), offers a long and careful study which cannot be summarized here. The warnings of Samuel against monarchs (1 Sam. 8) fit the picture which appears in the cuneiform texts (p. 334).

E. Lacheman, "Le palais et la royauté de la ville de Nuzi: les rapports entre les données archéologiques et les données épigraphiques" (p. 359-371), presents an interesting paper on the provenience of the different

Nuzi archives, which originate from three distinct tells. He identifies Ithiia and Amminaja in *HSS IX 1* (p. 363-4; cf. E. Cassin in this book, p. 373), suggests that *HSS X 231* [sic] is not Old Akkadian (p. 364) and adds an excursus on the word *ḫalšuḫlu* (p. 369).

Elena Cassin, "Le palais de Nuzi et la royauté d'Arrapha" (p. 373-392), starts by investigating the roles of the kings of Arrapha (p. 373-374) and Mitanni (p. 375-6), the affairs of prince Šilwa-Tešup (p. 376-77) and the queen (p. 378-381). The second half of her article deals with "the officers of the king", viz. *šakin māti*, *sukkallu*, *mār šipri*, *nāgiru*, *atuḫlu*, *emantuḫlu*, *abultannu*, *šakin bīti* (p. 381-388), and the palace(s) (p. 389-390).

J. A. Brinkman, "The monarchy in the time of the Kassite Dynasty" (p. 395-408), views as distinctive features of the Kassite monarchy as compared with kingship in earlier times: (a) the fact that the king is the real and only monarch in the country, (b) the international diplomacy and exchange of goods; one of its effects may have been the switch to a gold standard (p. 400). Brinkman summarizes what we know about the Kassite army (p. 401-2), the dynasty (p. 402-4), royal titles (p. 404-5), the palace (p. 405-6), bureaucracy (p. 406) and taxation (p. 407).

J. A. Brinkman, "The Early Neo-Babylonian Monarchy" (p. 409-415), consists mainly of a study of the royal titulary (refutation of Sauren, *BiOr* 27, 1970, p. 229-230). Brinkman points out that the Babylonian chronicles record irregularities in the celebration of the *akitu*-festival from about 1000 B.C. on, and makes some suggestions as to the implications of this. Sections on the wealth of the king, the governmental administration, the tax exemptions and the "Advice to a Prince" follow.

J. N. Postgate, "Royal exercise of justice under the Assyrian Empire" p. 417-426). After having made some remarks on the officials functioning as "judges", Postgate offers a new interpretation of the phrase *abat šarri zakāru*: "to appeal to the king".

W. G. Lambert, "The Seed of Kingship" (p. 427-440). The first pages of this contribution, on the divine descent of kings, should be compared with the full presentation by A. W. Sjöberg in *Orientalia Suecana*; see above on S. N. Kramer's paper. Lambert summarizes on p. 434: "Throughout a king often established a dynasty whereby his son succeeded him... the idea that this family descent somehow assured the legitimacy of the king arose only with the arrival of the Amorites early in the Second Millennium, after which the idea was appropriated by other dynasties and applied to their own descent". See also Kraus in this book, p. 254. Lambert has found a new fragment of the bilingual published by him in *JCS* 21 and here he discusses the interesting self-proclamations of Nebuchadnezzar I in this text (p. 432-438).

R. D. Barnett, "Lions and bulls in Assyrian palaces" (p. 441-446), thinks that the king was the only hunter of wild bulls and lions and he wonders if there is a connection between the hunted lions and bulls, and the *sēdu* and *lamassu* (p. 444-446).

D. B. Weisberg, "Royal women of the Neo-Babylonian Period" (p. 447-454). After having given a short survey of those royal women (p. 447-450), he presents an unpublished text and basing himself on that text offers a provisional reconstruction of the relationships of Nebuchadnezzar II's children and in-laws.

H. Sauren, "La naissance du dauphin" (p. 457-471), attempts to explain along astrological lines the episodes of the Etana Myth.

G. Kestemont, "La faute et le délit dans la terminologie juridique du palais. L'opposition *arnu* - *ḫītu*" (p. 473-487), summarizes his conclusions as follows: "Le terme *ḫītu* désigne une faute contractuelle et s'oppose en cela à la faute délictuelle ou *arnu*. Au cas où le *ḫītu* devient une faute délictuelle par rattachement, le côté fictif de ce rattachement est ressenti par les juristes et évite une confusion pure et simple des deux termes quoiqu'il puisse justifier, dans un contexte général, l'emploi du terme *arnu* comme générique des délits. Enfin, il se pourrait qu'au niveau de la sanction, le terme *arnu* fut seul employé comme terme technique général" (p. 487).

Leiden, December 1975

M. STOL

* *

Rykle BORGER, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1967-1975. Band I: Repertorium der sumerischen und akkadischen Texte (X + 672 pp., 1967. Price: DM 58.—). Band II: Supplement zu Band I; Anhang: zur Kuyunjik-Sammlung (XXXII + 395 pp., 1975. Price: DM 68.—). Band III: Inhaltliche Ordnung der sumerischen und akkadischen Texte; Anhang: Sekundärliteratur in Auswahl (VIII + 168 pp., 1975. Price: DM 38.—).

"Progressive bibliographies" have long been taken for granted as a scholarly convenience in the well-staffed fields of the natural sciences¹). The humanities have not been so favored except, since 1967, in the field of Assyriology, when R. Borger published the first volume of his *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. This selfless and devoted work of monumental scope, compressed into amazingly small compass by a scholar who had previously delved into the "secret lore" of Babylonian divination, meant a giant step towards lifting the modern discipline of Assyriology out of that same category. By assembling the secondary literature on every published cuneiform text with phenomenal completeness and admirable conciseness, Borger put the entire field in his debt. No longer would teachers and editors be called on primarily to serve as bibliographers. The utterly indispensable character of HKL has been demonstrated wherever Assyriology is taught and studied in the brief interval since its appearance.

With the publication of HKL 2 and 3, Borger's original promise has been redeemed. A volume by Civil (on Sumerian literary texts) is to follow (II vii), and in ten

or twelve years, Borger himself hopes to update the publication once more (II ix), but the time is more than ripe to offer unusually heartfelt thanks to the author for his labors.

The core of the three volumes is a bibliography of editions of cuneiform texts, arranged by copyist (I 1-649, II 1-330) together with the relevant secondary literature on each text, its parallels, joins, and (at least where literary texts are involved) its place in the canon. By arranging the data in this manner, Borger has achieved maximum convenience for the user. Coincidentally, he has also rehabilitated the role of the copyist in Assyriology, a role not always adequately appreciated. The famous *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, for example, are traditionally cited in the name of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the "father of Assyriology", but future generations of Assyriologists need no longer be in doubt that they are, in fact, essentially the work of Norris, G. Smith, and Pinches. The organization of the material by this means also affords some interesting statistical sidelights, for a simple page-count suggests whose text-copies have been most influential in terms of the secondary literature that they have spawned. In HKL I, R. C. Thompson leads the way on this basis, with no less than 35 pages to his credit. Scheil, Pinches and Langdon follow with more than 20 each, King and Ebeling with just under 20. Other nuggets of information are crammed into every page, and rare indeed is the entry "subject to further study" (sfs) implying that, as of now, the author has not found a satisfactory explanation of a given text. Nor is he reticent with occasional editorial comments, however concise, as when two of Sidersky's three contributions are characterized as "Plagiat" (I 481). He is equally outspoken about his own earliest efforts (I 32).

In many ways the next most useful feature of the *Handbuch* is the "Inhaltliche Ordnung der Sumerischen und Akkadischen Texte" (III 1-131). This constitutes a virtual index to the entire work, organized by genre and subdivided, in the case of larger categories such as royal inscriptions, by period and "author", in the case of literary works by individual compositions. It is supplemented by an index of selected secondary literature on a variety of topics including proper names of all kinds (III 133-163). Because of the special importance of the royal neo-Assyrian libraries at Nineveh, Borger has in addition provided an up-dated catalogue of the Kuyunjik texts, arranged by museum-number (I 65-9, II 331-395). Finally he has furnished an exhaustive list of abbreviations (I 661-672, II xi-xxxii) which is itself an exceptionally useful, comprehensive, and reliable bibliographical tool.

No ordinary review can do justice to the scope of the services rendered by the *Handbuch* in its completed form. Rather, it deserves critical collation with the files maintained by the various repositories of cuneiform texts to see whether (as in the case of the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum) further refinements may be possible. The work will no doubt continue to prove its worth as it is gratefully consulted by successive generations of Assyriologists.

September 1975
New Haven, Connecticut,

WILLIAM W. HALLO

¹) *Science Citation Index*, Philadelphia (Institute for Scientific Information) 1961 ff.

G. PETTINATO and H. WAETZOLDT, *La Collezione Schollmeyer*. Rome, Unione Accademia Nazionale, 1974 (folio, 32 pp. + LXX plates) = *Materiali per il Vocabulario Neosumerico*. Vol. 1. Price: Lire 4.000.

The new series MVN has made an auspicious start with the publication of 266 neo-Sumerian texts from the collection of Father Franz (Anastasius) Schollmeyer (1880-1954)¹⁾. 96 of the copies were prepared by Schollmeyer himself, 39 by L. Cagni, and the rest by the co-authors, who have also provided a brief introductory classification and catalogue. Since the present volume is designated "I Parte: Testi" (p. [3]), a second part, consisting of translations and commentary, may be hoped for (p. 12). It would be inappropriate to anticipate that treatment in a review. Rather, some salient features of the texts will be singled out here.

The first 81 texts are described (p. 14) as an archive of the governor of Umma and, indeed, most of them share the subscript "seal of the governor" (kišib ensi or kišib ensi-ka). It may well be doubted that he personally sealed these and thousands of similar documents; presumably the authority to use his seal was delegated to a number of subordinates. This point deserves fuller airing, but not in the present context.

The typology of these 80-odd texts may be modified very slightly from that proposed by the authors, as follows:

A. Daily disbursements (1-11, 13-18, 20-30, 40, 47, 54-61, 63-69, 71-72).

1. Beer (kaš): 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-17, 23-24, 67, 72(?)
2. Beer and sweetwort(?) (KAŠ.Ū.SA)²⁾: 5, 8, 18, 20-22, 25, 64.
3. Barley flour (dabbin): 6, 26-30³⁾, 40, 47, 68.
4. Bread (ninda). 54-57, 63, 65-66, 69, 71.

5. Bread for regular and special(?) offerings (ninda sā-du₁₁ and ninda-ab): 58-61. The reading ninda-ab is problematical; it recurs in "Lager No. 62" (to be published by B. A. Levine) and possibly in Nippur texts of the Isin-Larsa period (to be published by M. Sigris) where, however, a reading ninda (or nīg)-URUDU is also possible. One may perhaps compare the enigmatic u₄-um NINDA.ĀB in the Rim-Sin text published by E. C. Kingsbury, HUCA 34 (1963) 4: 13, and treat it as another pseudo-logogram for nindabū, "special offering".

B. Monthly disbursements (31, 33-36, 38-39, 42-44, 46, 48-50, 52-53, 62).

1. Offerings-with-prayers⁴⁾ (sizkur): 31, 34-35, 39, 62. These texts normally specify the locations or dei-

ties receiving the offerings. Note Tum-tūrKI in 31⁵⁾, the small sanctuaries (<ēš>-didli) in 62⁶⁾ and, among the deities, especially A-nun-na and A-n-zu, (IM.DUGUD)-mušen-babbar in 34. The Anunna were not previously attested in Ur III offering lists⁷⁾.

2. Related texts: 36, 38, 42-44, 46, 49. Although not employing the explicit term sizkur, these texts are related to the preceding group by their divine names, of which some are of special interest. In 42, note Nin-si-gar-an-na and GIŠ-ha-mun, who can hardly be separated from the "counselors" (gu₄-dub) of Inanna and Nisaba, respectively, listed in Emesal-Vocabulary I 87 f.⁸⁾ and An = Anum IV 73 f.⁹⁾. In 44 and 49, note A-ma-ra-zu, a daughter of Sin according to An = Anum where she occurs also in the spellings A-ma-a-ra-zu, dA-mar-(ra)-zu, dA-mar-ra-a-zu¹⁰⁾.

3. Gifts or (liver?) inspections (igi-KAR): 33, 48, 50, 52-53.

C. Mixed types (12, 19, 32, 37, 41, 45, 51).

D. Miscellaneous disbursements (74-81).

* *

The remaining 185 texts run the usual gamut of neo-Sumerian economic activity, and only of them can be commented on here. Text 86 totally confirms the recent observations regarding rates of seeding by Powell¹¹⁾ and Maekawa¹²⁾. Restating Powell's theorem in laymen's terms, the "Farmer's Almanac" shows that the recommended rate of seeding was to drop grain (Aš=nan) every two fingers (šū-si) of furrow. Since 1 ninda¹³⁾ is 360 fingers long, this means that a furrow 1 ninda in length requires 180 grains (še) which equals 1 gín. Two furrows of 1 ninda length each would require 2 gín; three furrows of the same length, 3 gín; n furrows, n gín.

A field 1 sar in area being theoretically 1 ninda in length and 1 ninda in width one can, by stating the width in terms of n furrows per 1 ninda, express the amount of seed required for such a field as n gín. A field 2 sar in area would require 2 n gín of seed; one of 3 sar, 3 n gín; one of N sar N n gín. To convert this to sila of seed grain, one need only divide by 60 (1 gín being equal to $\frac{1}{60}$ sila). Hence

⁵⁾ Same toponym in 79. For the reading see H. Sauren, *Topographie der Provinz Umma* (1966) 167 f.

⁶⁾ Same term in 100. See for now Hallo, *JCS* 23 (1970) 61, n. 55 and TLB 3: 71 and 167.

⁷⁾ A. Falkenstein, *AS* 16 (1965) 127; N. Schneider, *An.Or* 19 (1939).

⁸⁾ MSL 4: 9. Cf. also A. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 (1969) 83 f.

⁹⁾ Restored from CT 24: 48 iii 5 in R. Litke's edition (MS).

¹⁰⁾ See *RLA* s.vv. Ama-arazu, Amāzū.

¹¹⁾ M. A. Powell, Jr., "Sumerian area measures and the alleged decimal substratum", *ZA* 62 (1972) 165-221, especially 182 f.

¹²⁾ Kazuya Maekawa, "Agricultural production in ancient Sumer", *Zinbun* (= Memoire of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University) 13 (1974) 1-60, especially 48-51, n. 23.

¹³⁾ For this reading see Powell, *op. cit.*, 197-201.

the formula for the number of sila needed to seed a field whose area is N sar and whose width is n furrows per 1 ninda is $\frac{Nn}{60}$. It may be noted that n is one of those "coefficients" (igi-gub-ba = igigubbū) which the Mesopotamian scribes inserted in their texts without further explanation¹⁴⁾ and which they collected

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 2(x18) & & \text{iku } 12 - \text{ta} \\ 4(x18) + 2(x6) + \frac{1}{2}\text{iku} & & 11 - \text{ta} \\ 1(x180)^{17}) + 8(x18) + 1(x6) + 3\frac{1}{4}\text{iku} & & 10 - \text{ta} \\ 3(x18) & + & 2\text{iku} \quad 9\frac{1}{2} - \text{ta} \\ 4(x18) + 2(x6) + \frac{1}{2}\text{iku} & & 9 - \text{ta} \end{array}$$

We may now translate the entire text as follows:

"50 gur 210 sila barley: from Ir
6 gur 277 sila 46 $\frac{2}{3}$ gín seed-grain: Ur-Suen the farmer
8 gur 50 sila 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ gín seed-grain: field before Anzu-mushenbabbar, via Ur-Ishtar-ran, account of Abba-gina
4 gur 120 sila seed-grain: field of the prince, from Ur-Enlila
Total: 70 gur 58 $\frac{1}{3}$ sila barley, from which:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} 36 \text{ iku} [= 3600 \text{ sar}] \text{ at } 12 & [\text{furrows per ninda requiring } \frac{3600 \times 12}{60}] & = 720 \text{ sila} \\ 84\frac{1}{2} \text{ iku} [= 8450 \text{ sar}] \text{ at } 11 & [\text{furrows per ninda requiring } \frac{8450 \times 11}{60}] & = 1549\frac{1}{6} \text{ sila} \\ 333\frac{1}{4} \text{ iku} [= 33325 \text{ sar}] \text{ at } 10 & [\text{furrows per ninda requiring } \frac{33325 \times 10}{60}] & = 5554\frac{1}{6} \text{ sila} \\ 56 \text{ iku} [= 5600 \text{ sar}] \text{ at } 9\frac{1}{2} & [\text{furrows per ninda requiring } \frac{5600 \times 19}{60 \times 2}] & = 886\frac{4}{6} \text{ sila} \\ 84\frac{1}{2} \text{ iku} [= 8450 \text{ sar}] \text{ at } 9 & [\text{furrows per ninda requiring } \frac{8450 \times 9}{60}] & = 1267\frac{3}{6} \text{ sila} \end{array}$$

Its seed grain is 33 gur 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ sila [= 9977 $\frac{1}{2}$ sila]
Its fodder is 27 gur 214 $\frac{1}{2}$ sila 5 gín [9977 $\frac{1}{2}$ sila]

Total: 60 gur 292 sila 5 gín barley (was) withdrawn
Balance: 9 gur 66 sila 15 gín barley.

Balanced account of seed-grain and fodder, I-pa'e being the oxherd. Irrigation (a-d-é-a) of the year En-unugal-Inanna was installed".

It will be noted that the fields are listed in descending order, not only of furrows per ninda of width, but also of seed per area, as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} 720 \text{ sila for } 36 \text{ iku} & = & 360 \text{ sila per bür} \\ 1549\frac{1}{6} \text{ sila for } 84\frac{1}{2} \text{ iku} & = & 330 \text{ sila per bür} \\ 5554\frac{1}{6} \text{ sila for } 333\frac{1}{4} \text{ iku} & = & 300 \text{ sila per bür} \\ 886\frac{2}{3} \text{ sila for } 56 \text{ iku} & = & 285 \text{ sila per bür} \\ 1267\frac{1}{2} \text{ sila for } 84\frac{1}{2} \text{ iku} & = & 270 \text{ sila per bür} \end{array}$$

It follows that the amount of seed per area varies with the number of furrows per ninda; indeed the former determined the latter. The first ratio, 360 sila per bür, correlates with 12 furrows per ninda. Following

¹⁴⁾ In Lagash texts, however, the clause is a little more explicit: *ab-sin-bi 1 ninda(-na) n-ta*; see Pettinato, *An.Or.* 45 (1969) 19 f. and Powell, *loc. cit.* 198. The Nippur text BE 3/1: 92 has *ab-sin-bi 1 ninda n-àm i-gál*; this is the proof text for both Powell and Maekawa, but the former had the benefit of collations.

¹⁵⁾ A. D. Kilmer, "Two new lists of key numbers for mathematical operations", *Orientalia* 29 (1960) 273-308 + pls. LXXXIII-LXXXV.

¹⁶⁾ For this reading see Powell, *loc. cit.* 194-197.

¹⁷⁾ Although the copy is ambiguous, this is the only possible reading.

¹⁾ See the obituary by E. W[eidner], *AfO* 17 (1954-5) 233 f.

²⁾ For this possible translation see CAD s.v. *billatu*.

³⁾ Note that 26 and 27 are successive texts, dated respectively to the 14th-16th and 17th-19th days of Shu-Sin 1/VII.

⁴⁾ See CAD s.v. *ikribu*, especially the discussion at end. To judge by expressions like *ikrib erēna salāti* (*ibid.*, 63a; CADE 276d) or *ikrib puhādi* (RA 38: 87, subscript), such offerings may also have involved divination, in these cases libanomancy and extispicy respectively.

Maekawa, we may call this one of the (three) standard rates of seeding and furrowing at Lagash. Higher rates of seeding (up to 540 sila per būr) are attested there, but not higher rates of furrowing. For Umma, however, we may state the simpler correlations as follows:

360 sila per būr for fields with 12 furrows per ninda
300 sila per būr for fields with 10 furrows per ninda¹⁸⁾
270 sila per būr for fields with 9 furrows per ninda.

Another interesting point emerges from Text 86. Although the quantity of seed-grain employed is calculated and justified in minute detail, it amounts in the end to little more than the fodder for the oxen (mur-gu₄) which was consumed at the same time. On is immediately reminded of the Biblical injunction: "You shall not muzzle an ox while it is threshing" (Deut. 25: 4). M. Stol cited this verse to explain an exceptionally high-beer ration assigned to brewery workers in the late Old Babylonian text YOS 13: 74¹⁹⁾. A closer parallel is suggested by B. Foster (orally) from an earlier period, for a late Sargonic text seems to provide barley for oxen (and donkeys) while working²⁰⁾. The text is, however, not entirely clear, since the specification tūg-ta-ga-LÜ.ZA has not been satisfactorily explained. Now we have a clearer indication of the antiquity of the Biblical principle. As Oppenheim noted long ago, "barley for the sowing" and "barley to feed the oxen" (sometimes shortened to še-numun-HAR-gu₄)²¹⁾ are always mentioned side by side²²⁾. More specifically, the fodder regularly amounts to almost as much as the seed-grain. In BE 3/1: 92, for instance, the proportions are approximately 2: 3²³⁾; in our Text 86, they are better than 9: 11. What this implies is that the oxen pulling the seeder-plow (giš-nindā = ittū) consumed almost as much barley as they sowed. Since the amount of barley was carefully calculated at one grain per every two fingers' length of furrow (above), they were obviously not allowed to eat the seed-grain. But neither were they muzzled. Instead, by a simple compromise, they were fed, perhaps from feed-bags while working the furrows, perhaps from troughs between them²⁴⁾.

The authors are to be congratulated on inaugurating a new series of texts and studies. May it soon be followed by the neo-Sumerian dictionary which is their primary objective²⁵⁾.

Yale University, WILLIAM W. HALLO
New Haven, Connecticut, July 1975

¹⁸⁾ This is taken as the Ur III norm (at Lagash) by Maekawa, loc. cit. 42.

¹⁹⁾ JCS 25 (1973) 228 f.

²⁰⁾ MAD 4: 45.

²¹⁾ Note this expression in 86: 21 as well as in 100: 11 and 20 (the last reference written še-numun-mur-ra).

²²⁾ A. L. Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the ... Eames ... Collection* ... (= AOS 32, 1948) 96.

²³⁾ See the collations by Powell, loc. cit. 179.

²⁴⁾ Admittedly, it is not easy to distinguish muzzles from feed-bags in the native terminology. Candidates for one or the other meaning that have been proposed include ka-tab, išpar, pasuntu and hargullu. Line 99 of the Farmer's Almanac provides the closest parallel to the Biblical injunction, as noted by S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963) 296f., 342.

²⁵⁾ Addition in proof: see now *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975) 259-290 for the author's own treatment of No. 86 (and parallels). For Nos. 231f. see Waetzoldt, WO 6 (1971) 7-41.

André FINET, *Le Code de HAMMURAPI*; Introduction, traduction et annotation. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1973 (155 S., 2 Karten).

Das hier anzuzeigende Werk gibt in der Schriftenreihe Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient (= LAPO) der Éditions du Cerf, in der bereits 1969 in gleicher Form u.a. *Les Lois Assyriennes* von G. Cardascia (= LAPO 2)¹⁾ erschienen ist, eine neue zeitgemäße französische Übersetzung des vollständigen Codex Hammurapi (= CH), also — im Gegensatz zu manchen anderen Übersetzungen — mit Pro- und Epilog.

Als Einleitung schickt der Verf. eine in vier Hauptabschnitte gegliederte Introduction (S. 7-30) voraus:

- I. Babylone au temps de Hammu-rapi (S. 7-17),
- II. Abréviations (S. 19-21),
- III. Texte (S. 23-24) und
- IV. Traduction (S. 25-30).

Der erste Hauptabschnitt enthält zur Einführung in das berühmte, rechts-, wirtschafts-, sozial- und literaturgeschichtlich so bedeutsame Werk des grossen Hammurapi von Babylon²⁾ einen kurzen, nützlichen allgemeinen, sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Überblick über die damals zeitgenössische Situation. Ein erster Unterabschnitt „Babylone“ (S. 7-8) gibt einen gedrängten Abriss der vorhammurapischen Geschichte Mesopotamiens gegen Ende des 3. und Anfang des 2. Jt. v. Chr., insbesondere der Stadt Babylon. Der zweite Unterabschnitt „Hammu-rapi et son Code“ (S. 8-11) bietet eine kurze Darstellung der politischen Konstellation zur Zeit des Königs und über die vermutliche Entstehungsgeschichte, das spätere Schicksal und die Überlieferung des Codex³⁾. In mehrere Teilabschnitte gegliedert ist der dritte Unterabschnitt „La société“ (S. 11 ff.):

a) Les groupes sociaux (S. 11-12; Freie, muškē-nū⁴⁾, Sklaven; ihre soziale Stellung und Funktion in der altbabylonischen Gesellschaft);

¹⁾ In der gleichen Reihe erschien auch von J.-R. Kupper und E. Sollberger, *Inscriptions royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes* (1971).

²⁾ 1792-1750 bzw. 1728-1686 v. Chr. nach der sogen. „mittleren“ bzw. „kurzen“ Chronologie.

³⁾ Nach dem Verf. S. 11 hat Hammurapi „fait recueillir en un tout une série d'édits qu'il avait ou bien promulgués lui-même ou bien empruntés soit à la tradition soit à ses devanciers“.

⁴⁾ Nach Verf. S. 12 „plus proches des hommes libres que des esclaves; leur situation précise dans la société babylonienne n'est pas encore parfaitement élucidée ... représentent la masse de la population; généralement pauvres et exploités“.

- b) La famille (S. 13-14; Ehe⁵⁾ und Adoption);
- c) L'armée (S. 14; Soldaten und ihr ilku-Land);
- d) La vie religieuse (S. 14-15; Tempel, Kapellen; Priester(innen); Prostitution);
- e) La vie économique (S. 15-16; Handel — Tempel, Palast, Kaufleute (tamkārū) — und Verkehr; königliche Schuld- und Abgabenerlässe);
- f) Le service ilku (S. 16-17).

In seiner Übersetzung folgt der Verf. der Textausgabe und der Paragrapheneinteilung bei E. Bergmann (*Codex Hammurabi*³, Roma 1953) und — hinsichtlich der Ergänzung der Stelentextlücke — deren Rekonstruktion bei G. R. Driver & J. C. Miles (*The Babylonian Laws I und II*, Oxford 1952 und 1955)⁶⁾. Hier und im Verzeichnis der vom Verf. mitverwendeten Duplikate (S. 24) vermisst man einen Hinweis auf die von Driver-Miles abweichende Anordnung der Paragraphen der Textlücke durch Nougayrol (JA 1957, 339 ff.; 1958, 143 ff.).

Im Hauptabschnitt IV „Traduction“ (S. 25-30) behandelt der Verf. anhand einzelner Beispiele die Schwierigkeiten der Übersetzung des eigentlichen Gesetzestextes, die sich aus der Mehrdeutigkeit mancher darin verwendeter Termini⁷⁾, aus syntaktischen Subjektswechseln oder aus der Verwendung des maskulinen Nomens ohne Rücksicht auf das tatsächliche Geschlecht bei Menschen und Tieren ergeben.

Den Hauptteil des vorliegenden Werkes bildet die vorzügliche, kritische Übersetzung des Prologs (S. 31-44), des eigentlichen Gesetzestextes (S. 45-134) und des Epilogs (S. 135-147) des CH. Hier gibt der Verf. zusätzlich zahlreiche philologisch⁸⁾ und — besonders für den fachfremden Leser wertvolle — sachlich kommentierende Erläuterungen und Textvarianten zu den einzelnen Textpartien. Im Rahmen dieser kurzen Rezension kann auf Inhaltsangaben zu dem bekannten Werke Hammurapis verzichtet werden; sie darf sich daher auf einige wenige Bemerkungen oder Hinweise auf neuere Literatur beschränken.

Zum Problem des Verständnisses von col. III Z. 16 des Prologs (i-lu LUGALri, Var.: i-li/li ...; Verf. mit der herrschenden Interpretation: „Dieu des rois“) und zu Tutu als Stadtgott von Borsippa zur Zeit Hammurapis s. auch R. Borger, *BiOr* 28 (1971) 22 mit Anm. 4 und 5; F. R. Kraus, *CRAI* XIX (1971) 248 mit Anm. 66.

Zu Keš (CH III 32; Verf. S. 38) s. jetzt Cl. Wilcke, *ZA* 62 (1972) 51; 55 ff.; D. O. Edzard, *Or* 43 (1974) 112 f. m. Lit. (heiliger Bezirk zur Stadt Urusagrig); zur Lit. s. auch D. O. Edzard-G. Farber, *Répertoire géo-*

⁵⁾ Monogame Ehe, Konkubinat; Eheschliessung, *terhatum*, *biblum* (= don supplémentaire der Familie des Bräutigams zur *terhatum*), Mitgift und Eheschenkung.

⁶⁾ Vgl. Verf. S. 23 f. („Texte“). Abschnitt II „Abréviations“ S. 19-21 enthält das Abkürzungsverzeichnis.

⁷⁾ So für *awilum* (S. 26 f.), *mārum* (S. 27), *wardum* und *warad awilum* (S. 27 f.), *NÍG.GA*, *bišum*, *bitum*, *dinum*, *hirtum* u.a..

⁸⁾ Oft auf mehrere Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten hinweisend und die davon ausgewählte begründend. — Auch dort, wo die Übersetzung etwas freier ist und vielleicht strittig sein könnte, gibt der Verf. jeweils in Anmerkungen die genaue wörtliche Übersetzung.

graphique des textes cunéiformes II (1974) 96^{8a)}.

Neu ist die als möglich in Erwägung gezogene Interpretation des § 5, dass das Delikt des fraudulösen Richters darin bestanden haben könnte, dass er bei Ausfertigung der Entscheidungstafel auf der Tafelhülle einen vom Inhalt der Innentafel abweichenden Text anbringen lässt. Gegenüber der Übersetzung von *ina puhrim* (col. VI 23) mit „publiquement“ scheinen mir die bisherigen wörtlichen Übersetzungen (Driver & Miles: in the assembly; Eilers: in der Versammlung, sc. als Rechtsprechungsorgan) sachlich zutreffender.

In § 7 (col. VI 48) versteht der Verf. *mār awilim* „fils d'homme libre“ im Sinne von „l'homme libre né de famille libre (Gegensatz: l'esclave)“, so z.B. auch P. Koschaker. Hier wäre vielleicht ein Hinweis darauf angebracht gewesen, dass abweichend davon *mār awilim* auch ganz eng als „(minderjähriger) Sohn eines Freien“⁹⁾ aufgefasst werden kann¹⁰⁾.

Auf S. 51 f. zu § 26 Z. 10 vermisst man zu *mu-na-ag-gi-ir-šu* einen Hinweis auf B. Landsberger, *JCS* 9 (1955) 123 f.; A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 52 (1957) 327; *AHW* 672a (vgl. 710 „nagāru II D“), die das Wort — gegen Eilers und Driver & Miles — als „Denunziant“ erklären.

Zu § 27 (col. X 19 und 26; Verf. S. 52/3) s. neuerdings die Variante in BM 78 944+ (Finkelstein, *JCS* 21, 45 mit Bem. S. 47a), wo neben „Feld und Garten (terrain et verger)“ auch das „Haus“ des Soldaten genannt wird. In § 55 (mit S. 63 Anm. c) emendiert der Verf. in col. XV 35 das *eqel i-te-šu* „le terrain de son voisin“ in *eqel-šu* „son terrain“, so dass § 55 — allein in der Gruppe der §§ 53/4 bis 56 — die Leistungspflicht eines bei der Bewässerung nachlässigen Grundstückspächters gegenüber seinem Verpächter beträfe, während die §§ 53/4 und 56 übereinstimmend Schadenersatzpflichten gegenüber Grundstücksnachbarn zum Gegenstande haben, was aber m.E. wohl auch für § 55 zutreffen dürfte.

Für die Paragraphen der Stelenstücke rekonstruiert Nougayrol, *JA* 1957, 360, 361, eine andere Abfolge: A, B, C, D, H + G, J, E 11).

§ 113 ist eine juristisch logische Konsequenz der Regelung des § 49: Was trotz vertraglicher Vereinbarung dem Gläubiger nicht erlaubt ist — er darf sich nicht selbst für seine Forderung aus dem Ernteertrag des ihm verpfändeten Feldes des Schuldners befriedigen (vgl. auch § A) —, das soll erst recht nicht ohne eine solche vertragliche Ermächtigung erlaubt sein, nämlich die eigenmächtige Wegnahme von Getreide des Schuldners auf der Tenne oder aus einem Speicher durch den Gläubiger im Wege der Selbsthilfe zwecks Befriedigung für

^{8a)} S. auch R. D. Biggs, *JNES* 32 (1973) 26; 33 ad XI 5'-6'.

⁹⁾ So Driver & Miles, *The Babylonian Laws I* (1952/6) 84 ff. („minor“); s. auch R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (1969) 94; G. Cardascia, *LAPO* 2 (1969) 105; CAD A II 56 rechts oben; H. Pet-schow, *ZA* 57 (1965) 151²⁸ m. weit. Lit.

¹⁰⁾ Zur contradiction partielle der §§ 6 und 8 (Verf. S. 46 f.; 47) vgl. Driver & Miles 81 (res sacrae und profanae).

¹¹⁾ Sachlich identisch, nur formal etwas abweichend von derjenigen bei Driver & Miles ist die Rekonstruktion insbesondere des Anfangs des § E bei Nougayrol 360; ebenda 344 f. und 360 abweichende Ergänzungen auch zu § H + G. — Ein neues Fragment bietet *UET* VI/2, 401 Rev. I'.

seine Forderung¹²⁾. Unklar ist, ob in § 119 *kasap tam-kārum išqulu bēl amtīm išaqqalma* (col. IVb 1 f.) noch zur Protasis gehört (so der Verf.) oder schon zur Apodosis (so z.B. Eilers und Driver & Miles); ich möchte das letztere vorziehen („darf der Herr der Sklavin das Silber, das der Kaufmann (für sie) dargewogen (gezahlt) hatte, darwägen (zahlen) und (seine Sklavin auslösen)“).

Angemerkt sei, dass an einigen Stellen, an denen der Verf. mit Driver & Miles dem Text der Stele und des Duplikats BE 31, 22 III bzw. V 2, 4, 6 folgt, B. Landsberger¹³⁾ den Text emendiert, nämlich in § 158 Z. 26 f. von *sú-un ra-bi-ti-šu* „sein de son épouse principale“ (Driver & Miles: chief wife) in *sú-un <mu>ra-bi-ti-šu* „Schoss seiner Ziehmutter“ und § 166¹⁴⁾ Z. 52, 53, 57 von *ša ir-šu-ú, i-hu-uz* und *la i-hu-uz* in *ša ir-bu-ú*¹⁵⁾ bzw. *i-ḫi-ir* und *la i-ḫi-ir*.

Abweichend von der bisherigen Interpretation versteht der Verf. S. 111 Anm. a in §§ 200, 202 und 203 die Termini *mehrum*, *ša elišu rabū* und *kīma šuāti* nicht im Sinne einer sozialen Abstufung von „ebenbürtig, gleichgestellt“, „(im Range) höherstehend (wörtlich: der über ihn gross/grösser als er ist)“ bzw. „(im Range) wie dieser (gleichrangig)“, sondern als altersmässige Abstufung „son égal (en âge)“, „plus âgé“ bzw. „comme lui“.

Beschlossen wird das zu rezensierende Werk mit einem vor allem für den fachfremden Leser bestimmten, sehr nützlichen „Lexique“ (S. 149-155) mit Erläuterungen zu den im Text des CH und in den zugehörigen Anmerkungen und Bemerkungen vorkommenden Namen von Göttern, Tempeln, Orten, Ländern und Personen/Königen sowie von akkadischen Termini. Auf diesen lexikalischen Anhang verweisen in der vorausgehenden Bearbeitung des CH Sternchen bei jedem der erläuterten Namen oder Termini, so dass es überall ohne weiteres möglich ist, festzustellen, ob er im „Lexique“ behandelt ist¹⁶⁾.

Zum Schluss sei dem Verf. der Dank für sein Werk ausgesprochen, mit dem er Fachgenossen und interessierten fachfremden Lesern eine moderne, neue Anregungen für Verständnis und Interpretation des CH bietende Übersetzung geschenkt hat.

[Korrekturzusatz: Jüngst publizierte Text-Fragmente zum CH verzeichnet R. Borger, HKL II (1975) 50.]

München, April 1975

H. P. H. PETSCHOW

¹²⁾ Für § 114 möchte mir scheinen, dass er nur den Fall trifft, dass jemand bei einem anderen pfändet, obwohl ersterer gar keine Forderung (mehr) gegen letzteren hat. Die Vereinbarung der Arbeitsleistung eines Pfändlings vor Forderungsfälligkeit — etwa Vereinbarung eines Nutzpflands als Zinsantichrese vor Forderungsfälligkeit — dürfte auch nach CH zulässig gewesen sein.

¹³⁾ ZDMG 69 (1915) 524; ebenso Eilers § 158; neuerdings wieder AHw 675 s.v. *murabbitu*.

¹⁴⁾ In *Symb.* M. David II (1968) 86 mit Anm. 4.

¹⁵⁾ Ebenso CAD A I 176.2b „sons who are grown up“.

¹⁶⁾ Einige kleine Druckfehler: S. 48 Z. 11 lies „maison“ statt „main“; S. 120 Z. 7 „6 et 9 siècles“; S. 121 Z. 5 „LAPO 2, 328-330“ und Z. 11 „note 2“; § 184 lies „si l' (oder: un) homme“ statt „père“ (Z. 15: *šum-ma a-wi-lum*).

Louis Vanden BERGHE, *De iconografische Betekenis van het sassanidisch Rotsrelief van Sarāb-i Qandil (Irān)*. Brüssel, Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang XXXV Nr. 1, 1973 (8vo, 46 S., 22 Tafeln). Preis: 280 BF.

In dieser Studie wird ein neues sasanidisches Felsrelief, das durch den iranischen Archäologen A. A. Sarfarāz im Jahre 1970 entdeckt wurde, beschrieben und interpretiert. Das Relief befindet sich in der Nähe des Dorfes Sarāb-i Qandil in der Provinz Fārs, 14 km entfernt von der grossen sasanidischen Anlage von Bīšāpūr. 1972 hat der Verf. das Relief selbst untersucht.

Das Relief liegt wie zahlreiche weitere sasanidische Reliefs in der Nähe einer Quelle. Es ist aber nicht wie die meisten anderen in eine grosse Felswand eingehauen, sondern an einem freistehenden Felsblock — 4 m hoch, 6,60 m breit und 5,30 m dick — angebracht. Das Relief selbst hat die Masse 2,33 x 2,75 m und eine Tiefe von 0,14 m. Es sind drei Personen abgebildet, eine Inschrift fehlt. Da man für die Identifizierung der auf solchen Reliefs abgebildeten Personen vielfach keine Inschrift zur Verfügung hat, wäre das Fehlen einer solchen Inschrift auch hier nicht weiter sehr gravierend, wenn andere Hilfsmittel, wie etwa Form der Krone, Haartracht und Bart zur Verfügung stünden, leider sind diese Merkmale sehr zerstört, so dass die Identifizierung schwierig ist.

Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die Forschungsgeschichte der sasanidischen Reliefs und die Lage des hier behandelten Reliefs (3-7) werden die drei abgebildeten Figuren nacheinander behandelt, wobei Verf. mit der zentrale Figur beginnt (7-16).

Verf. geht aufgrund der zentralen Stellung, ihrer Grösse gegenüber den beiden anderen Figuren, der Krone (die allerdings nur noch zu vermuten ist), der Halskette und ähnlichen Attributen davon aus, dass es sich bei der dargestellten Person um einen König handelt.

Anhand von Vergleichen mit der Haartracht, der Halskette, der Kleidung und ähnlichen Einzelheiten auf anderen Reliefs ist Verf. der Ansicht, dass es sich um Bahrām II. (276-293 n. Chr.) handelt. Dieser Herrscher ist auf den insgesamt 31 sasanidischen Felsreliefs nämlich immerhin 10 Mal dargestellt.

Anschliessend versucht Verf. die rechts neben dem König abgebildete Person zu identifizieren (16-23). Es handelt sich um eine männliche Person mit kurzem Bart, die in der rechten Hand eine Krone hält, die sie dem König übergibt. Verf. überprüft die Personen, die während der Herrschaft Bahrām II. eine wichtige Rolle spielten, um so zu einer Identifizierung zu gelangen. Der oft dargestellte Gott Ahura Mazdā scheidet aus, denn dieser trägt, im Gegensatz zu der hier behandelten Figur, auf den Reliefs nie eine Waffe; ferner ist der Gott immer grösser oder zumindest gleich gross wie der König dargestellt (nur in Tāq-i Bustān findet sich eine Ausnahme, die sich aber aus den dortigen speziellen Gegebenheiten ergibt); hier aber ist diese Figur kleiner.

Der Grosspriester Kardēr kommt nach Meinung des

Verf. ebenfalls nicht in Betracht; auf den Reliefs, die Kardēr zeigen, ist er immer bartlos; ferner hält er nie die Investiturskrone.

Ebenso kann es sich nicht um einen Würdenträger des Hofes handeln, da ein solcher auch niemals die Krone halten würde. Nach Ansicht Vanden Berghes ist vielmehr hier der Kronprinz Bahrām III. dargestellt. Er kommt zu diesem Ergebnis anhand von Darstellungen auf sasanidischen Münzen, sowie aufgrund eines Vergleiches mit dem Felsrelief in Naqš-i Rūstam, wo Bahrām II. ebenfalls mit dem Kronprinzen abgebildet ist. Verf. weist daraufhin, dass dieser dort die gleiche Haartracht und die gleiche Halskette trägt.

An dieser Stelle muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass W. Hinz bei dem Internationalen Orientalisten Kongress 1973 in Paris in einem Vortrag die Ansicht vertreten hat, dass es sich bei dieser Person nicht um Bahrām III. sondern um Hormizdā, den Kronprinzen von Hormizd I., handelt. Nach Hinz war Bahrām III. bei seiner Thronbesteigung noch zu jung, um einen Bart zu besitzen wie ihn die Figur auf dem Relief von Sarāb-i Qandil trägt. Denn sein Vater Bahrām II. war, als er den Thron erbte (276 n. Chr.), noch ein Jüngling, er konnte also noch keine Kinder haben. Bahrām III. könnte bei seiner Thronbesteigung höchstens 15 Jahre alt gewesen sein, und damit kaum einen Bart getragen haben. Wollte aber könnte Hormizdā als Kronprinz von Hormizd I. alt genug gewesen sein, um bei der Investitur seines Vaters schon einen Bart besessen haben. Ist diese Schlussfolgerung richtig, dann kann es sich aber bei der zentralen Figur nicht um Bahrām II., handeln, sondern wir haben hier Hormizd I. vor uns. Es sei schon jetzt daraufhingewiesen, dass Hinz seine Ansicht in Band 6 (1973) der „Archäologischen Mitteilungen aus Iran“ darlegen wird.

Es folgt (23-24) die Behandlung der dritten, links auf dem Relief stehenden Figur. Die Tatsache, dass es sich um eine weibliche Figur handelt, lässt an die Göttin Anāhitā denken, die ja auf anderen sasanidschen Felsreliefs abgebildet ist. Dennoch lehnt Verf. eine solche Identifizierung aus mehreren Gründen ab. Die Figur ist nämlich kleiner als der Herrscher, was den Prinzipien der orientalischen Kunst widerspricht, wonach die Gottheit immer grösser oder zumindest gleich gross wie der Herrscher sei. Keines der zehn Reliefs, die wir von Bahrām II. kennen, enthalte weiter eine Gottheit. Es sei auch schlecht vorstellbar, dass eine Göttin dem Herrscher eine Blume überreiche. Vanden Berghes Hauptargument ist aber ein religionsgeschichtliches. Unter Bahrām II. sei es gerade der Grosspriester Kardēr gewesen, der den Kult dieser Göttin auszumerzen versuchte, indem er die Zerstörung ihrer Statuen anordnete und versuchte sie in den Zoroastrismus zu integrieren.

Verf. glaubt daher, dass es sich um die Frau Bahrāms II., die Königin Ardašīr-Anāhid handelt, die auch schon auf einem anderen Relief Bahrāms II. in Barm-i Dilak abgebildet sei und auch dort dem König eine Blume überreiche. Weiter sei festzustellen, dass lediglich auf den Reliefs Bahrāms II., etwa in Naqš-i Rūstam, Sar-i Mašhad und in Barm-i Dilak die Königin eine wichtige Funktion einnehme und wirklich an der dargestellten Handlung „teilnehme“.

Den Abschluss dieser Untersuchung bildet eine gekürzte französische Übersetzung (35-46).

Zusammenfassend ist feststellen, dass wir dem Verf. dankbar sein können für diese Untersuchung, selbst wenn vielleicht der eine oder andere mit den Identifizierungen der dargestellten Personen nicht einverstanden sein sollte. Da man schon jetzt behaupten kann, ohne gleich ein Hellseher zu sein, dass im Laufe der nächsten Jahre sicherlich noch weitere sasanidische Reliefs entdeckt werden, bleibt zu hoffen, dass vielleicht einer dieser „Zukunftsfunde“ mit einer Inschrift versehen ist, die uns bei der Identifizierung der abgebildeten Personen des Reliefs von Sarāb-i Qandil und auch bei anderen Reliefs neue Hinweise liefert.

Darüber hinaus wäre auch die Beantwortung der grundsätzlichen Frage: „Welches war das Ziel dieser Reliefs, was wurde mit ihrer Darstellung beabsichtigt“, von grundsätzlichem Interesse. Denn um eine „Kundgebung“, eine Publikmachung der Taten oder Ereignisse, die während der Regierungszeit eines betreffenden Herrschers geleistet wurden, bzw. passierten, kann es sich in vielen Fällen doch kaum gehandelt haben. Dafür sind manche der Reliefs hoch in den Bergen oder an sonstigen unzugänglichen Plätzen angebracht, gerade die Reliefs Bahrāms II. sind hierfür ein Beispiel. Obwohl neben dieser Arbeit gerade in den letzten Jahre mehrere wichtige Untersuchungen¹⁾ über das Gebiet der sasanidischen Reliefs erschienen sind, bleiben noch manche Fragen offen. Vielleicht wäre es an der Zeit, obwohl wie oben gesagt, das Material sich sicherlich noch erweitern wird, einmal an die Anfertigung eines corpus der sasanidischen Felsreliefs zu denken.

Friedland, März 1975

KLAUS SCHIPPMANN

* *

OUDE TESTAMENT - JUDAICA

Madeleine S. MILLER and J. LANE MILLER, *Black's Bible Dictionary*, in consultation with eminent authorities. London, A. and C. Black Ltd., eighth ed. 1973 (8vo, X + 853 S., 18 Karten, 500 Photos). Preis: £ 6.25.

Das mit Photos, Zeichnungen und Karten reich illustrierte biblische Nachschlagewerk hat eine bemerkenswerte Geschichte hinter sich. Seit seinem ersten Erscheinen 1952 erlebte es innerhalb von zwei Jahrzehnten immerhin acht Auflagen, von denen die letzte (die 7.) 1962 erschien. Da die beiden Herausgeber inzwischen aus der Arbeit ausgeschieden sind, zeichnet der Verleger selbst für diese Neuauflage verantwortlich. Wir vernehmen im Vorwort, sie habe von allen bisherigen Auflagen die eingreifendste Bearbeitung erfahren. Das archäologische Material sei auf den neuesten Stand gebracht worden.

¹⁾ W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin 1969; Georgina Hermann, *The Darabgird Relief - Ardashir or Shapur? A discussion in the context of early Sasanian sculpture*, Iran 7 (1969), 63-88; Eliane de Wilde, *De Sassanidische Rotsreliefs in Iran*, 2. Bände, Gent 1969 (innerhalb des Seminars von Vanden Berghe entstandene maschinenschriftliche Dissertation); L. Trümpelmann, *Šāpūr mit der Adlerkopfkappe*, AMI NF 4 (1971), 173-185.

In den theologischen Beiträgen habe man das Schwergewicht auf Information gelegt und deshalb, soweit möglich, auf die spekulativen und apologetischen Elemente der älteren Artikel verzichtet. Was das mit dem von Papst Johannes XXIII. proklamierten „aggiornamento“ zu tun haben soll, das auf dem Klappentext beschworen wird, ist allerdings nicht so recht einzusehen. Als Benützerkreis wird ein doppelter ins Auge gefasst: der interessierte Laie einerseits und der Theologiestudent und Gemeindepfarrer andererseits.

Der Benutzer ist beeindruckt von der Fülle des informativen Materials, das, unter Beibehaltung eines sehr handlichen Formats (und eines angemessenen Preises), auf engem Raum und doch gut lesbar zusammengetragen ist. Das Stichwortverzeichnis ist umfassend und lässt kaum etwas Wichtiges vermissen. Man ist im Gegenteil überrascht, gewisse Stichwörter in einem *biblischen* Lexikon zu finden (z.B. Zionismus). Das Schwergewicht dieser Ausgabe liegt zweifellos auf der Archäologie, die im Vorwort als das Verdienst von W. P. Anderson, „in consultation with James B. Pritchard“, bezeichnet wird. Die archäologischen Artikel sind auch die einzigen, bei denen gelegentlich weiterführende Literatur genannt wird. In der Tat findet der Leser eine knappe Übersicht über den Verlauf der archäologischen Erforschung wichtiger Stätten wie Ai, Bethel, Jericho, und deren Ergebnisse, wobei auch eine durchaus kritische Konfrontierung mit den biblischen Mitteilungen erfolgt. Diese kontrastiert in wohlthuender Weise mit der kritiklosen, plumpen Nacherzählung der Bibel, wie wir sie in anderen Artikeln wie „Aaron“ oder „Moses“ finden. Auch die zaghaften Konzessionen an die Literarkritik, die gelegentlich anschliessend an diese Nacherzählungen gemacht werden, vermögen deren Unbefangenheit kaum zu neutralisieren. Was die Patriarchenüberlieferungen angeht, so finden wir den Historismus und die Chronologie W. F. Albright's wieder. Im Artikel „Abraham“ erfährt der Benützer, die Wanderung Terachs von Ur nach Haran sei ins 20. oder 19. Jh. zu datieren und Abraham habe möglicherweise sumerisch gesprochen. Komplizierter wird die Sache im Artikel „Patriarch“. Die Archäologie hat die Historizität der Patriarchen bestätigt. Die Patriarchenzeit ist zwischen dem 21. und dem 19. Jh. anzusetzen. Dennoch dürfte Jakobs Wanderung nach Ägypten erst im 18., ja wahrscheinlicher erst im 17. Jh. erfolgt sein, und die sozialen Verhältnisse der Patriarchenerzählungen stimmen mit jenen der Nuzi-Texte aus dem 15. Jh. überein. Eine solche Vielfalt von Daten dürfte wenig geeignet sein, die These von der „Historizität“ zu untermauern.

Recht undifferenziert sind gelegentlich Darstellung und Aufriss einzelner biblischer Bücher oder Portraits von Persönlichkeiten. So wird der Artikel „David“ der historischen Bedeutung seines Helden in keiner Weise gerecht. Zu begrüßen ist die reiche Illustrierung, obwohl auch hier gefragt werden muss, ob nicht mit weniger, aber dafür besseren Bildern dem Benützer besser gedient wäre. In einem biblischen Lexikon wäre es wohl auch sinnvoller, statt eines Mühlsteins aus Ostia (S. 445) einen solchen aus Palästina zu zeigen (es liegen ja dort deren genug herum). Noch fraglicher ist, was die vielen (und dazu nicht immer treffend ausgewählten) Beispiele abendländischer Kunstgeschichte zur Illustrie-

rung biblischer Sachverhalte beitragen können. Leider klappt auch das Verweissystem nicht immer. So wird mehrmals auf den Artikel Nuzu verwiesen, das entsprechende Stichwort lautet aber Nuzi. Bei der Mitteilung, Mose habe auf dem Berg die zwei Steintafeln mit den zehn Geboten empfangen (S. 462), deutet nichts auf die Existenz eines Artikels „Ten Commandments“ hin; es wird nur auf den Artikel „Law“ verwiesen, von wo ein weiterer Verweis auf den Artikel „Ten Commandments“ führt.

So ist leider die gute Mitte zwischen Wissenschaftlichkeit und Gemeinverständlichkeit, die das Lexikon grundsätzlich anstrebt und die nur zu begrüßen wäre, nicht gefunden, und das Ganze leidet an sauberer und konsequenter Technik. Es ist zu wünschen, dass bei einer nächsten Auflage eine starke und erfahrene Hand aus den wertvollen Voraussetzungen, die diese Ausgabe bietet, das Beste herausholen möge.

Tübingen, Februar 1975

HERBERT HAAG

* *

Saul LIEBERMAN, *Texts and Studies*. New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1974 (318 + viii pp.).

Hebrew as a vehicle for modern Jewish scholarship has only relatively recently come into its own. For over a century German was the prime language for Jewish scholarship. English has taken over today as the chief non-Hebrew mode of expression in the field. Although it is almost unthinkable today that anyone can work in Jewish scholarship without ready access to modern Hebrew writing in the field, there is still much being written in languages other than Hebrew in almost all areas of Jewish scholarship. Nor should one underrate the importance of creative Jewish scholarship in languages other than Hebrew. The audience reached, especially the non-Jewish one, is undoubtedly much wider.

Another modern phenomenon, almost concomitant with the emergence of the State of Israel, is that almost all important books in the field of Jewish scholarship in languages other than Hebrew are now to be found in Hebrew translation. This includes, for example, Professor Saul Lieberman's two books in English on Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine.

Yet at the same time a reverse process has been going on quietly now for many years. Jewish scholarship has long ceased to be parochial and it impinges on many, many areas of general historic and literary research. There is need and a demand for translations from the Hebrew of many of the important books and articles originally written in Hebrew. Especially is the demand great where Jewish studies have bearing on classical scholarship.

The present volume of collected articles by Professor Lieberman consists both of translations from the Hebrew and of articles originally written in English. Of the more than 300 pages in the book, over a hundred belong to translations from the Hebrew (nicely done by Professor David S. Winston, who is at home both in rabbinic and classical literature).

The articles in *Texts and Studies* do not include

everything written by Professor Lieberman in English. But they do cover all the areas of his outstanding research and do much to confirm his position as the ranking figure in Jewish studies. These articles are as refreshing to reread in their collected form today as they were a quarter of a century ago and more when they were originally written. They cannot be surpassed in depth of scholarship and range of authority. Many of these complement the Greek and Hellenism volumes, extending the area of research. Many deal with subjects which have become topical mostly in our own time, such as the Dead Sea and the Bar-Kochba letters.

The first article is a translation from *Eshkoloth*, the Hebrew University journal dealing with classical scholarship. It gives us an appreciation of Professor Lieberman's special linguistic gifts in uncovering the nuances of meanings of many and various Greek terms and expressions found in the Hebrew and Aramaic literature of the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods. He has no rival in this. Indeed, Professor Lieberman has uncovered Greek words and expressions in the *koiné* of the period which as yet do not even appear in the classical dictionaries!

In this first article Professor Lieberman confirms that the word *atliz* (known so well in modern Hebrew usage as "butchery") comes from the Greek *atelés*, meaning "free from tax". This meaning was originally suggested by R. Benjamin Musafia several hundred years ago, but was later rejected by other scholars because of the difficulty in fitting it into the context in which it appeared. The detective work in arriving at the correct meaning of the word is fascinating, as is also the setting which describes in great detail the special fairs "free from tax" permitted by the ruling government from time to time upon special occasion. This is an old discovery reconfirmed. But there are also words which Lieberman is the first to identify, such as the Greek *enthékosis*, meaning "container" in Palestinian texts, a word not yet to be recorded in any Greek lexicon. So, too, with *apsothekarios* ("pack-bag") and *proodos* ("cross-examination by torture"), which the Greek lexicons will have to incorporate now.

An original English article dealing with the recovery of Greek meanings and terms from the ancient Palestinian texts, as well as on the history of the period and the life of the people at the time is the article "Rays from the East". This article does much to confirm the fact that the mine of information which resides in rabbinic literature bearing on Greek lexicography and Roman history of the period is far from exhaustion.

Although Professor Lieberman is not considered an "historian" in the popular use of the term, the establishment of historical facts depends upon deep insight and a correct reading and understanding of the sources. In this respect his two original English articles on "Palestine in the Third and Fourth Centuries" are notable, for they explode the myth accepted by Jewish historians and scholars since the time of Graetz that this was a period of Jewish persecution by the Roman government. This "myth" established itself upon an erroneous interpretation of a few talmudic texts. Professor Lieberman writes: "There is absolutely no direct reference in the rabbinic literature of the third and fourth centuries from which

we might legitimately conclude that the Roman government deliberately persecuted the Jewish religion during this time". If there was indeed Jewish suffering at this time, this was not other than that of the population as a whole, Jews and non-Jews, who were at the mercy of the tax-collectors and officials. The head-tax, the public taxes, and the *annona* were the common suffering of all the provincials under the reign of the Severi, and they all complained in a similar way. It was Roman "legal" robbery of all the provincials rather than persecution which made it very hard for the Jews of Palestine as for the provincials elsewhere.

In his "historical" studies, Professor Lieberman solves the problem of why ordination in Palestine seemed to be a limited prerogative of the Patriarch and why there would occasionally be a clamor against the "selling" of ordinations. It seems that ordination brought to the Jewish clergy at the time certain tax exemptions from the Roman authorities, just as it did to the Christian clergy. But the Romans would put a limit on the number the Patriarch could ordain. There would therefore arise the temptation to "sell" ordinations whenever the coffers of the Patriarch would be particularly empty.

In his articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Professor Lieberman is able to link up some of the rabbinic designations of heterodoxy with practices found among the Damascus Sect as well as the related Essenes and Dead Sea Scroll sects. In another important article he shows that the alleged forgeries of Raymond Martini in his *Pugio Fidei* were not forgeries at all, but quotations from extant Jewish texts at the time, which can somehow be recovered now. Here he demonstrates conclusively how even outstanding historians can go astray because of their far from full mastery of rabbinic literature.

Professor Lieberman's greatest contributions are, of course, in his Hebrew commentaries to the classic Talmudic texts, especially that to the Tosefta. Yet whatever he has written, in whatever language, takes on something of permanence.

Jerusalem, March 1975

ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

* *

Hartmut GESE, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. Alttestamentliche Beiträge zur biblischen Theologie*. München, Chr. Kaiser, 1974 (8vo, 258 pp.) = Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, Bd. 64. Price: Cloth DM 36.—.

Professor Gese of the University of Tübingen presents here fourteen important essays. All but one were published between 1958 and 1973 in *Festschriften* (six of them) or in such scholarly journals as *ZTK* and *ZAW*. From the technical standpoint it is helpful to have provided the original pagination and the updating of the footnotes as regards the entries that have been reprinted after Gese's essays were initially published. In content, as the following discussion will indicate, the essays address fundamental issues in biblical theology and provide a useful compendium of Gese's theological and hermeneutical stance. Indexes of topics, Hebrew words, and biblical references greatly enhance the usefulness of this volume.

The important essays, "Erwägungen zur Einheit der biblischen Theologie", pp. 11-30 (from *ZTK* 67 [1970], 417-436), sets the tone of the entire collection. The author summarizes his scholarly work to the extent that there must be developed a basically new vision concerning the relationship of the OT and the NT. Gese outlines the basic example of a theology encompassing both Testaments, in which the NT appears as the completion of the OT. Even those who will have reservations about the position of Gese that the OT prepares "a way to the New Testament" (p. 7) will profit from the richness of his observations. This significant contribution concerning the mutual relationship of the OT and the NT addresses a fundamental task of Christian theology. The thesis is developed of theology as formation of tradition which is directed towards *telos*. Since "the New Testament is in itself incomprehensible, [and] the Old Testament can by itself be misunderstood" (p. 30), both Testaments together form an inseparable unity. "The New Testament event has brought to an end the Old Testament formation of tradition, i.e. now only a total whole came into being" (p. 30).

In "Bemerkungen zur Sinaitradition", pp. 31-48 (from *ZAW* 79 [1967], 137-145, see also *ThLZ* 92 [1967], 245-246), the knotty question of the origin of the Sinai tradition and its relation to the supposedly separate Exodus tradition is treated. Gese attributes the Sinai tradition to the tribes of the Leah group, from which the kernel of the original Israel descended. This tradition is primary, and it is also here that the figure of Moses is rooted. The Exodus tradition is from the beginning under the material influence of the Sinai tradition. Both traditions were originally separate, but from the foundation of the state on a narrative (formal) association developed between both. The so-called "finding tradition" is but a new interpretation of the Sinai tradition within the space of the theological history to which also the original Deuteronomy with its little historical creed belongs. This essay will be meaningful only to those who accept an originally independent existence of the Exodus and Sinai traditions. For scholars such as W. Beyerlin (*Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* [Nashville, 1966], G. Fohrer (*Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus* [Berlin, 1964]), A. S. van der Woude (*Uittocht en Sinai* [1961]), and others who suggest that the Exodus and Sinai traditions never had a separate existence, but rather constituted a unity from the very beginning, this essay will find sharp reaction.

The essay "Τὸ δὲ Ἀγὰρ Σινὰ ὅρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ (Gal 4, 25)", pp. 49-62 (from the *L. Rost Festschrift*, BZAW, 105 [1967], pp. 81-94), argues that Mt. Sinai is because of its connection with Midian and several OT passages to be located in the territory east of the Gulf of Aqabah. Gese builds his arguments on the supposition that *Ex* 19: 16, 18 pre-supposes a volcanic disturbance. He does not wish to recognize that it is difficult to historicize *Ex* 19 to the extent that one may conclude that a volcano is actually meant. As for the supposed volcanic features of Mt. Sinai as extracted from *Ex* 19, it may be held that such language of theophany is so frequently drawn in the OT from the phenomena of weather, fire, and the shaking of the earth that it is difficult to be certain as to the exact intent of

vss. 16 and 18 in *Ex* 19. J. Pederson has aptly noted: "A search might with equal justice be instituted for the mountains that melted like wax when Yahweh passed over the hills of the earth". Although Gese follows A. von Gall (not mentioned by him), H. Sayce, J. Wellhausen, E. Meyer, P. Haupt, H. Gressmann, W. J. T. Phythian-Adams, O. Eissfeldt, M. Noth, and J. Koenig, the Midian-thesis is not as strong as supposed, if one recognizes the importance of the fact that the family into which Moses married was a wandering Medianite clan (*Nu* 10: 29; *Jdg* 1: 16; 4: 11), whose presence near the Sinai mines would be scarcely surprising. There are reasons for believing that the Midianites exercised considerable influence in Moab, Edom, and Paran in the Sinai peninsula (see Eissfeldt, *JBL* 87 [1968], 383-393; Albright, in *Translating and Understanding the OT* [1970], pp. 197-205). Furthermore, the suggestion which Gese defends makes the reconstruction of the Exodus route well nigh impossible.

"Der Dekalog als Ganzheit betrachtet", pp. 63-80 (from *ZTK* 64 [1967], 121-138), discusses the inner order of the so-called ethical decalogue, which was finished in its original form shortly before E.

If one presumes an original shorter form of the decalogue, then one may argue for a twofold grouping of five areas each: (1) God himself — his exclusiveness and personality (against polytheism and against worship of idols); (2) the area of holiness and cult (Protection of those approaching God and the Sabbath); (3) the area of one's own and the other's family (honor of parents and the marriage relationship); (4) the area of humaneness (prohibition to kill and to steal); and (5) the area of the neighbor (securing of true witnesses and security of possessions). These five parallel commandments define the new being in their addressing man and they describe comprehensively the *šalôm* situation into which Israel may enter.

The oldest essay is "Geschichtliches Denken im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament", pp. 81-98 (from *ZTK* 55 [1958], 127-145), which constituted his inaugural lecture at Tübingen University on July 14, 1958. In view of the claim that the OT understanding of history is unique in the ancient world and radically different from the nature myth of the ancient Near East (so E. Meyer, W. Eichrodt, G. von Rad), Gese reinvestigates historical thought in the ancient Near East (except Egypt). He concludes that the idea of the recurrence of certain situations (Assyria), history not as sequence but as the result of human action (Babylon, and less Hittites), history as teaching (*narû*) literature, and history as election through a protecting deity (Hattušili), are presupposed in the OT which goes beyond these concepts of history. Election lets the past appear as promise through which history gains a goal: it is no longer result but judgment. The making of the covenant is a historical process, indeed *Heilsgeschichte*, which finds its conclusion in the *eschaton*. On this subject one needs to read now B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (Lund, 1967), and W. G. Lambert's incisive reaction.

Gese argues in "Der bewachte Lebensbaum und die Heroen: Zwei mythologische Ergänzungen zur Urgeschichte der Quelle J", pp. 99-112 (from the *K. Elliger Festschrift* [1973], pp. 77-85), that *Gen* 3: 22, 24 is a

mythological addition to the primal history of J which has caused the addition of *Gen* 2: 9b and the reworking of 2: 17a. It is suggested that the mythological motif of these passages, supposedly derived from the elements of the weather god, fits into the anthropological etiology which corresponds to the Yahwistic story of the fall. This suggestion and its conclusions can be expected to produce critical reactions.

The title "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung", pp. 113-129 (from *ZTK* 61 [1964], 10-26), is given to an article that treats that which is new politically and theologically after David conquered Jerusalem. As David chooses Jerusalem/Zion, so God elects David and his "house". The Nathan oracle (2 Sam 7) derives from the inner connection of the traditions of the election of Zion and the covenant of David (Ps 132), but it wishes to distinguish itself from this connection through a new theologically motivated interpretation that is preserved in 2 Sam 7. (See now D. J. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinion* [London, 1972], pp. 49-52, 80-86).

The essay "Natus ex Virgine", pp. 130-146 (from the *G. von Rad Festschrift* [1971], pp. 73-89), explicates the NT birth narratives as reflecting OT motifs. Mt 1 and Lk 1 do not wish to deal with the motif of virgin birth for its own sake, but to announce the birth of the new David, the Messiah (p. 133). The OT motif of royal ideology has the enthroned David appear as the adopted one of God but born in a normal physical event. In Ps 2: 6 one should read *n'säkkoti* and translate "But I was (in an extraordinary manner) created as his king . . .". In prophetic literature the motifs of the physical birth of the Zion king and the enthronisation itself is seen as divine birth. Isa 9: 5 is to be understood as physical birth and 7: 10-17 the rejection of the current dynasty. The LXX translation of *παρθένος* is the correct translation of 'almah in Isa 7: 14, but only the NT understands this birth as *natus ex virgine*.

"Zur Geschichte der Kultsänger am zweiten Tempel", pp. 147-158 (from the *Otto Michel Festschrift* [1963], pp. 222-234), traces the history of the temple musicians at the Jerusalem cult center. There are three different strata of texts: (1) *Ezr* 2 and *Neh* 7 (before 515 B.C.) name the temple musicians after the Levites but before the gate keepers and give Asaph as their father. (2) *Neh* 11: 3-19 and 1 Chr 9: 2-18 (ca 450 B.C.) gives the sequence priests-Levites-gate keepers and counts the musicians among the Levites. Aside from the Asaph guild there is the Jeduthun guild. (3) The Chronicles enumerates in 1 Chr 6: 16-32 and 15: 16-24 the sequence of Heman-Asaph-Etan while in 1 Chr 16: 4ff. the sequence is Asaph-Heman-Jeduthun. This is interpreted to mean that the Jeduthun group originated during the period of the second temple and includes all non-Asaphites. The Heman group grew out of the special Korahite group within the Jeduthun group. Correspondingly the Psalms of Korah in the second and third books of the Psalms have to be dated into the time of the basic document (*Grundchrift*) of the Chronicle's history, ca. end of the 4th century B.C. See now G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten* (Berlin, 1966); H. M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Volker* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), pp. 213-216, and J. M. Buss,

"The Psalms of Asaph and Korah", *JBL* 82 (1963), 382-392.

Related to the previous essay is "Die Entstehung der Büchereinteilung des Psalter", pp. 159-167 (from the *Ziegler Festschrift*, II [1972], pp. 57-64), in which the widely accepted view that the so-called five books of the Psalms can be recognized on the basis of the four doxologies in Pss 41: 14; 72: 18-19; 89: 53; and 106: 48. It is suggested that these doxologies do not point to a five-fold collection of psalms but that a long process of collection must be proposed which finally led to the four doxological formulae.

"Die Krisis der Weisheit bei Koteleth", pp. 168-179 (from *Les Sages du Proche-Orient ancien* [1963], pp. 139-151), attempts to interpret Qoheleth (*Eccl.*) with the aid of parallels from ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. Gese develops the thesis that the wisdom of Qoheleth shows over against the older wisdom of Israel a structural change which is evidenced in its distance of the person, the distance of the I from the event with which it is interrelated and which describes the distinction and freedom of the contemplating subject. Man is in Qoheleth not only a separate individual but also a stranger who stands over against the world as such. The discrepancy between man and world does not lead to dualism; it is still "one" world in which God is active.

The relationship of the OT and NT is the focus in "Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament", pp. 180-201 (from *ZTK* 65 [1968], 1-22), which begins with a translation of Ps 22 and is followed by a concise interpretation of this individual lamentation. Ps 22 is supposedly influenced by apocalyptic theology, especially in connection with the salvation of the pious from death and the kingdom of God theology. On the basis of Mk 15 it is shown how in the application of the Psalm to Jesus' death the oldest NT interpretation of the death of Jesus comes to expression. It is further indicated how this Psalm functioned in the origin of the Lord's Supper.

The beginning and end of apocalyptic is treated in "Anfang und Ende der Apokalypsik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch", pp. 202-230 (from *ZTK* 70 [1973], 20-49). This important essay attempts to show that the visions in the book of Zechariah (1: 815; 2: 1-4; 2: 5-9; 4: 1-6, 106-14; 5: 1-4; 5: 5-11; 6: 1-8) are apocalyptic and that "we can correctly take Zechariah as the first apocalypticist" (p. 221). This means that the origin of apocalyptic is to be sought in OT prophecy (with P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalypsik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit* [München, 1969] and now especially Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic. The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* [Philadelphia, 1975]) and not in wisdom traditions (against G. von Rad et al.) or in priestly aristocracy (against O. Plöger et al.). If apocalyptic comes from the middle of the fifth century B.C., then the origin of apocalyptic at the time of the Greek domination of Alexander the Great (so M. Hengel et al.) and from Zoroastrian (Iranian) religion becomes untenable. The NT forms the unsurpassable conclusion with its kingdom of God apocalyptic eschatology which is deeply rooted in OT apocalyptic.

The formerly unpublished last essay "Die Deutung

der Hirtenallegorie Sach 11, 4ff", pp. 231-238, exegetes Zech 11: 4-14 as reflecting best the post-Persian and pre-Ptolomaic period.

This review of this valuable volume of collected essays contains many of the rich and at times rather innovative views of Professor Gese, some of which will bring forth considerable reaction. In any case this volume will be highly useful to the serious scholar and student.

Andrews University,
September 1975

GERHARD F. HASEL

* *

STUDIES ON PROPHECY. A Collection of twelve Papers. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (Un vol. in 8° de 169 pages) = Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, vol. 25. Prix: 48 florins.

Ce recueil de douze articles rassemble des études diverses concernant les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament. Daniel Lys étudie la Vigne et le double Je dans Isaïe 5, 1-7. Antoine Vanel propose d'identifier le fameux "fils de Tab'e'el" que la coalition syro-éphraïmite essaye de placer sur la trône de Jérusalem (Is 7,6) avec le fils de Tubail, roi de Tyr. En effet on connaît désormais une nouvelle liste de rois tributaires sur une stèle de Téglath-Phalasar III de provenance iranienne et datant de 737, parmi lesquelles figure Tubail, roi de Tyr. Du point de vue chronologique, l'identification de Tab'e'el avec le fils du roi de Tyr qui portait le nom de Hiram serait possible. Ce serait, en fait, au plus tard à la fin de 735 que la coalition composée de Damas et de la Samarie essaya de placer sur le trône des rois de Juda "le fils de Tab'e'el". L'identification du point de vue phonétique entre Tubail et Tab'e'el ne poserait pas de problèmes insurmontables pour le détail desquels on se référera à l'argumentation de Vanel. Mais ce qui me semble plus difficile à établir c'est l'identification entre, d'une part Tubail, Tub'alu des inscriptions assyriennes et, d'autre part, 'Ittoba'al de l'Ancien Testament ou l'Ithobalos de Josèphe. Le sens de ces anthroponymes est en effet bien différent. D'un côté, Tab'e'el, Tubail signifie "El est bon" de l'autre 'Ittoba'al, 'Ittiba'al signifie "Ba'al est avec moi". Ou alors faudrait-il considérer Tubail comme un hypocoristique de 'Ittoba'al? Cela me paraît bien difficile à admettre, car même à supposer que le aleph initial ait pu être omis, d'un côté nous avons un tet et de l'autre un taw. Une autre étude intéressante consacrée à Isaïe dans ce recueil est celle de H. P. Müller. Intitulée "Croire et subsister", elle porte sur une série de remarques de philologie, de critique des formes, d'histoire de la tradition et de la rédaction pour les chapitres 6, 1-8, 18 d'Isaïe. Il met en relation le nom 'Immanuel (Dieu avec nous) qui remonterait à la mythologie cananéenne concernant Sion, avec la formule "Yahweh Sabaoth est avec nous ('immanu)" des psaumes postexiliens. Il souligne le caractère ambivalent des noms 'Immanuel tout comme de *Shear Yashub*: il implique à la fois la confiance et aussi une annonce de malheur à la famille royale, car c'est un appel au secours (Hilferuf). Schoville consacre une note aux oracles d'Amos contre Gaza, Tyr et Edom (1, 6-12). Il estime qu'un siècle sépare Amos des événements avec lesquels

les oracles contre Gaza, Tyr et Edom sont associés. Il s'agit des effets de l'invasion assyrienne de 841. Cet auteur n'admet donc pas le caractère secondaire et tardif des oracles Tyr et Edom largement accepté par les exégètes. Ces oracles seraient authentiques et remonteraient au prophète Amos lui-même. John T. Willis se propose de reconstruire l'oracle d'espoir de Mich 7, 7-20 sur les bases de l'histoire de la tradition. Deux études du recueil concernent le Deutéro-Isaïe. L'une, celle de Mettinger, essaie de résoudre une crux interpretum en Is 40, 20a, l'autre étudie l'expression "mon Serviteur Jacob" en Is 4 2, 1 (Tidwell). Klaus Seybold étudie les symboles dans les visions de Zacharie, 1-7. Ces symboles, estime-t-il, doivent être envisagés d'après leur motivation psychologique, leurs analogies orientales, leur rapport avec la parole entendue et leur signification à l'intérieur du cycle des visions. Swetnam se demande pourquoi la nouvelle alliance est nouvelle. Elle est nouvelle non pas tant par son contenu que par la manière dont elle est présentée. Le texte de Jer 31, 31-34 insiste sur l'intériorité, c'est à dire la manière dont tous devaient connaître le Seigneur du plus petit jusqu'au plus grand. Cette intériorité implique un contact direct entre l'alliance et l'individu.

Schunck traite de l'eschatologie des prophètes de l'Ancien Testament à l'époque exilienne et postexilienne; il aborde plus spécialement les thèmes du Jour de Yahweh, du Reste, du Messie et de sa domination. J. Lust se penche sur les sorciers et les prophètes. Il étudie spécialement 1 Sam 28, 3-9 et la consultation des 'obôth et des *jidde'onim* qui sont mentionnés dans ce passage. Les 'oboth désignaient originellement les esprits des parents décédés habitant le monde souterrain. En effet il rattache le terme 'oboth au mot 'ab "père". Il n'accepte donc pas l'étymologie préconisée par Hoffner rattachant 'oboth à un terme *ab* représenté en hittite, en assyrien et en sumérien et signifiant le trou rituel creusé dans la terre permettant aux divinités infernales ou aux esprits des morts d'accéder au monde supérieur pour un bref laps de temps. Le dernier article dû à Rofé traite des histoires prophétiques dans lesquelles il distingue des légendes didactiques et des paraboles. Des Index des références bibliques facilitent l'utilisation de ce recueil assez disparate malgré le dénominateur commun d'études prophétiques qui les réunit.

Toulouse, novembre 1974

M. DELCOR

* *

Baruch A. LEVINE, *In the Presence of the Lord, A Study of Cult and some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1974 (8vo, xiii und 154 S.) = Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity ed. by Jacob Neusner, Vol. 5. Preis: f 58,—.

In diesem gut lesbaren Buch hat der Verfasser uns eine Sammlung von Studien über einige technische Terme des alttestamentlichen Opferkultes vorgelegt. Schon früher hat L. auf diesem Gebiet viel geleistet (s. die Bibliographie, S. 140) und auch in vorliegender Arbeit hat er seine weitreichende Kenntnis der semitischen Sprachen und Religionen gut ausgewertet, obgleich er bestimmt nicht jeden Kollegen von der Rich-

tigkeit seiner Anschauungen überzeugen wird. Dafür gibt es nicht nur zuviel ungeklärte Punkte in der Opferterminologie und -praxis der alten Israeliten, sondern auch zuviel Vorurteile bei den modernen Forschern. Das versteht sich desto besser, je deutlicher man weiss, wie seit alters Wesen und Wert der alttestamentlichen Opfer durch herkömmliche, vor allem theologische Deutungen geprägt wurden.

Das Buch untergliedert sich in zwei Hauptteile. Der erste Hauptteil handelt über die *šēlāmim*-Opfer (S. 3-52), der andere über „Versöhnung“ und „Sühneopfer“, von denen besonders die *ʾāšām*- und *ḥaṭṭāʾt*-Opfer hervorgehoben werden (S. 55-114). Vier Zusätze, in denen sich Erwägungen zu dem Term *zebah* und verwandten Formen (S. 115ff.), Erläuterungen zu dem Term *šlm* aus dem Punischen (S. 118-122), Beobachtungen zur Radix *kpr* in einigen semitischen Sprachen (S. 123-127) und Anmerkungen zu einigen Termen für Opfer (S. 128-137) finden, schliessen das Buch ab. Eine Bibliographie und einige nützliche Text- und Wörterverzeichnisse sind hinzugefügt worden. Leider vermisst man eine Zusammenfassung des ganzen Werkes. Wie man von Brill gewöhnt ist, ist auch dieses Buch gut ausgestattet. Hin und wieder kommen jedoch einige Druckfehler vor, die störend wirken, z.B. 'die fehlerhafte Schreibung des Namens von R. E. Whitaker (mit zwei „t's“, S. xiii zweimal!).

Der Inhalt des ersten Teils zerfällt in zwei Hauptkapitel, in denen zuerst die ugaritischen und sodann die biblischen Belege zu den *šēlāmim*-Opfern vorgeführt werden. Diesen Kapiteln geht eine Einleitung voran, in der auf die befolgte Forschungsmethode des Verfassers hingewiesen wird (S. 3-8). L. ordnet die *šēlāmim*-Opfer den die religiöse Gesinnung des opfernden Menschen zeigenden Opferterminen zu. Es ergibt sich, dass schon in den ugaritischen Texten öfters von *šlmm* die Rede ist, und das neu aufgefundene und in *Ugaritica V* veröffentlichte Material (s. u.a. J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969), S. 167-188; *UF* 2 (1970), S. 303-327; „The Peace-Offering in Ugarit and Israel“ in: *Schrift en Uitleg* (Festschrift Prof. W. H. Gispen), Kampen 1970, S. 112-117) hat jetzt vielleicht neues Licht auf das alte Problem der *šlmm*-Opfer geworfen. Besonders hervorgehoben sei hier *Ugaritica V*, III, Nr. 11, wo in Z. 9f. folgende Worte vorkommen: *š l'il bt. šlmm kll ylh m bh*. Die Übersetzung dieser Worte hat — wie fast immer in ugaritischen Texten — ihre Schwierigkeiten. De Moor (in seinem Artikel in *Schrift en Uitleg*, S. 115) übersetzt: „A ram for the God-of-the-House as a *šlmm*-offering; everyone may eat thereof“. L. hingegen überträgt auf folgende Weise: „A male head of small cattle for the god of the temple(?) as the *šlmm* offered in connection with the *kalil*. He (= the king) partakes of it“ (S. 10). Verbunden mit anderen Stellen in den ugaritischen Texten, in denen sich das Wort *šlm* (m) findet, ist De Moor der Meinung, dass *šlm* (m) „peace-offering“ oder „welfare-offering“ bedeutet (a.a.O., S. 116), während L., ausgehend von einem Krt-Text (CTA 14: III, 131 — auch De Moor weist auf die Bedeutung dieser Stelle hin —), der Ansicht ist, *šlm* (m) bedeute besonders „present“ oder „tribute“, was auch akkadische Parallelen erhärteten (S. 18ff.). Ugar. *šlm* (m) soll, wie akkad. *šulmānu*, in nicht-kultischem Kontext „Ge-

schenk“, in kultischem hingegen „Grussopfer“ bedeuten. Im Alten Testament findet sich jedoch immer eine Reihenfolge *ʾolā-šēlāmim* usw., und nicht umgekehrt. Wenn man logischerweise zuerst eine Gottheit grüsst und ihr sodann Opfer darbringt, warum findet sich dann doch jene Reihenfolge? Nach Ansicht des Verfassers ist das *ʾolā*-Opfer ein Opfer, um die Aufmerksamkeit der Gottheit auf sich zu lenken. Durch dieses Opfer ruft man Gott an, es ist eine Art „Anrufungsopfer“, dem ein „Grussopfer“ folgen kann (S. 22-27). Der *šēlāmim*-Opfer gehörten zum allgemeinen Typ der *zebah*-Opfer, und fanden ihren Ursprung wahrscheinlich im Königsritual. Als Beispiel wird 1 Sam. 11: 14f. vorgeführt: Samuel ruft das Volk auf in Gilgal das Königtum zu erneuern (*hiddeš*). Dort machte man Saul zum König und opferte *zebahim šēlāmim* vor Jahwe. Für ein solches Ritual findet man in den akkadischen Texten das Wort *šulmānu* (S. 28-32). Auch andere Texte können diese Hypothese unterbauen, z.B. 1 Kön. 8: 62f.: Bei der Tempelweihe in Jerusalem sind die *šēlāmim*-Opfer die Hauptopfer, die König Salomo darbringt. Unumgänglich stellt sich die Frage nach dem Verhältnis *šēlāmim*-Bund, aktuell seit den Untersuchungen von W. Robertson Smith und R. Dussaud (S. 35-41). Oft betrachtet man die *šēlāmim*-Opfer als eine Art Bundesschlusszeremonie, die die Erfahrung einer Gemeinschaft zwischen Gott und seinen Verehrern aufweist. Hierbei geht man von der Etymologie der Radix *šlm* als „Harmonie“ oder „Friede“ aus. Hier stösst man auf die Grundfragen des Verhältnisses „Bund“-„Kult“ in Israel (S. 37ff.). Obgleich L. mit der Ansicht übereinstimmt, dass der ganze israelitische Kult gewissermassen ein Bundesverhältnis voraussetzt, verneint er doch, dass die *šēlāmim* besondere Bundesopfer gewesen sind. Opfer sind durchaus nicht die wesentlichen Instrumente, durch die ein Bund in Kraft gesetzt wird. Mitunter kritisiert er S. Mowinckel und dessen Schule, die Kult und Bund für Israel überbewertet haben sollen (kultischer Ursprung der Psalmen usw.). Er ist der Meinung, dass die herkömmliche biblische Literatur keinen Anlass zur Annahme regelmässiger kultischen Bundeserneuerungen gibt. Ausserdem kritisiert er die Tendenz mancher Gelehrter, den Term *šēlāmim* auf solch eine Weise etymologisch zu betrachten, dass er mit dem Gedanken an „Bund“ verbunden werden muss. Mit Recht hält er dies für gekünstelt und für ein glänzendes Beispiel der Fallen, die die Etymologie der theologischen und historischen Forschung stellen kann (S. 41). Ob L. selbst immer diesen Fallen entronnen ist, ist wenigstens fragwürdig und diesem Problem soll nachher noch einige Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden.

Der Autor befasst sich in einem folgenden Kapitel mit dem Verhältnis der *šēlāmim* zu den Gelübden (*neder*; *nedābā* und *tōdā*). Diese bestätigen die Bedeutung „Grussgeschenk“ für die *šēlāmim*-Opfer (S. 42-45). Auch weist er auf die Entwicklung der *šēlāmim* in der israelitischen Religion hin (S. 45-52). In diesem Rahmen sind drei Thesen wichtig: 1. Die *šēlāmim*-Opfer sind alt und wahrscheinlich vor dem Anfang des Königtums in den israel. Kult eingeführt; 2. Diese Opfer fehlen in den kultischen Gesetzen von Deuteronomium (Kap. 12; 16ff.; 23: 19, 22-24); 3. Die Schriftpropheeten (Amos 5: 22 ausgenommen) lassen diese Opfer unerwähnt. In Ez. 40-48 finden sich diese Opfer zuerst.

Weitere Untersuchungen hinsichtlich des wechselseitigen Verhältnisses von H (Heiligkeitgesetz), P (Priestertkodex), Ez. 40-48, und anderen alttestamentlichen Stellen werden durchgeführt. Nach L. ergibt es sich, dass die Ausbreitung der Bedeutung des Begriffs „šelāmim-Opfer“ durch die Jerusalemer Priester, die H und P verfasst haben, verwirklicht worden ist.

Den zweiten Hauptteil seiner Studien fängt der Autor mit einer gründlichen Untersuchung des Verbs *kipper* und seiner Derivate an (S. 56-77). Auf Grund der Etymologie(!) und der akkadischen Wortforschung meint er, dass man bei *kpr* nicht von der Bedeutung „bedecken“, sondern von akkadischen *kapāru* „abwischen“ [D = „kultisch reinigen“] ausgehen soll. Eine Bedeutungsnuance „bedecken“, wenn im Hebräischen überhaupt möglich, ist nur als eine späte Konnotation zu fassen. Das Alte Testament misst dem Wort *kipper* niemals die Bedeutung „bedecken der Sünden“ zu. Ebenso wenig kann der Term *kōper* als eine Art „Bestechungsgeld“ betrachtet werden. Vielmehr bedeutet er eine Bezahlung zur Tilgung von Schuld infolge einer vorher bestimmten Bezahlungsskala. Zur näheren Bestimmung von *kipper* im Alten Testament führt L. noch eine syntaktische Untersuchung durch (S. 63-67) und verweilt bei dem Verhältnis von *kipper* zu den israelitischen Blutmanipulationen (S. 67-77). Einiges sei aus diesen Paragraphen hervorgehoben. Zu Lev. 16 : 18f. (Gesetz für den grossen Versöhnungstag) heisst es, dass zur „Entsühnung“ des Altars der Priester Handlungen ausführte, die zwar in „Reinigung“ resultierten, diese aber nicht zwangsläufig hervorbrachten. L. nennt diesen feinen Unterschied wichtiger, als er aussieht. Das trifft zu, weil er — wie wir noch sehen werden — mit einer der Konzeptionen des Verfassers zusammenhängt. Zu einem zentralen Text in dem israelitischen Opferritual, Lev. 17 : 11 (Denn des Fleisches Leben ist im Blut, und euch habe Ich es gegeben, damit es für euer Leben Sühne wirkt auf dem Altar; denn Blut wirkt entsprechend [*beth* ist hier *beth pretii* nach L.] dem Wert eueres Lebens Sühne), bemerkt der Verfasser, dass hier von einer Blutlibation die Rede ist, deren Ursprung in der Verehrung chthonischer Gottheiten zu suchen ist. Auch Jahwe soll Unheil abwehrendes Blut akzeptiert haben (S. 68). In Verbindung mit dem Verb *kipper* muss der Gebrauch von Blut im priesterlichen Opferritual immer als sühnend und reinigend betrachtet werden, d.h.: Gott und seine unmittelbare Umgebung sollen gegen das Eindringen von Unreinheit geschützt werden. Auf dem Hintergrund eines richtigen Verständnisses der Begriffe „*kipper*“, „rein“, „unrein“ usw. steht nach Ansicht des Autors die Magie. Wenn jemand z.B. infolge einer Beleidigung Gottes eine „Unreinheit“ bekommt, führt er der Gemeinschaft eine Art dämonische Infektion zu. Auch der Priester, der am grossen Versöhnungstag das Heiligtum betritt, muss seinen Weg dort gegen „Unreinheit“ schützen. Deshalb beabsichtigen die vorgeschriebenen Riten in Lev. 16 die Reinigung des Heiligtums, und nicht des Volkes. Letztgenanntes findet sich nur in einem „Postskriptum“ in Lev. 16 : 29-34.

Da die Unreinheit als eine externe Kraft, die in eine Person eindringt, gefasst wird, ist es verständlich, dass L. auf die Probleme der Magie, der Reinheit und sogar

des biblischen Monotheismus eingeht (S. 77-91). Er ist sich der verschiedenen Ansicht anderer Gelehrter wohl bewusst, wenn er zugesteht, dass man im allgemeinen die Versöhnung als eine notwendige Aktivität gegen Handlungen, welche den Bund zwischen Gott und Volk gefährden, fasst. Aber Gottes Zorn hat seinen Grund nicht zuerst in seinem Unbehagen über des Menschen Ungehorsam, er ist hingegen auf Selbstschutz gegründet: „The sacrificial blood is offered to the demonic forces who accept it in lieu of God's „life“, so to speak, and depart, just as they accept it in lieu of human life in other cultic contexts“ (S. 78). Obgleich L. den Gebrauch von Blut in Bundesverhältnissen nicht verneinen will, ist er der Meinung, dass das Blut in Opferriten andere Bedeutung hat. In seiner Beweisführung setzt er sich ausführlich mit der Ansicht von Y. Kaufmann auseinander, dessen Hauptthese ist, dass die „Domäne der Unreinheit“ in der alttest. Religion eine *Situation*, und keine aktive Kraft ist. Schlussfolgerung von L. ist, dass das AT nur teilweise die Stimme gegen Magie erhebt (Ex. 22 : 7; Lev. 19 : 26ff.; 20 : 6; Deut. 18 : 9ff.) und das ein Verbot apotropäischer und prophylaktischer Magie nicht besteht (S. 89). Therapeutische Magie wurde ebenfalls niemals verboten (S. 90). Den Sühneriten wird man also eine magische Komponente zustehen müssen.

Die Magie bildet auch den Hintergrund zum Verstehen des 'āšām-Opfers, das mit einer Besprechung von 1 Sam. 5 : 1-7 : 1 (Bundeslade bei den Philistern) anfängt (S. 91-101). Nach L. war dieses Opfer ursprünglich ein kultisches Opfer, das in der Form von Wertgegenständen der Gottheit als Sühne für begangenes Unrecht dargeboten wurde (ein *qorbān*, der nicht dem Altar zugeordnet war). Das Opfer war niemals Teil des öffentlichen Tempelkultes. Dies im Gegensatz zum *hattāt*-Opfer, das in den drei folgenden Paragraphen besprochen wird (S. 101-114). Die Tora unterscheidet zwei *hattāt*-Arten: 1. einen Reinigungsritus zum Schutz des Heiligtums und der Priester (gegen Unreinheit); 2. einen Ritus zur Sühne der Verfehlungen der Israeliten (S. 103f.). Erstgenanntes Opfer wurde wahrscheinlich von den Priestern selbst dargeboten. Ein schwieriges Problem bildet die Anpassung der *hattāt*-Opfer an die Umstände und Verhältnisse derjenigen, die diese Opfer darboten (vgl. Lev. 5 : 1-13) (S. 108-112). Dem *hattāt*-Opfer des Volkes im regelmässigen Kult widmet L. die letzten Seiten seiner Abhandlung über dieses Opfer (S. 112ff.).

Diese ziemlich ausführliche Inhaltsübersicht zeigt, dass man in diesem Buch Problemen begegnet, die die Aufmerksamkeit vieler Alttestamentler und Religionsgeschichtler verdienen, obgleich man nicht behaupten kann, dass alle vorgetragenen Gedanken funkelnd neu sind. Hinsichtlich des Begriffs „Reinheit“ z.B. finden sich schon bei W. Robertson Smith ähnliche Ansichten wie bei Y. Kaufmann (s. jetzt auch die auch von L. erwähnte Studie von J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*, Leiden 1973). Fraglich ist, ob L. Recht hat mit seinen Anschauungen, dass der biblische Begriff „Unreinheit“ übereinstimmt mit demjenigen der anderen Religionen des alten Nahen Ostens, oder dass das Ziel des Kultes und der Magie primär die Beseitigung der dämonischen Kräfte war. Kritik ist

auch zu üben an der Ansicht des Verfassers über Magie und Monotheismus in Israel. Ohne die vielen Spuren magischer Praktiken im AT verneinen zu wollen, ist es doch hypothetisch anzunehmen, dass die Israeliten in der Zeit, in der die Gesetzgebung Gestalt bekommen hat, grosse Teile des Opferrituals noch magisch verstanden hätten. Der Verfasser unterscheidet nicht immer klar zwischen einem (möglichen) vorisraelitischen Substrat der Opferpraxis und dem tatsächlichen Kult, der später in Israel fungierte, und in dem die Exklusivität des Jahweglaubens sich das magische Denken unterwarf (vgl. z.B. K. Galland, *RGG*³, IV, Sp. 601). Ebenso wenig ist deutlich, in wieweit eine anti-magische Tendenz eine frühere magische Deutung der Opfer umgewertet haben wird. Die Auseinandersetzungen der in Palästina einwandernden Israeliten mit der kanaänischen Religion sind für das Verstehen von Israels Haltung gegen die Magie von grosser Bedeutung gewesen. Der religionsgeschichtliche Ursprung einer Praxis und die spätere Deutung derselben sind immer zwei Dinge! Obgleich der Autor vieles zur Lösung der sich hier vorfindenden Probleme beizusteuern versucht hat, hat er diese religionsgeschichtlichen Implikationen nicht immer klar beachtet.

Auch das Für und Wider anderer Vorschläge des Autors wären hier zu erörtern. Wir nennen hier nur die Studie über den Begriff *kipper* und seine Derivate. Dieser Studie kann jetzt der Artikel von F. Maass im *Theologischen Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, I, 1971, Sp. 842-857 an die Seite gestellt werden (vgl. auch für 'āšām und *hattāt* die Artikel in *ThHAT* und für 'āšām überdies *ThWAT*). Maass ist mit Recht vorsichtiger als L. Das gilt schon für den Versuch, das Wort *kpr* etymologisch zu deuten. Wie wir oben zeigten, führt L. hebr. *kipper* zurück auf akkad. *kuppuru* „abwischen“. Er will nicht viel wissen von einer eventuellen Verwandtschaft mit arab. *kfr* „bedecken“, „verhüllen“. Maass hingegen bemerkt, dass einstweilen nicht endgültig zwischen den zwei Möglichkeiten der Herleitung des Wortes zu entscheiden ist. L's Herleitung jedoch aus dem Akkadischen ist besser zu seiner ganzen Konzeption in Beziehung zu setzen. So hat er sich unabsichtlich der Gefahr einer willkürlichen Etymologisierung ausgesetzt, und ist er in die Falle geraten, die er für andere aufgestellt sah (s. oben zu *šelāmim*). Etymologie bleibt auch im Gebiet der hebräischen Wortforschung eine schwierige Sache, nicht im mindesten wegen der vielen theologischen Implikationen. Zum rechten Verstehen von der Bedeutung und der Funktion einzelner Wörter im Ganzen des Alten Testaments braucht man die Etymologie als Hilfswissenschaft, nicht als Basiswissenschaft.

Trotz dieser Kritik, die man eben an den Grundvorstellungen dieser Studie üben kann — Einzelkritik lassen wir beiseite —, ist vieles Gesagte nicht nur wichtig, sondern auch überzeugend, und obwohl der Markt der wissenschaftlichen Studien fast übersättigt ist, sollte für dieses Buch Platz geschaffen werden.

Badhoevedorp, August 1975

M. J. MULDER

Helga WEIPPERT, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1973 (VIII + 256 pp.) = Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 132. Price: bound DM 88.—.

This monograph consists of a University of Basel dissertation that was accepted in the winter semester of 1970/71. Although finished at that early point, it already includes critical discussions of important studies on Jeremiah (see E. W. Nicholson [1970]; J. N. Berridge [1970]; W. Thiel [1973] that appeared in published form shortly before this book appeared itself.

The subject of this monograph is probably the most debated issue in Jeremiah studies, namely whether or not the so-called prose sermons of the book of Jeremiah come actually from the prophet himself or derive from Deuteronomistic circles. The first indication of the problem came to the forefront when W. Gesenius in 1815 pointed to linguistic connections between Deut and Jer. The quest for linguistic parallels between both books reached its climax in the study of J. W. Colenso of the year 1879 in which over 200 linguistic parallels were shown to exist. Such statistical lists of linguistic parallels served primarily to prove the age and origin of Deut without questioning the genuineness of the Jeremiah materials. Among the major possibilities to explain this apparent similarity three are especially noteworthy: (1) Deut is dependent on Jer (so R. H. Kenneth [1906, 1907], G. R. Berry [1919, 1940]); (2) Jeremiah is the author of Deut and the Deuteronomistic historical books (P. von Bohlen [1835], C. F. Volney [1837], J. W. Colenso); (3) Jeremiah knows the language of Deut but his own style has nevertheless individual characteristics (J. L. König [1839], P. Kleinert [1872], S. R. Driver [1897]). Only the last suggestion, in modified form, has supporters to the present day.

The famous commentary on Jer by B. Duhm (1901) brought about a radical change in the discussion. Duhm claimed that the diction between the poetic and prose sections is so different that the latter must be assigned to later interpolators who were also active in the historical books. His view is diametrically opposite that of Colenso. Since 1901 the key issue turns on deciphering the authentic materials in Jer. Both G. Hölscher (1914) and S. Mowinckel (1914) seek to strengthen Duhm's thesis. Among those who follow the Duhm-Hölscher-Mowinckel theory are J. Skinner (1922), W. Rudolph (1944), J. P. Hyatt (1942, 1951, 1956), S. Herrmann (1965), C. Rietzschel (1966), and W. Thiel (1973). Parallel to and in critical reaction to that theory is the position based on J. L. König's suggestion that Jeremiah employs Deuteronomistic diction in the formulation of his message. Among the supporters of the latter position are W. Erbt (1902), C. H. Cornill (1905), E. Sellin (1910), P. Volz (1920, 1928), W. O. E. Oesterley-Th. H. Robinson (1924, 1949), F. Nötscher (1934), G. Fohrer (1949), J. W. Miller (1955), H. H. Rowley (1963), O. Eissfeldt (1964), H. Graf Reventlow (1964), R. Davidson (1964), A. Weiser (1963, 1966), and A. Robert-A. Feuillet (1970). The "Scandinavian School" of oral tradition attempted to mediate under H. Birke-

land (1938) between both positions. It claims that the prose sermons have undergone a longer process of formation in oral tradition than the poetic materials and, as a result, must be expected to reflect changes more strongly. Even Mowinckel was led to revise his earlier views in 1946, claiming that the prose sermons are to be understood as words from Jeremiah in Deuteronomistic form. This means that the sermons contain a kernel of authentic Jeremiah materials which were changed or covered up by Deuteronomistic editorial activity. Weippert points out correctly that the trend of closing the gap between the two opposing positions by the oral tradition school does not solve the problem whether or not the book of Jer contains sermons which are secondary.

One of the criteria still cited for the secondary and inauthentic prose sermons is that if a saying or sermon in the book of Jer is written in prose rather than poetry, it is a sure sign of secondary, inauthentic origin (so S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], pp. 162-195; C. Rietzschel, *Das Problem der Urrolle* [1966], pp. 19-24). In an extended excursus (pp. 13-19) Weippert discusses critically the arguments and premises of C. Rietzschel and shows convincingly that his new reasons to support the postulate that a piece in prose is to be considered inauthentic from the start are far from convincing and must be treated with healthy suspicion. There are, of course, scholars that find no problem with the view that a prophet, in this case Jeremiah, can use prose as much as poetry (Th. H. Robinson, O. Eissfeldt, J. W. Miller, C. H. Cornill, P. Volz, A. Weiser, A. Aeschmann, etc.).

The method employed by Weippert for her investigation must be considered to break new ground in the study of the problem of the prose sermons in Jer. It is pointed out, and one can hardly quarrel with it, that the method employed so far is inadequate because it is built on the purely quantitative approach of isolated linguistic elements between the prose sermons in Jer and the Deuteronomistic materials of the OT. What has not been considered so far in the scholarly study of the problem for over a century and a half is the usage and function of the alleged parallels. Although it is a truism that statistics can be treacherously misleading, no one before Weippert's study has seriously questioned the strength of the argument of the numerical force of quantitative statistics. Weippert is dissatisfied with this quantitative, statistical method that merely looks at isolated words at the expense of their usage and meaning in the given contexts. A quantitative, statistical method can at best demonstrate that isolated linguistic elements appear at a particular time and may belong to the typical vocabulary of a given period of time, "but it can in no case lead to any decision about regarding the relationship of literary dependence" (p. 24). The methodological reorientation of the investigation under review seeks to investigate the contextual usage of the alleged parallels between the prose sermons of Jer and Dtr. and thus attempts to lead out of the *cul de sac* of research in this most debated issue of Jeremiah studies.

The first part (pp. 26-106) is entitled "Exegetical Considerations". On the basis of careful discussions of Jer. 7: 1-15; 18: 1-12; 21: 1-7; 34: 8-22, it seeks to revise some customary concepts regarding the time of com-

position and the nature of the narrative sections: (1) The investigation of the first part of the famous "Temple Sermon" (7: 1-15) is aimed at proving that it does not belong to the exilic or postexilic period (pace S. Herrmann). A comparison of Jer 7: 1-15 with 26: 2-6 indicates that Source C has priority over Source B. A contextual comparison of the linguistic parallels between this pericope and Dtr. reveals that the terms and clichés common to both function in quite different ways in both so that on this basis a common authorship or tradition is excluded. (2) The autobiographical prose discourse of Jer 18: 12 is dated to a point of time before 597 B.C. (p. 51) and is a part of the authentic Jeremiah tradition (p. 67). (3) The study of Jer 21: 1-7 serves to show that a prose narrative, i.e. the prose itself, is no criterium to deny a text to Jeremiah and to relegate it to the Dtr. School. Here Weippert becomes so bold as to suggest that Jer shows "no unequivocal hints about a possible knowledge of Jeremiah with Deuteronomy" (p. 81). "Neither the prosaic form nor the diction of Jer 21: 1-7 speak against the origin of these verses [21: 1-7] from Jeremiah" (p. 86). (4) The discussion of Jer. 34: 8-22 is concerned with the question of the division and organisation of the prose speeches. The usage of language in this section is typical of genuine materials even though it reflects dependence from Deut. "Jer 34: 8-22 lead to the revision of the supposition that already the structure of the prose speeches prove their Deuteronomistic origin" (p. 228). "On the contrary, everything forces the conclusion, that the prose speeches represent a tradition, which is closer to Jeremiah than the biographical reports, and which is to be placed so close to Jeremiah, that one has to designate it as a Jeremiah tradition" (pp. 228f.). The reader should also be made aware that pp. 74-81 contain a very valuable section on the rules of *Kunstprosa*.

The second part (pp. 107-227) carries the title "Investigation of the Linguistic sage of the Prose Speeches". It is here where Weippert applies specifically her new method of investigating the particular contexts of the alleged terms and formulae that the book of Jeremiah has in common with the Dtr. literature. This means for her research that formulalike expressions in Jer 27: 10, 14-16; 35: 15; 34: 17-20; 18: 7-10; and 32: 29b-32 are investigated in a most comprehensive manner in both the materials of Jer and Dtr. as well as the remainder of the OT. This investigation is characterized by thoroughness both in terms of the biblical materials and secondary literature. Her conclusion is summarized as follows: "Contrary to the widely held opinion, that the prose sections reveal Deuteronomistic language, the relationship to the Deuteronomistic sphere is shown to be quite weak and does not go beyond what one has to expect anyway regarding writings that are in such close temporal vicinity" (p. 229). The evident "Jeremianisms" and a variety of formulae and expressions reveal time and again that Jeremiah is the originator of such linguistic patterns.

The author argues also against the recent trend to designate the "prose speeches" as "sermons" (pp. 230f.). It is also incorrect to suggest that the poetic parts are Yahweh speeches and the prose parts of Jer are Jeremiah speeches. "The prose speeches expect in

the present form to be considered as Yahweh's word . . ." (p. 231). Although the conclusion is sound that a prosaic form of a speech in the book of Jer is no indicator of secondary origin, Weippert suggests that just as poetic form is no proof for genuineness so prosaic form should also be no proof for genuineness. Contrariwise neither form should be considered to provide indicators for nongenuineness. Nevertheless in the opinion of Weippert there is no solid evidence to deny the prose speeches to the prophet Jeremiah. The end result of Weippert's study, which gives evidence to be sound both in terms of method and execution, is that Jeremiah wrote both prose and poetry. This conclusion is what most nineteenth century critics assumed. Now it is demonstrated with a superior methodology. It must be said that after Weippert's study no responsible exegete may continue to engage in punctiliar comparative study at the expense of the analysis of the content of alleged parallelisms as exhibited by the context in which they are used. Many of the assumptions and theories are finally laid to rest. This is a highly important study that must be considered a turning point in the investigation of the knotty problem of the prose speeches in the book of Jer.

The usefulness of this monograph is enhanced through an index of Biblical references but unfortunately indexes of modern authors and Hebrew terms are missing.

Andrews University,
October 1975

GERHARD F. HASEL

* *

Hermann SCHULZ, *Das Buch Nahum: Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung*. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1973 (8vo, Pp. viii ± 163) = Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. 129. DM 58.—.

This work was Professor Schulz's *Habilitationsschrift* presented to the Faculty of Theology at the Philipps-Universität Marburg. It is another substantial addition to a recent spate of research on the Book of Nahum. In 1969, scholars in South Africa published a number of studies on Nahum in the *Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting of Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika* (unfortunately it was only several years later that these essays were available to scholars), and in 1970, there appeared the work of Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels*, a work, which in fact receives special attention and criticism from Schulz at the end of his book.

Schulz's study is a *redaktionskritische* examination of Nahum — an endeavour deemed imperative in Schulz's opinion because he believes that the prophetic literature of the Old Testament has scarcely been examined by using the method of redaction criticism. Most modern scholars would not hesitate to speak of a prophet Nahum of the 7th century B.C. But as far as Schulz is con-

cerned, the prophetic books have little or no value as primary sources for information concerning the career and preaching of a given prophet. On the contrary, in his opinion, what we have basically is the expression and preaching of the postexilic community, and that which has been handed down from preexilic times is quite small. Schulz would concede that there are some passages in Nahum which are related to the fall of Nineveh, but to these passages have been added the words of a postexilic author addressing a situation of his own times. Thus, it was this postexilic author who was responsible for the form of the Book of Nahum as we have it now. In the past, some scholars have wondered whether Nahum was a cultic prophet, and others have speculated about the possibility that the Book of Nahum is liturgical. Schulz would connect the Book of Nahum with the cult (postexilic of course), but would see the relationship with the cult more as a literary one.

Schulz's work is thorough, and this reviewer found much "food for thought". Particularly interesting is the presentation of the structure of the hymn of theophany in Nahum 1. With a greatly to be welcomed awareness of such things as chiastic structure, Schulz sees a structure in the hymn of theophany which he describes thus: "Bezeichnet man die Elemente des ursprünglichen Gedichtes 2a. 3b-6 mit Grossbuchstaben, die Rahmung 2b. 3a/7.8 mit kleinen, dann lautet das Kompositionsschema von v. 2-8: AacBAca". (p. 10) 2a = A; 2b = a; 3a = c; 3b-5 = B; 6 = A; 7 = c; 8 = a. In his discussion of the interpretation of the hymn, his thoughts on the Day of Yahweh deserve further investigation. (Cf. Ch. 9, and also p. 99). Indeed, this reviewer, in a forthcoming essay, has attempted to show that in chapters 2 and 3 of Nahum, there is an impressive number of examples of phraseology, which have parallels in the Day of Yahweh texts of the Old Testament. The following are examples:

Nah. 2: 5 *bḥwšwt ythwllw hrkb*
yštqšqwn brḥbw
mr'yhn klpydm
kbrqym yrwššw
Jer. 46: 9 *whthllw hrkb*
Joel 2: 9 *b'gr yšqw*

Nah. 2: 9 *wngnwh kbrkt mym*
mymy hy' whmh nsym
'mdw 'mdw
w'yn mpnh
Jer. 46: 5 *nws (MT wmnws) nsw*
wl' hpnw
Jer. 46: 21 *ky gm hmh hpnw*
nsw yḥdyw
l' 'mdw

Nah. 2: 10 *bzw ksp bzw zhb*
w'yn qsh ltkwnh
Is. 2: 7 *wtml' 'ršw ksp wzhb*
w'yn qsh lšrtyw

Nah. 2 : 11	wlb nms wpq brkym whlhlh bkl mtnym wpny klm qbw p'rw
Is. 13 : 7-8	'l kn ydym trpnh wkl lbb 'nwš yms wnbhlw šyrym whblym y'hzw
Joel 2 : 6	kywldh yhyln mpnyw yhyln kl pnym qbw p'rw
Nah. 3 : 2	wqwl r's 'wpn...wmrkbbh mrqdh
Joel 2 : 5	kqwl mrkbwt 'l r'sy hhyrym yqrqdw
Nah. 3 : 10	gm 'lyh yrtšw br's kl hwswt w'l nkbdyh ydw gwrl
Is. 13 : 16	w'lyhm yrtšw
Joel 4 : 3	w'l 'my ydw gwrl
Obad. : 11	w'l yrwšlm ydw gwrl

In our opinion, it is significant that one can find language in any of the Day of Yahweh texts which has a counterpart in Nahum. This approach to the second and third chapters of Nahum is much more fruitful than that pursued by Schulz. Hopefully, we will not have to judge redaction criticism on the basis of Schulz's treatment of chapters 2 and 3 of Nahum. His reconstruction of a "Battle Hymn" (*Schlachtgesang*) is difficult to accept. Tearing the text apart, he assembles the following: 3 : 1; 1 : 11; 1 : 14; 2 : 2; 2 : 6a; 2 : 5b; 2 : 4; 2 : 5a; 3 : 2f.; 3 : 3ba; 2 : 6aβ.ba; 2 : 9bβ; 2 : 8aα.6bβ.4aβ; 2 : 8aα.ba; 2 : 7; 2 : 9aα; 2 : 10. Oddly enough, in spite of such radical tampering with the text, Schulz again offers some valuable insights into mythological-eschatological elements in these chapters.

Scholars will be grateful to Professor Schulz for a stimulating study of Nahum.

Dublin, December 1974 KEVIN J. CATHCART

* *

Liudger SABOTTKA, O.S.B., *Zephania, Versuch einer Neuübersetzung mit philologischem Kommentar*. Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1972 (8vo, xx + 177 pp.) = *Biblica et Orientalia*, 25. Price: Lit 3,900 = US \$ 6.50.

The subtitle of this work states precisely the nature of the intended treatment: the biblical book of Zephaniah is to receive an independent German translation based on a detailed philological analysis of the Hebrew text. Although it must be said that this intent has been carried out with competence and consistency, two important strictures must be observed: (1) the Hebrew text reconstructed by Sabottka's commentary is produced on the basis of a restricted and highly debatable set of presuppositions; (2) the resulting translation is invalidated to the extent that matters of formal structure,

literary composition, and textual variation are minimized or ignored.

The reader quickly becomes aware from the commentary — if not immediately from a recognition of the auspices under which this monograph has been issued — that the writer is a firm adherent of Mitchell Dahood's philological method, making extensive use of lexical and grammatical data derived from the cognate languages, and Ugaritic in particular. So confident is Sabottka that irregularities in the transmitted text may be clarified by linguistic phenomena deriving from areas adjacent to the territory of ancient Israel, that he completely abolishes conjectural emendation of the consonantal text, even setting aside in some places positive evidence from the ancient versions reflecting a consonantal text that has to be at variance with the Hebrew. He thus preserves a Hebrew original that is in every particular identical with that of the received text, adopting the extremest possible position with regard to the originality of the consonants while taking all measure of freedom with respect to the received vocalization. Assuming that rare and obscure meanings intended by the consonantal text were simply forgotten by the Jewish scribes responsible for the insertion of vowel letters (*matres lectionis*) and, in later generations, the Massoretic pointing to indicate what they understood to be the correct vocalization, and supposing that such meanings can confidently be recovered from cognate literature, Sabottka produces a Zephaniah that sounds more like the antique hymns of Ugarit than the familiar Hebrew of the synagogue.

How drastic a change this method actually represents may be seen from a glance at the standard published texts used by critics of recent times: Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, second edition (BH²), third and following editions (BH³), and *Stuttgartensia* (BHS), respectively. In all three texts the critical apparatus recommends revision not only of the received vocalization but, in numerous instances, of the Hebrew consonants. Although in some instances such recommendations are based solely on conjecture, wherever possible they adduce the support of variant readings, whether in the ancient versions or in extant Hebrew manuscripts. Setting aside cases in which the respective editors for Zephaniah have merely reported what other critics have proposed, as well as the editors' own recommendations for strictly literary-critical emendations, we have extracted the following list of readings for which BH², BH³, and BHS provisionally or positively recommend alteration in the consonantal text:

	BH ² W. Nowack, 1909	BH ³ O. Procksch, 1937	BHS K. Elliger, 1970
Zephaniah			
1 : 2-3	אכף		
3		והמכשלות	והמכשלו
4		את שאר	
5	והנשכעים	את ²	את ²
12	אחפש		
14	ומהר	ומהר	ומהר

	קול	קול	
	מר	מר צרח שם נכור	
17		ולחמם	
18	אך	אך	
	נכהלה	נכהלה	
	יעשה	יעשה	
2 : 1		התקוששו וקישו	
2	לדת חק	לדת חק	לדת חק
	יום	עבר יום	עבר יום
5		כנען	
6		והיתה	והיתה
	חבל		
7	עליהם		עליהם
8	גבולם	גבולם	
9	מלח		
11		נורא	נורא
	רוה	רוה	
12	חרבי	חרבי המה	
14	גוי		גוי
	חרב	חרב	חרב
	כי ארוה ערה	כי ארוה ערה	כי ארוה ערה
3 : 3		זאבי ערב לא גרמו	זאבי ערב לא גרמו
5	לאור	לאור	לאור
7		תיראי	תיראי
		מעונה	מעונה
8	חכו	חכו	
	לקבצי	לקבצי	לקבצי
15		עליהם	עליהם
	איכך	איכך	איכך
	מלך ישראל	מלך ישראל	מלך ישראל
17		תיראי	תיראי
17	יחריש באהבתו	יחריש באהבתו	יחריש באהבתו
18	נוגי ממועד	נוגי ממועד	נוגי ממועד
	היו משאת עליה	היו משאת עליה	היו משאת עליה
19	עשה		
20		ובעת קבצי	ובעת קבצי
	שבותיכם	שבותיכם	שבותיכם

Though BH², BH³, and BHS agree in adopting many of the same emendations, Sabottka avoids them completely. The list of divergences would be even longer if we should record instances in which words are added, omitted, or transposed for literary-critical reasons. As has been said, Sabottka avoids these by drastic revocalizations or by ingenious philological conjectures, but philological conjecture will continue to be received by the majority of biblical scholars with reserve and scepticism. While making due allowance for the discovery of possible new lexical meanings through research into cognate linguistics, most competent critics presently recognize that a possibility must always be held open for corruption in the transmitted consonants within any given passage, particularly when the ancient versions plainly read a consonantal original at variance with the received text. Though certainly the injudicious facility with which the older critics proposed emen-

dations in the consonantal text can no longer be tolerated, sound scholarship will be cautious also of the ready abandon with which a "philological" method, as practised by Sabottka and the entire Dahood school, adopts meanings based on conjecture from evidence entirely outside the Hebrew linguistic tradition. If the Qumran discoveries have shown us anything, it is that, prior to the Christian era, there was in fact considerable fluctuation in the consonantal as well as in the vocalic tradition. We recommend to Fr. Sabottka a more attentive consideration of the wise observations made on these matters by Professor James Barr in his book, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1968).

Our further criticism is that no translation from an ancient text may be made without consideration to its form and literary composition — two areas of concern that are all but ignored in Sabottka's treatment. By assuming that a translation may be made independently of these considerations, a position has inadvertently been taken with respect to them. That is to say, Sabottka proceeds in fact on the working hypothesis that the very latest stage of the consonantal text, presupposing a whole series of vocalic variations forgotten by subsequent scribal tradition, represents a cohesive, entirely comprehensible document, presumably composed at one time by one single author. This is an assumption that can in no wise be maintained. Though no doubt advocates for single authorship will still be found, there exists in the present reviewer's opinion abundant evidence for composition in successive stages (cf. S. J. De Vries, *Commentary on Zephaniah in The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible*), a view with which the majority of modern critics have been in substantial agreement. Not all could have been written by Zephaniah himself, nor all at the same time. Evidence is partly the content and theme of successive pericopes, reflecting changing situations and concerns; but the most important data are those that derive from a study of genre and structure. Though nothing complete or definitive has yet been published (we eagerly await what we expect to be a perceptive and comprehensive treatment in *Biblicher Kommentar*), we may mention Karl Elliger's suggestions offered in *Das Alte Testament Deutsch* (somewhat of a pioneer in this field in spite of space limitations), which continue to retain much of their validity.

What is being said is that words and phrases — even where lexical meanings and grammatical constructions may be hypothesized on the basis of comparative linguistics — never receive their full connotation outside the formal structures in which they were originally placed (and subsequently, due to redactional reinterpretation, replaced). Though recognizing that his "translation" must reproduce the poetic lines of the Hebrew original, Sabottka pays virtually no heed to matters of parallelism and structural patternism within the successive poetic units. More serious is the fact that he shows little concern for internal development within pericopes and from pericope to pericope — which is precisely the clue to the function (and hence, connotation) of individual words and expressions. Translation is a great deal more demanding than Sabottka's treatment would suggest. He

"translates" none other than a certain ossified and artificial representation of what in compositional reality reflected a complex and dynamic process.

Sabottka's monograph will be gratefully used by students of Zephaniah for its many useful and erudite suggestions, but for the reasons stated it cannot enable us to know what the historical Zephaniah, his school, his redactors, actually meant.

Delaware, Ohio, July 1974 SIMON J. DE VRIES
Methodist Theological School in Ohio

S. YEIVIN, *The Israelite Conquest of Canaan*. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1972 (4to, XVIII + 301 pp., 16 maps, 2 plates) = Publications de l'Institut historique et néerlandais de Stamboul, tome XXVII. Price: f 120.—.

Yeivin describes the Biblical, Egyptian, and Archaeological evidence he considers relevant to a discussion of the problem of the Israelite Conquest in the first section of this book, and his synthesis of those materials is presented in the second section. The third section consists of four appendices on genealogies, the Exodus, Goshen, and the composition of Joshua. Appendix A on genealogies is only 10 pages shorter than the whole first two sections of the book and could have been dealt with in a separate monograph. Appendix B on the Exodus could have been incorporated into the second section of the book. As far as Goshen is concerned, Yeivin should take into account Van Seter's suggestion that it is related to *gsmt* of the 20th nome (*The Hyksos*, p. 148). Yeivin sees in the tribal allotments of Joshua a complex development extending from the time of the early Judges down to the end of the 8th century (Appendix D, p. 264).

For a starting point, Yeivin's discussion of Israel in Merneptah's stela is excellent. From that point on he attempts to push the identification of Israelite tribes as far back as the much-discussed "Asher" known to him from the lists of Seti I and Ramesses II. This becomes his first tribal wave of the Conquest, followed by the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes respectively, for which he gives detailed itineraries. Yeivin locates most of this migratory activity late in the 14th century and early in the 13th and regards the settlement as essentially complete by the end of the Bronze Age late in the 13th century. Figuring 40 years backwards from the appearance of Asher in the lists of Seti I for the wilderness period, Yeivin dates the Exodus under Akhenaten during a period of Egyptian weakness. This makes Amenhotep III the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

The Asherite identification is basic to the early part of the Conquest according to Yeivin. This portion of his theory is now in need of considerable revision since Edel has published the name from a list at least 60 years earlier than the time of Seti I, Dn No. 12 in *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III* (Bonn, 1966, p. 30). Methodologically, Yeivin's extensive identification of Palestinian toponyms from Egyptian lists with personal names from Israelite genealogies is questionable. His archaeological review of Palestinian

sites is rather brief and general. A more detailed discussion of the problems raised by the directly relevant strata and destructions would have been preferable. Lachish and Tell el-Hesi (Eglen?) lie too far coastwards for him to be of much significance. Yeivin employs his own system of archaeological terminology: MC and LC for MB and LB, ML and LI for Iron II and III. His observations from participating in the French excavations at Ai are the most interesting part of his discussion of the archaeological evidence. In short, Professor Yeivin has compiled a useful collection of genealogical data and made some interesting observations on the Egyptian evidence bearing on the problem of the Conquest, but it is unlikely that his central thesis regarding it will receive widespread acceptance.

Berrien Springs, April 1975

W. H. SHEA

Eliezer D. OREN, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shan*. University of Pennsylvania Museum Monograph. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (150 pp. text, 67 line-drawn pls., 26 photographic pls.). Price: U.S. \$ 42.17.

After the lapse of half a century since the excavations and a quarter of a century in publications, the archaeological riches of ancient Beth Shan once again are coming to light through the study of records from the field and the materials excavated that now reside in museums. *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*, once largely unknown, has now been described in detail by Frances James in a 1966 University Museum monograph. Oren has now performed a similar service by publishing the evidence from the northern cemetery for four periods from EB to EI, omitting the Roman and Byzantine remains. Only one MB I tomb (Albright's MB IIA) appears among Oren's materials, and none from MB II, since burials from this period were made in the strata of the city instead of in the cemetery. Oren analyzes an interesting axehead from this tomb with its parallels and Miss Tufnell has studied a scarab from it. Most of the LB burials apparently lay outside the excavated portion of the cemetery since LB deposits were found in only five tombs. Oren argues strongly for a Syrian rather than Cypriot origin for several of the ceramic styles found among these pieces.

The two major contributions of Oren's work are divided between ch. 3 in which he discusses the EB IV tombs and ch. 6 in which he describes the "Coffin" group. More than a third of over 200 tombs recorded were originally cut in EB IV (Albright's MB I/Kenyon's Intermediate EB-MB). Unfortunately, only 36 of these were sufficiently well preserved with regards to architecture and contents to warrant discussion. They divide into 3 architectural types, but these types were not chronologically successive according to their contents. In his discussion of those contents, Oren emphasizes the ceramic continuity of EB IV at Beth Shan with sites in northern Palestine and Syria and with EB III, while he minimizes its connections with the south and with MB I. This continuity provides the basis for his nomenclature

of this period as EB IV in its entirety instead of dividing it between EB IV and MB I.

The matter of terminology for this period is one of the more debated problems in Palestinian archaeology (for the most convenient guide through this maze the reader should consult Dever's chart on p. 38 of *BASOR*, No. 210). It is generally agreed that the major socio-political break in Palestine occurred with the widespread destructions at the end of EB III. Oren favors pottery as the basis upon which the term EB should be extended through the subsequent period. Since neither pottery nor politics have anything to do with "Bronze" *per se* such a procedure is arbitrary. Oren's procedure is no more nor less arbitrary than the other systems proposed, however, but a limit on this proliferation of terminology would have been desirable. Since he has chosen to employ a different definition of EB IV, it would have been helpful to have defined it clearly in the introduction as well as in the conclusion to his discussion. To establish the absolute chronology of EB IV, Oren relies upon Egyptian dates via Syrian parallels, which is methodologically sound. In support of this chronology, however, he cites radiocarbon dates. As far as I can tell, these dates have not been calibrated by Suess' correction curve, and when so treated some may yield dates back into EB III.

By a careful analysis of the pottery found with the anthropoid sarcophagi, Oren has established that they range in date from the 13th century (LB II) to the 11th (EI). They also divide into "naturalistic" and "grotesque" types, according to the facies modeled upon their lids. The latter is represented by only five coffins from two tombs and only these have the type of headdress associated with the Sea Peoples. Because of abundant parallels for "naturalistic" coffins from Egypt, Oren limits the identification of this type of coffin with the Sea Peoples to the five examples mentioned. On the basis of parallels from Medinet Habu, he suggests that they may have belonged to Denyen/Danuna mercenaries serving with the Egyptian garrison at Beth Shan. A large number of such sarcophagi from Egypt and Palestine remain unpublished, but Oren's publication of those from Beth Shan serves as a valuable contribution along the way to a better understanding of these interesting objects. The parallels Oren cites throughout his work are extensive and his photographic plates are superior in quality.

Berrien Springs, April 1975

W. H. SHEA

M. STEKELIS, *The Yarmukian Culture of the Neolithic Period*. Jerusalem, The Magnus Press - The Hebrew University, 1972 (in-4°, X + 46 pp., 75 pl.). Prix: £ 5.25.

Cet ouvrage est la traduction d'une publication de 1966 en hébreu. Le professeur Stekelis avait eu l'intention de publier un rapport plus complet en anglais, mais sa disparition prématurée en 1967 a empêché la réalisation de ce projet.

Le site se trouve le long d'une rivière, le Yarmouk, à

quelques kilomètres au sud du lac de Galilée. Des prospections y eurent lieu à partir de 1943 et des fouilles de 1949 à 1952.

Une description sommaire de la stratigraphie, illustrée de coupes schématisques, situe l'épaisse couche néolithique (20 à 50 cm) à l'intérieur d'une couche de graviers et de sables. L'auteur n'essaye pas d'interpréter cette situation géologique et n'en étudie pas les implications paléo-écologiques.

Une concentration de matériel archéologique dans la tranchée A est interprétée comme le sol d'une hutte. Nous avons, en vain, cherché de savoir si cette hutte était rectangulaire ou ronde. Il est d'ailleurs regrettable qu'aucune attention ne fut donnée à la distribution horizontale du matériel archéologique.

Une très grande place est réservée à la description de l'outillage lithique qui est varié et riche (2.299 outils). Les différents types d'outil sont décrits et figurés. L'outillage lithique présente une grande abondance de perçoirs (33,6%) de grattoirs nucléiformes (23,6%) et d'éléments de faucille denticulés (14,7%). D'après l'auteur l'industrie de Yarmouk serait caractérisée par la présence de grands grattoirs sur éclat à front arrondi. Les armatures sont de types variés, généralement allongées, parfois à pédoncule, mais toujours sans ailerons. Les perçoirs furent obtenus sur de petits éclats par une retouche abrupte des deux bords. Pour autant qu'on puisse en juger à partir des dessins, il nous semble que une partie des grattoirs nucléiformes ne sont en fait que des nucléus dont le bord fut finement préparé.

L'auteur ne s'attarde pas longuement à la description des récipients en pierre ni de la céramique.

La fouille fournit une grande quantité de figurines humaines. Ces figurines humaines ont été faites sur des cailloux roulés de calcaire ou de basalte. Il y a également quelques exemplaires en terre cuite. La décoration de ces cailloux se résume parfois à quelques incisions, que l'auteur interprète comme des seins et des génitaux.

Dans la discussion et l'interprétation de ces données l'auteur s'étend assez longuement sur des problèmes généraux du Néolithique, qui n'ont que peu de rapport avec le site lui-même. Il considère que le Yarmoukien trouve des parallèles dans le "Pottery Neolithic A" de Jericho et le Néolithique ancien de Byblos, ce qui nous semble acceptable. La mise en valeur et l'interprétation du site par contre est pauvre et reste très sommaire, de sorte que l'on ne voit pas très bien pourquoi il était nécessaire de créer le terme Yarmoukien.

Si l'ensemble du texte nous paraît peut-être assez décevant, il nous faut tenir compte du fait que l'auteur, de par sa mort prématurée, n'a pas eu l'occasion d'écrire le rapport final. Nous croyons pourtant que cette publication gardera une valeur considérable ne fut-ce que comme catalogue du matériel tout de même très important de Yarmouk. Les nombreuses planches avec plans, dessins du matériel archéologique et photographies n'ont peut-être pas toujours de grandes qualités artistiques mais nous donnent une idée honnête et assez complète de ce qui fut trouvé à Yarmouk.

Louvain, octobre 1975

P. M. VERMEERSCH

BEER-SHEBA I. Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba (1969-1971 seasons), ed. by Yohanan AHARONI. Tel Aviv, University, 1973 (8vo, XVI + 135 pp., 79 pls.) = Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, Number 2.

This first volume on the Tel Beer-Sheba excavations is explicitly announced by the editor as a compromise between preliminary reports which might very easily become obsolete as a result of later finds and the traditional final report that so often appears only years after the excavations have been concluded and by then has completely lost what the editor calls "the novelty of impression and observation".

Beer-Sheba I contains contributions by prof. Aharoni on the history and the stratification of the site, on the fortifications and the Israelite city, a chapter on the Hebrew inscriptions and in co-operation with other members of his staff, a concluding chapter on the method of excavating and recording used at Tel Beer-Sheba. Besides, there are sixteen chapters dealing with specialized studies of special finds or subjects. Technically this volume excels in its typography and the fine quality of its drawings and photographs. An exception, however, is the chapter on the Hebrew inscriptions in which printer's errors and other signs of carelessness abound. Perhaps this chapter was a last minute addition?

The excavation on *Tell es-Seba'* showed to the surprise of the archaeologists that the site was occupied by a city during the Iron Age, from the Persian period onwards to the early Arab period only a fortress stood on the tel. With the exception of some chalcolithic sherds there are no signs of a settlement prior to the Israelite-Iron Age town. Prof. Aharoni gives the following outline of the occupational history of the site:

Stratum	Period	Approximate Date	Types of Settlement and Wall
Ar	Early Arab	7th-8th cent. C.E.	Re-use of Roman Fortress
R	Roman	2nd-3rd cent. C.E.	Fortress
H ₁	Hellenistic- Early Roman	1st cent. B.C.E.- 1st cent. C.E.	Fortress; Dwellings and Bath-House
H ₂	Hellenistic	2nd cent. B.C.E.	Fortress; Dwellings
H ₃	Persian- Hellenistic	4th-3rd cent. B.C.E.	Fortress? Dwellings
I	Israelite (Iron) Age IIC	7th cent. B.C.E.	Final Repair of Casemate Wall; Fortress?
II	IA IIC	8th cent. B.C.E.	City; Casemate Wall
III	IA IIB-C	9th-8th cent. B.C.E.	City; Casemate Wall
IV	IA IIB	Late 10th cent. B.C.E.- Early 9th cent. B.C.E.	City; Repair of Solid Wall
V	IA IIA	10th cent. B.C.E.	City; Solid Wall
VI	IA I	12th-11th cent. B.C.E.	Village?
CH	Chalcolithic Age	ca 34th-32nd cent. B.C.E.	Village?

The few IA I remnants may indicate the existence of a village of this period. It is certain that in the first half of the tenth century a city was built on the hill. Archaeologically we have there an ideal situation for the study of an Iron Age city, since later building activities have only been found on a very small part of the mound. Ear-

lier assemblages also seem to be absent, so there is no need to destroy the Iron Age levels. This very exceptional situation is fully appraised by the excavators. The excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba have already taught us more about the Iron Age cities of Palestine than many other excavations. It is very important that so much attention has been paid to the restoration of the mainparts of this city. Today the visitor can really walk through the streets of an ancient Israelite city, enter houses and storehouses and by doing so he gets a feeling for the proportions of such an ancient city.

The fact that on the mound of Tel Beer-Sheba only an Iron Age city was found that existed between \pm 1000 B.C.E. and 701 when its end came with the campaign of Sennacherib, raises of course the problem of identification. In my opinion this problem is too easily 'solved' by professor Aharoni. His main argument is the continuity of the name, but he himself admits that this name apparently moved from *Tell es-Seba'* to the site of present day Beer Sheva, somewhere in the Hellenistic period. And perhaps even earlier: Aharoni suggests that Beer-Sheba from the time of Josia, which could hardly have been situated on the Tel, is to be looked for at Beer-Sheva where excavations produced sherds from the later 7th century. A similar problem is the appearance of a Beer-Sheba in the patriarchal narratives. Although in the first three seasons no vestige of a temple was found, the existence of such a sanctuary is simply stipulated by prof. Aharoni. On account of the appearance of a *p.hqr ibrm* in the Shishak list he determines the existence of an Abraham-fortress (the Hagar of Abraham), somewhere in the vicinity of modern Beer-Sheva. This fortified Abraham sanctuary is to be considered as the forerunner of the stipulated Iron Age temple. It goes without saying that creative originality cannot be

denied to prof. Aharoni, but at the moment this is no more than speculation. Perhaps it would have been wiser to keep the subject of identification and the possible relations to the Biblical Beer-Sheba for the last volume! Besides, the excavations at Tel Masos have shown how little is known of this region that apparently was more

densely populated than ever suspected!

Very remarkable in Beer-Sheba is the reversed order of the two well known types of city-walls: in Beer-Sheba we first have a solid wall with insets and offsets and then — probably built during the reign of Jehoshaphat — a casemate wall. It is unique that this casemate wall also has insets and offsets. This situation in Beer-Sheba induced prof. Aharoni to resume his controversy with prof. Y. Yadin. In my opinion Aharoni is right when he states that in view of the available evidence we must conclude that both types of walls were used in the tenth century (p. 109). And that not only military arguments determined the choice of a special type of wall, but also financial ones, the time and the space available, the existing building materials etc. etc. However, his claim that also in Megiddo a solid wall was built in connection with the Solomonic gate, and before the casemate wall, is not convincing. The remark that "the affinity of its scil. Megiddo's) solid wall with the Solomonic gate cannot seriously be doubted" (p. 108) is needlessly inpolite to many colleagues in Israel and abroad who would like to agree with Yadin in this respect! (cf. *BA* 1970, p. 66-96 and *JNES* 1973, p. 330, and chapter XIII in *Hazor*, London 1972). This introduction of the controversy between him and prof. Yadin makes it all the more regrettable that in the volume Beer-Sheba I the material relevant to the question of the walls is presented in such a way that one can but believe the author. Not one clear profile is presented through a photograph or a drawing showing the relation of the solid wall with the floors on which the tenth century pottery was found, that was the basis for the dating of the wall. The fact that the wall was built on and with its foundations in an earlier rampart containing IA I sherds is less relevant: the *terminus ad quem* in the end of the tenth century is the crucial argument and that is not made visible! Now any unbeliever can raise serious doubts as to the connection of the wall with those floors. Is it impossible to assume that they belong to the rampart and that the wall was built later? Only a clear profile with the stratigraphical situation belonging to the plan on plate 87 could bring a solution that would satisfy a critical reader¹⁾. With this problem we have arrived at the question of the techniques used. The reader and user of Beer-Sheba I will without any doubt be grateful for the addition of the last chapter on 'Methods of Recording and Documenting'. The theoretical foundation of this chapter is now found in an article by prof. Aharoni in *Eretz-Israel* XI, 1973, p. 48-53, entitled: 'Remarks on the 'Israeli' Method of Excavation'. Although this technique is to a certain degree three-dimensional, there is a strong emphasis on the horizontal level. Baulks and profiles are never the aims of an excavation, Aharoni states on p. 2-3. This attitude is clearly mirrored in the fundamentally horizontal technique of recording with plans, locusnumbers, basket-numbers etc. The confusing amount of data that have to be recorded each day: area plans, daily basketlists,

¹⁾ A diagram showing the above mentioned stratigraphical situation is now to be found in the preliminary report of the fourth campaign, *Tel Aviv I*, 1974, p. 36. But there it is also impossible to separate the situation as found and the excavators interpretation.

the graphic journal, locus diaries, locuslists, lists of walls, locuscard, bestows a heavy responsibility on the area-supervisor. As far as my informations go the system works out all right and the daily routine of the excavation does indeed match the theory. However, as this technique is explicitly introduced as an 'Israeli Method', the European archaeologist would have preferred a method with more three-dimensional measuring *in situ*.

As we said above, the Beer-Sheba excavations provided us with a lot of new information about an Iron Age town in the first seasons. There are the two types of walls, the gate — with two gate-rooms and a tower — of a type that is characteristic of the 9th-8th century and here according to the excavators, much earlier. Inside the town ran a peripheral street that perhaps encircled the entire town. The street runs parallel to the city-wall but with buildings on *both* sides, consequently not between the wall and the buildings as is e.g. the case in Hazor. The buildings on the outer side of this street are mostly of the four-room type and were built during the strata II and III in such a way that the casemates of the wall were added to the house. A very fine chapter is the one by Zeev Herzog on the storehouses. Once more it is proven beyond doubt that those pillared buildings are indeed storehouses and not stables. The volume contains some very clear plans and isometric drawings of the storehouses. Both storehouses and four-roomed houses are now under reconstruction. As the centre of the tel is occupied by the Roman fortress (cf. preliminary report by V. Fritz in *ZDPV* 1973, p. 54-65 and the chapter in Beer-Sheba I on the fortress by the same author), this area was not accessible yet in 1971 for an investigation of the earlier levels. Aharoni, however, supposes to find a kind of acropolis there with the temple. The interested reader is also waiting eagerly for the results of the excavation of the water-system that has already been located. It appears as if this water-system was very much similar to the Hazor system.

In my opinion the inclusion of a chapter on the botanical material is very important. If such materials are not simply thrown away and properly investigated and studied, they are mostly published in periodicals and not as an integral part of the excavation. And botanists are also seldom full members of the staff, as is the case in the Beer-Sheba excavation. This means that one can rely on the samples having indeed been taken from a stratigraphically well known context. The inclusion of this chapter in the report means an important step toward the introduction of and the co-operation with other disciplines in the archaeology of Palestine. It is to be expected that in the near future this not only will mean the introduction of new techniques, but of new questions as well.

I do hope that in further Beer-Sheba volumes paleobotanical studies will be continued and that this chapter is indeed a preliminary one. Paleobotanists and archaeologists who are interested in ecological questions would like to get more information. For instance, is the *hordeum h. distichum* or *h. vulgare* or are both present and if so to what extent? If seeds of *linum* are found,

one could learn something about agriculture, especially whether irrigation was practised. In this respect I refer to the study of botanical material of Deir 'Alla in *Paléorient* I, 1973, p. 21-37. The reader is eagerly awaiting further results of this botanical research, and of the remains of animals. Tel Aviv has a paleozoologist on its archaeological staff as well!

The epigraphical finds contain four Hebrew ostraca, six graffiti, two seal impressions; further twenty-six Aramaic ostraca. The Hebrew ostraca are in the first place important from the paleographic point of view. They find their nearest parallels in the ostraca from Arad VIII and IX. Remarkable on ostrakon nr. 1 is a leftwards stroke of the *taw* (not of the '*aleph*'). Again hieratic signs were used for numerals, as was the case with the Arad-ostraca. Another parallel with for instance the 'wheat-ostrakon' from Arad is the fact that nr. 1 is a palimpsest. Of interest is a krater with on its shoulder the letters *qdš*. On another vessel two personal names are inscribed *lnryhw* and *l'mryhw*, the second name belonging to the original owner, since the letters of this name are to be dated, on paleographical grounds, before the first name. The vessel apparently got another owner!

As to the orthography there seems to exist an inconsistency in the use of *matres lectionis*: we find the place-name '*eltōlad*' (Josh. 15:30, 19:4) written as *tld*, but also *byt 'mm* (another place: Beth Amam). To conclude as A. F. Rainey did (in *Leshonenu* XXXVI, 1972, p. 186-189) that in the pronunciation the diphthong *aw* was reduced in a few common words in the peripheral areas like the coast and the Negev, while the diphthong *ay* was still audible, seems very dangerous to me. After all, what do we really know about writing traditions? Here, Rainey follows the remarks of D. N. Freedman in the *Israel Exploration Journal* XIX, 1969, p. 52-56. Rainey nor Freedman, however, treat instances of *matres lectiones* in the words and without etymological background, as for instance in '*yš*' or '*yr*' as found in the Arad-ostraca. Cf. BASOR 197, 1970. Very interesting was the discovery of a large pithos bearing a royal stamp-impression of the four-winged scarab. The seal is damaged but it is clear that the seal contained the following inscription: *lmlk zyḫ*. The combination of this stamp and this text on this kind of pithos from stratum II, might, according to prof. Aharoni, necessitate the following corrections: a) their use belongs to the latter part of Hezekiah's reign; b) they were most probably not manufactured in Zyp; c) the stamp did not guarantee a specific capacity.

The Aramaic ostraca are published by J. Naveh. They contain short administrative texts and indicate that in the Persian period Beer-Sheba was still an administrative centre. Of interest is the occurrence of names with the Arabic ending *-u* and the Edomite deity Qaws as theophore element. This is in accordance with our knowledge that this area was inhabited by Edomites and an Arabic speaking part of the population, as is to be expected in a period when the Negev belonged to Idumaea. On the other hand, truly Aramaic and typically Jewish names also occur.

As regards the other contributions I should like to draw the attention of the Assyriologists to the publication by Pirhiya Beck and A. F. Rainey of a votiv cylinder-seal from the end of the eighth or seventh century. Iconography and text are Neo-Assyrian but with strong Babylonian and Syrian influences.

It is the wish of the reviewer that this lengthy review is seen as an indication of the great importance he attaches to this excavation. Volume II is expected impatiently! Preliminary reports on later campaigns can already be found in: *Tel Aviv* I, 1973, p. 34-42. *Revue Biblique*, LXXX, 1973, p. 405-408. *Qadmoniot* VI, 1973, p. 75-84 (Hebrew). *The Biblical Archaeologist* XXXVII, 1974, p. 2-6.

Groningen, May 1975

C. H. J. DE GEUS

* *

A. MOORTGAT et U. MOORTGAT-CORRENS, *Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien*. Vorläufiger Bericht über die 6. Grabungskampagne 1973. Berlin, Mann Verlag, 1975 (in-8°, 59 pages, 39 illustrations, 3 plans en dépliants) = *Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung*, Heft 8. Prix: DM 30.—.

Après une coupure de neuf ans, les travaux ont été repris en automne 1973. C'était la 6e campagne de la fondation Max Freiherr von Oppenheim et de la Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft placée sous la direction du professeur A. Moortgat et de Mme U. Moortgat-Correns. Elle fut menée avec 120 ouvriers dont beaucoup étaient nouveaux et durent être réentraînés à la technique difficile de la brique crue. Les emplacements de la fouille furent respectivement le temple aux "kleiner anten", le Steinbau III (avec magnifique escalier de pierre, fig. 13), le Steinbau V (découvert presque à fleur de sol) qui n'est certainement pas un temple (au jugement des fouilleurs) mais un bâtiment profane, avec dimensions imposantes (la salle 9 mesure 10m50 x 6 m). Peut-on parler d'un Palais?

Le temple aux "kleiner Anten" soigneusement étudié, réapparut avec cinq niveaux, les 4 et 5 dotés d'aménagements cultuels (autels adossés au mur).. Dans la cella (niveau 5), les trouvailles faisaient défaut, alors qu'elles avaient été si abondantes au niveau 4. Par contre la salle 47 abandonnait des restes de bronze, trois haches (rapelant des exemplaires de Mari (*temple d'Ishtar*, pl. 64, n° 583, 602-603, 1399), deux oiseaux éployés (rapprochés de l'aigle de la stèle des Vautours) avec empennage considérable (de 1m20 à 0m80). Du Steinbau V provient un curieux cylindre d'inspiration animalière (trois registres) remontant à l'époque intermédiaire Mésilim-Ur I. Du même secteur, une idole féminine d'un type nouveau, en terre, avec la triple technique (pastillage, incision, pointillage), un poule sur un haut piédestal, deux oiseaux. Une planche de céramique (fig. 30) réunit des types qui sont très voisins de ceux recueillis à Mari (vase à bec mais surtout supports retrouvés identiques, dans le temple de Shamash, à Mari). Fouilles de tell Chuera et de Mari sont donc étrangement complé-

mentaires. Leurs résultats appellent souvent la comparaison. M. et Mme Moortgat's s'en sont fréquemment souvenus.

Paris, octobre 1975

ANDRÉ PARROT

* *

tes. P. ASMUSSEN, *Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (un vol. in 8° de 135 pages) = *Studia Post-Biblica* Vol. 24. Prix: 56 florins.

On avait cru durant une grande partie du XIX^{ème} siècle que les juifs iraniens avaient concentré leur activité littéraire et leur intérêt exclusivement sur la traduction et la conservation de la littérature de l'Ancien Testament. Il a fallu que le grand bibliophile Elkan Nathan Adler rapporte de ses voyages en Asie Centrale, à la fin du siècle dernier, une grande quantité de manuscrits judéo-perses pour que soit révisée l'opinion erronée et courante sur l'incapacité intellectuelle des juifs iraniens à créer une littérature indépendante. Wilhelm Bacher et Simon Chakam donnèrent à connaître au monde savant les richesses variées de la littérature judéo-perse qui comprenait des traductions de la plupart des oeuvres hébraïques non bibliques (spécialement Salomon Ibn Gabirol), des traductions des grands poètes perses et surtout une littérature originale qui a vu le jour au XIV^{ème} et au XVI^{ème} siècles. Dans ces conditions, on ne sera pas étonné que les plus anciens manuscrits de la langue néo-perse soient dus à des juifs. Asmussen a réuni dans ce volume un certain nombre des oeuvres judéo-perses peu connues.

Shakim de Shiraz, le plus brillant poète judéo-perse, a composé au XIV^{ème} siècle une courte épopée dont le héros est le roi Kishvar. De ce texte il existe un manuscrit unique conservé au Jewish Theological Seminary of America, à New York. Malgré la transcription tardive de cette épopée, il n'y a pas de doute sur son authenticité comme le montre clairement sa ressemblance avec le livre d'Ardashir. Le texte est transcrit et traduit par Asmussen qui donne aussi la reproduction photographique du manuscrit. Il publie ensuite le texte et la traduction d'une dispute littéraire dont il existe des exemples dans la littérature de l'Ancienne Mésopotamie et aussi dans la littérature arabe.

Par l'intermédiaire de l'Espagne musulmane, ce genre littéraire a pu se survivre dans la littérature provençale du Moyen âge où existe la "tension" définie par le grand romaniste Meyer comme "un simple débat dans lequel deux adversaires soutiennent leur propre avis". De 'Attar de Nishapur, écrivain vivant au XII^{ème}-XIII^{ème} siècle, l'auteur donne le texte persan (14 planches), la transcription et la traduction de deux contes: l'histoire du tailleur de pierre qui veut faire sur la terre une maison pour y donner l'hospitalité à Dieu; l'histoire du crâne du roi d'Egypte et de Syrie séparé de son corps qui raconte sa vie et finalement retrouve le repos du tombeau.

A la fin du livre, on trouvera la transcription du texte de Gen 1-6, 8 dont la traduction en persan fut faite par Sarmad au XVII^{ème} siècle et le texte de Cantique 1, 1-8, d'après le MS hébreu 117, de la Bibliothèque nationale.

Toulouse, décembre 1974

M. DELCOR

André PAUL, *Écrits de Qumran et Sectes Juives aux premiers Siècles de l'Islam*. Recherches sur l'Origine du Qaraïsme. Publié avec le Concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris, Le-touzey et Ané, 1969 (in-8°, 193 p.).

Es gehört zu den reissvollsten Aufgaben der judaistischen Forschungen, frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Linien aus der Antike bis in das Mittelalter hinein zu verfolgen. Immer erweckte dabei der Karäismus besonderes Interesse. Dass er in einem inneren Zusammenhang mit den Essenern der unmittelbar vor- und nachchristlichen Zeit gestanden haben soll, ist in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte wiederholt vermutet und auch behauptet worden. Die Handschriften vom Toten Meer regten erneut dazu an, die These eines 'essenischen (jetzt nun präziser qumranischen) Verständnisses' der Karäer zu überdenken und zu diskutieren. André Paul tut dies in einer eigenen abgewogenen und besonnenen Weise. Seine Ausführungen erwecken Zutrauen durch eine profunde Kenntnis der Materie und der dazugehörigen Literatur. Eine ausführliche Bibliographie (rund 300 Titel auf 10 Druckseiten) stellt keineswegs das gelehrte Dekor eines wissenschaftlichen Buches dar, sondern die Rüstkammer des Forschers, der in den ausgeführten Anmerkungsapparaten zu den einzelnen Kapiteln sich eingehend mit der einschlägigen Forschung beschäftigt und auseinandersetzt. Textanalyse und Textinterpretation, vornehmlich der mittelalterlichen jüdischen Schriften, sind methodisch durchsichtig vorgenommen und vermögen zu überzeugen. Auch der Aufbau der Monographie ist klar und einleuchtend. Nach einer Einleitung (7-9) folgen zwei Hauptteile zu je drei Kapiteln, deren erster sich 'Anan ben David, dem Begründer der karäischen Bewegung, zuwendet, während deren zweiter den Karäismus geschichtlich, theologisch und frömmigkeitsphänomenologisch zu beschreiben versucht (11-73, 75-130). Zum Schluss der Darlegungen steht eine Conclusion (131-140), woran sich auf den Ss. 141-181 die oben schon erwähnten Anmerkungen zu den einzelnen Kapiteln anschliessen. Jedes der sechs Kapitel ist wiederum reich gegliedert. Im ersten Kapitel (13ff) erfolgt eine Sichtung und Besprechung der literarischen Quellen zu 'Anan ben David. Jüdische und arabische Textzeugen sowie die Werke 'Anans selber sind Gegenstand der Untersuchungen. An zweiter Stelle (35ff) befasst sich P. mit der babylonischen Diaspora in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts, wobei dem Kontext der arabisch-islamischen Umwelt zurecht besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wird und auch die ökonomisch-sozialen Verhältnisse der babylonischen Judenschaft in jener Zeit nicht ausser Betracht bleiben. Das dritte Kapitel (53ff) widmet sich 'Anan ben David selber unter zwei Gesichtspunkten, einmal unter dem Aspekt der Frage nach Unabhängigkeit und Originalität der Reformideen 'Anans, zum anderen unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Diskussion eines möglichen 'sadduzäischen Verständnisses' 'Anans und des Karäismus. P. ist in seinem Urteil vorsichtig und zurückhaltend: „la continuité physique entre Sadducéens et Qaraïtes est impossible“. „Mais, il reste la continuité morale et doctrinale!“ (70). Der Karäismus ist unter Aufnahme verschiedener traditioneller Elemente ein Phänomen eigener religiöser Grösse.

Im zweiten Hauptteil, der sich historisch-kritisch mit

der Bewegung des Karäismus befasst, wendet sich der Verfasser zunächst der Entwicklung von 'Anan bis zu erkennbaren Formen des Karäismus zu (77ff). In dieser Phase des geschichtlichen Prozesses muss man sich mit Binyāmin al-Nāhāwandī beschäftigen. Ein eigenes Kapitel gebührt dem Karäismus des Daniel al-Qūmisī (97ff), wobei P. die Grundlinien der „Théologie de la Torah“ dieses Karäers nachzuzeichnen bemüht ist. Stellt dies ein Detail karäischer Theologie dar, so begrüsst der Leser, dass im sechsten Kapitel der Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung der Theologie der Communauté qaraïte unternommen wird (115ff). In der Conclusion sind dann mögliche Berührungspunkte zwischen Qumran und dem Karäertum angesprochen. Instrukтив ist dabei eine Tabelle charakteristischer Termini, die sich bei Daniel al-Qūmisī, in der Damaskusschrift und in anderen Qumranschriften (u.a. in 1 QS) gleichermassen finden (135). Auch in der Beurteilung dieses Tatbestandes legt sich P. Zurückhaltung auf. Er erliegt nicht der Versuchung, auf der einen Seite die Qumrantexte erst im Mittelalter anzusetzen und überhaupt als Zeugnisse der Karäer zu verstehen, so wie das Z. Zeitlin vertritt, er verwahrt sich andererseits aber auch davor, in den Karäern die direkten Nachfolger der Qumraniden zu sehen. Der Einfluss der Qumrantexte auf den Karäismus ist nicht zu leugnen, aber er ist ein Element, wenn vielleicht auch ein wichtiges Moment, das das Karäertum in dem langen und komplexen historischen Prozess der Entstehung dieser bemerkenswerten jüdischen Frömmigkeitsbewegung mit prägen half: „La naissance du Qaraïsme nous est apparue comme le résultat d'un processus historique, long et complexe“ (131). Im übrigen geht der Autor nicht näher auf vergleichende Untersuchungen zu dem Thema Qumran-Karäismus ein, sondern will seine Studien vielmehr als Anregung für den Qumranologen verstanden wissen, sich der Frage eines möglichen 'qumranischen Verständnisses' des Karäismus im Sinne einer Nachgeschichte des Essenismus freundlich anzunehmen. Methodisch richtig ist gewiss der von P. eingeschlagene Weg des Zurückfragens von dem vorfindlichen Phänomen des Karäismus her, dessen Konturen es möglichst sauber und klar herauszuarbeiten galt, zu den möglichen Wurzeln in der antiken Geschichte. Dies ist dem Leser einsichtig, man hat Freude an dieser wohl gelungenen Arbeit.

Leipzig, April 1975

SIEGFRIED WAGNER

ISLAM - ARABICA

W. Montgomery WATT: *The Majesty that was Islam. The Islamic World 661-1100*. London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1974 (8vo, XIV + 276 S., 50 Abb.) = Great Civilization Series. Preis: £ 7.50.

Allgemeinverständliche Darstellungen der islamischen Geschichte und Kultur sind nicht mehr so selten wie noch vor zehn Jahren. Das Interesse des Publikums für die Welt jenseits des Mittelmeers hat zugenommen, und die Verlage versuchen in steigendem Masse die Islami-
sten in ihren Dienst zu nehmen. Die Entwicklung ist begrüssenswert. Relevant für den innerwissenschaftlichen Fortgang der Diskussion ist sie allerdings nur dann, wenn das Ergebnis über rein rhetorische Aufbereitung

bekannten Materials hinausgeht. Zugleich sollte gewisse Gewähr bestehen, dass man in diesem Genus, dem unmittelbare Dokumentation durch Anmerkungen fremd ist, nicht mit zu kapriziöser Gesamtschau behelligt wird.

Beide Gefahren sind in dem vorliegenden Werk vermieden: der Autor schreibt aus langer Erfahrung mit dem Stoff; er versteht es, in behutsamer Weise die Linien zu vereinfachen. Der Titel passt sich der Serie an, in der das Buch erscheint; dort steht er neben „The Wonder that was India“, „The Greatness that was Babylon“, „The Grandeur that was Rome“ etc. Gemeint ist hier die Zeit vom Beginn der Umayyadendynastie bis zum Ende der Selğūken; in diesem Rahmen werden histoire événementielle und Geistesgeschichte gleichrangig behandelt. Manche Gesichtspunkte und Kategorien sind aus früheren Arbeiten des Autors bekannt: das Denken in „Blöcken“ (vgl. etwas S. 108) und die systematische Verknüpfung von Ideen mit bestimmten historischen Situationen. Das Schwergewicht liegt eindeutig auf dem islamischen Osten; der Magrib wird mehr als Komplement denn als selbständiger Kulturraum behandelt. Wirtschaftsgeschichte und Ökologie treten vor der Ideengeschichte zurück; in dieser Akzentsetzung spiegelt sich ebenso wie in der vorausgehenden nur die Ungleichgewichtigkeit der allgemeinen Forschungssituation. Kunst und Architektur sind in einer Anzahl von Illustrationen berücksichtigt; der Text allerdings nimmt auf sie nicht Bezug. Als Rahmenproblem wird in Einleitung und Epilog kurz die Frage angeschnitten, warum die arabisch-islamische Kultur in solch relativ müheloser Weise die christliche Kultur des Orients hat verdrängen können; hieran versucht der Autor in für den Abendländer signifikanter Weise den universalhistorischen Aspekt des Themas herauszustellen.

Über Einzelheiten lässt sich in diesem Genus naturgemäss immer streiten. Wesentlich aber ist der Eindruck einer sicheren Hand. Nur Weniges bleibt zu verbessern: Abb. 20 ist falsch beschriftet (sie zeigt nicht Medinat az-Zahra, sondern die Moschee von Córdoba). Mōṣul anerkannte die Oberhoheit der Fātimiden nicht „for a year or so about 990“ (so S. 209), sondern unter al-Ḥākim i.J. 401/1010-11 (vgl. EI² III 806). Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī's *K. an-Nabāt* ist nicht verloren (S. 230), jedenfalls nicht ganz; die erhaltenen Teile wurden kürzlich ediert von B. Lewin (in *Bibl. Isl.*, Bd. 26; Wiesbaden 1974) und von Muh. Hamidullah (Kairo 1973; vgl. die Übersicht in der Rezension von W. Diem in: *Erasmus* 27/1975/385 ff.). Mubārak war vermutlich nicht ein „anderer Anführer“ der frühen Ismā'īliya, sondern ein Deckname für Ismā'il b. Ġa'far selber (vgl. W. Madelung in: *Der Islam* 37/1961/45 ff.).

Tübingen, Oktober 1975

JOSEF VAN ESS

* *

Norman DANIEL, *The Cultural Barrier, Problems in the Exchange of Ideas*. Edinburgh, The University Press, 1975 (8vo, X + 227 p.). Price: Cloth £ 6.—.

Dr. Norman Daniel, currently the British Council Representative in Cairo, who has made himself a name on

the history of Muslim-European cross-cultural relationship in a number of outstanding publications, has now turned to the more general problem area of cross-cultural relationships. His approach remains soundly historical, most of his illustrations still come from the Near East but, perhaps prompted by the day-to-day experience of British Council work, the field of application is, primarily at least, cross-cultural education.

The word cross-cultural is not part of the vocabulary Dr. Daniel has chosen to admit for the purpose of writing this book; nor is, for example, a term like ethnocentrism or socio-cultural identity (except that on p. 200 the word identity, undefined, pops up twice). In shunning (p. 3) sociologese and similar jargon, he has achieved an attractive lucid style of argument. But he pays the price by being deprived, here and there, of some means to be at once precise and succinct.

But for a minor yet significant passage (p. 203), Dr. Daniel maintains a definition of culture (p. 3, comp. 193) and subculture that avoids undue short-circuiting between culture unit and nation-state. This has considerable advantages in that it allows for a much sounder analysis of cross-cultural processes; on the other hand it begs the question precisely as to the political and power implications of any conclusions emerging from such an analysis.

The argument develops at two levels. One is the matter of cultural exchange, as exemplified in the student, teacher or researcher who undertakes to work, for a shorter or longer period, in a culture not his or her own. Chapter 3, on Academic Traffic, looks at this topic in categorical terms; chapter 4, on Cultural Shock and Adaptation, considers it with regard to the individual person involved. Chapter 12, *Practica*, returns to this same level of cross-cultural practice. The other level, of culture contact and culture comparison, both simultaneous and longitudinally in time, is represented by chapter 6, on Evaluation of Cultures, and chapter 7, entitled *Past and Present*.

The two levels are linked by means of two strands. One extends the theoretical in the direction of the practical and more pedestrian. It consists of chapter 8, *Transmission of Ideas*, and its two-pronged elaboration, first by means of an historical illustration in Chapter 9, *A Cultural Filter in the Middle Ages* (Europe adopting Muslim science but rejecting Islam as a religion), and then by some speculation on contemporary conditions in Chapter 10, *A Cultural Filter in the Modern World* (anti-imperialism as a selective device; comp. p. 177). The common thrust of these two chapters is introduced in Chapter 5, where an attempt is made to differentiate between *Techniques and Cultures* (that, for its conclusions, runs strikingly counter to a much earlier attempt, by Toynbee, in his *The World and the West*).

The other link, from the level of daily experience to that of theory, is offered by Chapter 1, *Conditions of Cultural Exchange*, and Chapter 11, *Theorica*.

The central argument, so often and so variedly returning throughout the book that it is somewhat difficult to identify in one or two characteristic phrases, appears for example in the following passage, abbreviated for reviewing purposes:

“The history of our own culture, as strange to us as

any other culture living today, ought to teach us to accept some cultural barrier as normal. The only impassable barrier consists of not recognising the differences of attitude that a strange cultural origin or background causes. Once they are recognised they are on their way to be understood. The danger is to fail to recognise across the cultures that the same things are the same, however much the cultural differences disguise them. We can diagnose symptoms: lack of understanding (...); lack of communication (...); and lack of sympathy” (p. 133).

This central argument has three main features. One is Dr. Daniel's thesis that technology and culture can and must be distinguished. Just as western Europe has adopted science and philosophy from the Muslim civilization with systematic and purposive rejection of the religion of Islam, so the present-day Third World may wish, and succeed, to adopt Western technology without letting Western civilization, whatever that may be, obliterate their own various and doubtlessly changing cultures (comp. p. 197, 196, jo. 194).

The second is the use, towards substantiating this thesis, of the notions culture barrier and culture filter as the key conceptual tools (cf. p. 197). For the historian these may be attractive; to the sociologist and the anthropologist they may well appear as less attractive, because less efficient, than some other conceptual tools currently available but eliminated here, perhaps by concern about becoming trapped in jargon and thus becoming unintelligible to the larger reading public. It would seem that the main adverse consequence of Dr. Daniel's decision-making in these respects is that he loses the much-needed ready access to the well-known ambiguity determining both cross-cultural relationships and cross-cultural transactions (comp. p. 180). It is, by the way, the same ambiguity that Berque and Charnay have analyzed within Arab civilization. Time and again he grapples with phenomena of hostility between cultural units, whether contemporaneous or in the course of time, without ready means to identify countervailing communication and interaction as being equally part of the full complexity of the matter at hand.

The third is his judgment on the role of technology in cross-cultural transactions, as summed up in this phrase:

“The reason why techniques and methods are relatively easily transmitted is that they require a technical background, which is tiresome or delightful to acquire, according to temperament, but never as difficult, if we suppose intelligence and determination, as a cultural background” (p. 202).

Not everybody will readily agree to this point of view, for a variety of reasons; but as a hypothetical base line for analysis of actual goings-on between the Third World and the so-called advanced countries it proves, in Dr. Daniel's hands, quite fruitful.

The attraction of the book is perhaps not primarily in its skeleton, as just summarized, but in the flesh of the argument built upon it. This builds equally, and with equal success, upon a wealth of historical information adroitly marshalled and a solid knowledge of the attractions as well as the pitfalls of cross-cultural encounters

today. The author's talent for the salty quotable phrase at an unexpected turn of the argument adds to the reader's pleasure.

The Hague, C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE
October 1975

* *

TARIKH AL-RIDDA: gleaned from *al-Iktifā'* by al-Balansī and edited by Khurshid Ahmad FARIQ. New Delhi, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1970 (8vo, 200 pp.).

The *ridda* wars have always been one of the most confusing periods of Islamic history and students have been handicapped by the fact that certain of the earliest works of the Arab historians have disappeared or have been transmitted in part only. This has meant that the only major sources have been the accounts given by al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī. With the publication of this book portions of the missing accounts are now available to the scholar. Sections of the book, of varying size and importance, derive from al-Wāqidi, Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī, Muḥammad b. Ishāq and Wathima b. Mūsā.

After a preface and an introduction, of which more later, the work is divided into ten chapters and is concluded by an index. The first chapter outlines the reaction in Medina to the news of the rebellion among the Arab tribes and lists those tribes that rebelled and those that remained loyal. It describes Abū Bakr's initial moves and it ends with the dispatching of Khālīd b. al-Walīd at the head of the Muslim army. Interestingly there is no reference made to the other armies that Abū Bakr supposedly sent out at this time, as in the account of al-Ṭabarī. The second chapter is largely the texts of two letters which are the orders given to Khālīd and also a speech which Abū Bakr made to Khālīd conveying the same information. As with all documents claiming to be original, and indeed with the text of speeches, the utmost precautions must be taken before credence may be given. In these cases the internal details of the documents themselves would indicate that they are later additions to the story. The third chapter recounts the actions of Khālīd against Ṭulayḥa and largely follows the story as it is received from the other sources. There are, however, sufficient differences to make it worthy of study. For example, one tradition states that the two Muslims, whose deaths are reported in the texts, were killed after the battle by Ṭulayḥa as he was fleeing, rather than before it as stated in the more traditional version, which is also given. The fourth chapter deals with the return of 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ to Medina after the death of Muḥammad, his meeting with Qurra b. Hubraya and its repercussions and the return to the fold of tribes such as 'Amir, Asad and Ghatafān. It concludes by describing Khālīd moving on to al-Buṭāḥ despite the protests of the Anṣār, who rejoined him later, and the capture and execution of Mālik b. Nuwayra. The fifth chapter is, as befits the most desperate engagement of the entire campaign, the

longest chapter in the book. It is concerned with the events leading up to the battle with Musaylima and the B. Ḥanifa and the results of that battle. This chapter complements rather than contrasts with the account preserved in al-Ṭabarī. It includes an exchange of letters between Khālīd and Abū Bakr which are concerned with the censuring of Khālīd for his actions after the battle. It is of interest to note that no mention is made of the earlier attacks by Muslim armies on the forces of Musaylima before the attack of Khālīd. Chapter six deals with the so-called apostasy of the B. Sulaym. The activities of al-Fujā'a, more brigandage than apostasy, are substantially the same as they appear in al-Ṭabarī. However, the activities of Abū Shajara are described in far more detail than in either of the other two sources and this report grants a new dimension to our understanding of the incident. Chapter seven describes the events which took place in al-Baḥrayn during this period. It conforms to the outline of these events as they appear in the other sources, supplementing the account in al-Balādhurī yet not as replete with detail as the version of al-Ṭabarī. The eighth chapter is the shortest of the book and adds to the account in al-Ṭabarī and confirms the rather brief version that is found in al-Balādhurī. The description of the advance of 'Ikrima against Azd and 'Umān is clear and concise. The ninth chapter, dealing with the rebellion in the Yemen, is a nice recounting of the incidents in that part of the peninsula. The events there are traditionally divided into two parts, the first occurring some time before the death of Muḥammad and the second at some later time. In the text under review these two portions are placed together and the relationship between them is more readily seen. The tenth chapter, which ends the book, is a straight forward recounting of the events during the apostasy in the Ḥaḍramawt and especially concerning the B. Kinda. The account follows the general lines of the major reporters yet it seems to emphasize the role played by al-Ash'ath b. Qays as the leader of the rebels.

The text of this book would seem to be of value for the study of the period immediately after the death of the Prophet; this is, however, in contrast to the two introductory chapters. In the preface the editor describes the manuscript, the author and the sources upon which he drew. Long passages are quoted depicting the author as seen by one of his students and from the author's own preface. In describing the manuscript the editor carefully points out that some of the sources used by the author have been published and then he gives brief accounts of those historians upon whom the author drew whose works have not survived *in toto* to this day. It would have been valuable had some time been spent placing these historians into the context of the development of historical writings, as it may be argued that this text preserves for us the description of the *ridda* wars as they were seen by the Madinese school of history, in a fuller form than that offered by al-Balādhurī. The editor cites as among the merits of the text the preservation of several of the official letters of Abū Bakr and also many verses of poetry which are not to be found in other,

printed, historical texts. Of far more merit than these possibly false items is the fact that the text sets out in a cohesive framework the narrative of the history.

The introduction sets the stage for the text itself. The editor mentions, in the first paragraph, three possible causes for the outbreak of the rebellion throughout the peninsula, yet makes no comment upon them. The remainder of the introduction has an accounting of the Muslim reaction and it carries the actions of Abū Bakr through to the point where he distributed the eleven banners to the armies which he sent out to face the rebels. It seems largely to be taken from al-Ṭabarī, indeed there is a lengthy quotation, and covers some of the same ground as the text itself although there is no acknowledgement of this fact.

That there are misprints is acknowledged by the publisher when he prints a list of corrections, however confidence is lessened by the two misprints which occur in this list. The correction listed for page 166 is actually on page 168 and that of page 173 is found on page 172. This lack of confidence is increased as the footnotes and references found in the preface will indicate. On the fourth page of the preface the article dealing with Muḥammad b. Ishāq in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* begins on page 38 not page 40 of the ninth volume. On page seven, in the *Tārikh Baghdād*, volume eight, the article on al-Zubayr b. Bakkār concludes on page 471 not on 469. The article on the same person in *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib* is found in volume three not two. The article on Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abi Khaythama in *Tārikh Baghdād* concludes on page 164 of the fourth volume, not page 163. On page ten, the article on Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri in volume fourteen of the *Tārikh Baghdād* stretches from page 269 to page 271 rather than being only on page 270. The following reference from the same book, concerned with Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī, cites an article that stretches from page 135 to page 144 rather than being limited to page 142. The text of the preface is also not immune to these misprints as on the first page Sayf

b. 'Umar is referred to as al-Usayyidi (الاسيدي)

rather than the more correct al-Asadi (الاسدي).

These errors plus the constant references to earlier footnotes, helpful however hardly necessary as an index is supplied, make the reading of the text tedious.

It is unfortunate that the many misprints mar the edition of a text which is of major importance for the study of a most difficult and important period in Arab history.

Pathhead, March 1975

JAMES F. GOULD

* *

Ernst August GRUBER, *Verdienst und Rang. Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam*. Freiburg im Breisgau, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1975 (117 pp.) = *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Band 35. DM. 22,—.

In his introduction, the author mentions as his purpose the elaboration of what R. Sellheim had written already on the so-called "Faḍā'il-literature" in his article "Faḍila" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI², II, 728-

729). In that article Sellheim describes the literary genre of the Faḍā'il, and classifies the subjects treated in it. This genre "exposes the excellences of things, individuals, groups, places, regions and such for the purpose of a laudatio. The polemical comparison or dialogue, characteristic of the 'disputes for precedence', is lacking" (a.c. p. 728). Gruber accepts this starting point (p. 5), but seems to use also non-formal characteristics to delimit the Faḍā'il-genre: the real Faḍā'il-literature consists of texts from the Qur'ān, or sayings of Muḥammad and his most important companions, and the motifs mentioned must have a religious character (p. 79). The reason for this confusion may be that most of the Faḍā'il-texts found by the author are in fact ancient traditions (aḥādīṭ), which show the characteristics mentioned above.

These Faḍā'il-traditions are first subjected to a formal analysis: Gruber classifies them, according to the bearer of the "excellences" in question, into four categories — persons and groups, cities and provinces, the Qur'ān, and various — in this way modifying the division proposed by Sellheim. In these four categories the author makes a further distinction according to the themata mentioned as a source of "excellence", and according to the literary form in which the tradition is moulded. Besides this classification, the author also makes an attempt to delimit the original function of this kind of traditions; in doing so, he comes to the conclusion that they were mainly used for political or religio-political reasons (p. 8); economical reasons also played an important rôle. Purely religious reasons, however, do not seem to have been of much importance in the process of shaping, moulding and using this kind of traditions.

We thank to this work of Gruber the gathering and description of much relevant material, as also its classification and a partial translation into German. I think that, on the basis of the material collected, the author can continue his study and deepen it, both in the field of the literary form and its history, and in the question of its "Sitz-im-Leben".

One final remark has to be added: from time to time I got the impression, that the author was too much occupied with the term "Faḍila" and other forms of the Arabic root FDL, to a point that it might detract his attention from less formal characteristics of the text. So the study on the use of the root FDL in pre-Islamic poetry and in the Qur'ān (p. 9-21) seems to be not only superfluous, but also based on a conception of the semantic unity of the Arabic root, which cannot be maintained. I think it would have been of more use, when the author had made a study not of the prehistory of the root concerned, but of the prehistory of the literary genre and the motifs used.

Nijmegen, October 1975

JAN PETERS

* *

Majid FAKHRY, *A History of Islamic Philosophy*. New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1970 (8vo, XI + 427 pages) = *Studies in Oriental Cultures*, nr. 5. Prix: £ 6.75.

Avant de présenter d'une façon un peu détaillée l'ou-

vrage du Professeur Mājid Fakhry, il convient de le situer dans une série d'études similaires qui l'ont précédé; on pourra mieux voir ainsi ce qu'il continue et ce qu'il apporte de nouveau.

Remarquons d'abord que la plupart des historiens de la philosophie (comme Ritter, Überweg et plus récemment Bréhier et Copleston) et ceux de la philosophie médiévale (comme Stöckl, Hauréau, Picavet, de Wulf et Gilson) ont consacré, dans leurs ouvrages, un chapitre à la philosophie "arabe". De même on trouve dans un certain nombre d'encyclopédies comme l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, l'*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, l'*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, pour ne citer que les principales, un bref résumé de la philosophie arabe ou islamique. Mais il faut attendre l'ouvrage de Schmolders, *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*, paru en 1842, pour voir paraître un ouvrage entièrement consacré à cette philosophie.

En 1851, Munk réunit un certain nombre d'articles qui avaient paru dans le *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques*, ouvrage qu'il intitula *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*. Le plan suivi par lui était très simple: après une courte introduction historique sur la naissance des études philosophiques et théologiques chez les Arabes, Munk qui connaissait bien l'arabe, étudia successivement al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ghazālī, Ibn Bājja (Avempace), Ibn Ṭufayl (Abubacer) et Ibn Rushd (Averroès) et donna à la fin de son ouvrage une "esquisse de la philosophie chez les juifs". L'ouvrage de Munk inspira pendant de longues années les historiens occidentaux de la philosophie médiévale.

En 1901 parut la *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam* de T. de Boer qui, deux ans plus tard, fut traduit en anglais avec l'approbation de l'auteur. L'ouvrage devint rapidement le "standard-book" sur le sujet. L'auteur plaçait la philosophie arabe dans un contexte historique plus large, la situait dans le cadre général des sciences islamiques voire de la littérature, de l'histoire et de la géographie. L'ouvrage comprend six sections: la première brosse la scène de événements, la sagesse orientale chez les Sémites, en Iran, enfin chez les Hindous toujours dans leurs rapports avec le monde musulman, la science grecque son extension chez les Syriques, l'activité des traducteurs. Une fois ce cadre établi, l'auteur étudie, dans la seconde section, intitulée "la philosophie et les sciences arabes" les différents aspects de la pensée musulmane: les sciences linguistiques, la jurisprudence, la théologie, le soufisme. Quittant le domaine propre de la pensée spéculative, l'auteur aborde, au chapitre quatrième de cette section, la littérature et l'histoire chez certains auteurs où il croit relever certaines tendances philosophiques.

Une troisième section est consacrée à la philosophie pythagoricienne: philosophie de la nature, celle des "Frères de la Pureté" avec leur encyclopédie populaire, les cinquante-deux *Rasā'il*.

C'est dans la quatrième section intitulée "les philosophes aristotéliens à tendance néo-platonicienne" que nous retrouvons les noms connus: al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Avicenne auxquels l'auteur ajoute Ibn Miskawayh et Ibn al-Haytham, astronome bien connu au moyen âge latin sous le nom d'Alhazen.

La cinquième section est consacrée surtout à Ghazālī

considéré par l'auteur comme une des personnalités les plus extraordinaires de l'Islam. Après l'Orient, c'est le tour de l'Occident musulman: la sixième section lui est consacrée. Sont successivement étudiés Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl et Ibn Rushd. La conclusion, qui nous conduit jusqu'au 15^e siècle, est consacrée à un auteur arabe célèbre considéré comme le père de la philosophie de l'histoire, Ibn Khaldūn. Quelques pages finales, très brèves, signalent l'influence de la philosophie arabe en Europe.

Le livre de de Boer marque une date importante dans l'histoire de la philosophie islamique. Pour la première fois on plaçait les *falāsifa* classiques dans un contexte réel et on analysait d'autres aspects de la pensée islamique dans ses rapports avec la philosophie, en particulier le mouvement scientifique. On remarquera que l'auteur a pris soin de préciser qu'il s'agit d'une philosophie en Islam et non de l'Islam, évitant ainsi de s'engager dans le délicat et épineux problème de savoir s'il existe, en fait, une véritable philosophie de l'Islam et quelle serait-elle. Mais embrassant des sujets aussi éloignés de la philosophie que l'histoire ou la littérature n'y avait-il pas à craindre une certaine confusion des "objets formels" et risquer de faire de l'histoire de la philosophie islamique une histoire de la civilisation musulmane?

Cette tendance encyclopédique qui frise le "pot-pourri" ou le "fourre-tout" va prendre un caractère téatologique chez un auteur comme Max Horten qui, par ailleurs, a consacré toute sa vie à l'étude de la philosophie islamique. Engagé par B. Geyer à rédiger pour le *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* d'Überweg, la philosophie arabe dans le cadre de la philosophie médiévale, Horten sut écrire "ad sobrietatem" et traiter le sujet d'une manière quasi classique tout en signalant l'influence des éléments orientaux dans l'élaboration de la philosophie islamique. Rejetant comme inexactes les appellations "philosophie arabe" ou "philosophie chez les Arabes", Horten intitule sa section La "philosophie dans le domaine culturel musulman" et traite pratiquement des *Falāsifa*: al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Avicenne, Ghazālī, Ibn Bājja, Ibn Ṭufayl et Averroès.

Mais quand il dispose de l'espace à loisir et qu'il a, si on peut dire, les coudées franches, il se livre à une tendance éclectique effrénée, ramassant dans un même livre pratiquement tous les aspects intellectuels, culturels et religieux de l'Islam, de sorte que le livre devient une philosophie de l'Islam dans ses rapports avec la *Weltanschauung* de l'Orient occidental. On pourrait presque dire sans paradoxe qu'on y trouve tout sauf de la philosophie au sens propre du terme. Aussi étrange que cela puisse paraître, on n'y rencontre pas une section spéciale pour les *Falāsifa*. Visiblement, l'auteur a pris "philosophie" au sens très large de *Weltanschauung* et il a voulu la considérer successivement chez les penseurs de métier, "la couche supérieure", comme il l'appelle, puis chez les penseurs moyens, "la couche inférieure", enfin chez le menu peuple. Pour guider ses lecteurs, l'auteur a pris soin d'établir une table de matières très détaillée et systématique à souhait. On trouve même, en appendice, une introduction ... aux trois langues culturelles de l'Orient contemporain, à savoir l'arabe, le persan et le turc!

Beaucoup moins compliqué est l'ouvrage de G. Quadri, *La filosofia degli arabi nel suo fiore*, qui parut en 1939 et dont une traduction française fut réalisée en 1947.

Plus élaborée que celui de T. de Boer, il ne présente cependant que certains aspects de la philosophie arabe parvenue à son sommet, surtout Avicenne et Averroès, et semble-t-il, en se basant uniquement sur les textes latins médiévaux. L'ouvrage porte en sous-titre: Vol. 1 Dalla origine fino ad Averroee; Vol. 2 Il pensiero filosofico di Averroee.

Bien que les deux volumes de M. Miguel Cruz Hernandez portent le titre de "Filosofia Hispano-Musulmana" et font partie d'une *Historia de la Filosofía Española* (Madrid 1957), ils comportent cependant six chapitres de près de 200 pages sur la philosophie musulmane orientale, où sont étudiés al-Kindī, al-Fārābī et al-Ghazālī. Le reste du deuxième volume (plus de 200 pages) et tout le second volume sont consacrés à la philosophie musulmane en Orient; la plus grande partie est consacrée à l'étude approfondie d'Averroès, étudié avec pénétration. L'ouvrage est bien documenté et l'auteur est arabisant. Le dernier chapitre étudie Ibn Khaldūn, probablement et peut-être inconsciemment pour rester au plan du livre de T. de Boer. Le seul inconvénient de cet ouvrage est qu'il est inaccessible à ceux qui ne connaissent pas l'espagnol¹).

Beaucoup plus ambitieuse comme entreprise est la *History of Muslim Philosophy* parue en 1966. L'ouvrage est en deux volumes qui font ensemble 1792 pages ... Il porte en sous-titre "with short accounts of other disciplines and the Modern Renaissance in Muslim Lands", et a été édité sous la direction de M. M. Sharif. L'entreprise est avant tout pakistanaise et musulmane et, semble-t-il, pour contrebalancer la *History of Philosophy Eastern and Western* rédigée par les Indiens et où, affirme M. Sharif dans son Introduction, il n'est pas fait assez justice à la philosophie islamique. Sur les 56 collaborateurs qui ont contribué à l'ouvrage pakistanaise, on relève les noms de cinq occidentaux parmi lesquels L. Massignon, Creswell et A. Bausani. Les articles concernant les *falāsifa* proprement dits ont été confiés à des spécialistes connus. Étant donné la diversité des auteurs et l'inégale valeur des articles, l'ouvrage manque d'équilibre et de cohérence organique. Par ailleurs presque tout le second volume est consacré à la culture musulmane plutôt qu'à la philosophie: on y parle de langues et littératures, de "fine arts", d'études sociales et de Renaissance moderne. C'est un ouvrage de consultation qui risque de dérouter ceux qui voudraient s'initier à la philosophie islamique. Ce qu'il leur faut, c'est un ouvrage écrit par un spécialiste dominant le sujet et qui présente d'une façon systématique la doctrine des philosophes musulmans dans leur contexte historique.

C'est ce qu'a voulu entreprendre M. Mājid Fakhry dans sa *History of Islamic Philosophy*. Il était bien préparé pour un tel travail. Originaire du Liban, la langue arabe est sa langue maternelle et, de ce fait, un accès direct aux sources lui est facile. Il reçut à l'Université Américaine de Beyrouth une excellente formation philosophique qu'il acheva en Angleterre où il travailla en particulier avec A. Guillaume. Il obtint son doctorat à Edinbourg avec une thèse intitulée *Islamic occasionalism and its Critique by Averroes and Aquinas*, en 1958. Il

¹) Signalons également du même auteur son livre *La filosofía árabe*, Madrid, Revista de Occidente, 1963, 400 pages.

enseigne la philosophie arabe à la "London School of Oriental Studies" comme "lecturer", et à Georgetown University, aux États-Unis, comme Associate Professor. Il est actuellement chef du Département de philosophie à l'Université Américaine de Beyrouth. C'est dire que le livre qu'il a écrit est le fruit d'un long enseignement et d'une étude directe de nombreux textes de philosophie islamique, non seulement de ceux que l'on connaît depuis longtemps mais aussi de ceux qui ont été édités récemment.

Le plan adopté par l'auteur est, dans les grandes lignes, celui-là même que T. de Boer a suivi avec cependant un complément consacré à la philosophie moderne et contemporaine.

L'ouvrage comporte, après une Introduction d'une dizaine de pages, douze chapitres. Le premier chapitre est intitulé "L'héritage de la Grèce, d'Alexandrie et de l'Orient". Une première section brosse un tableau sobre mais clair de la scène du Proche-Orient au 7^e siècle; la conquête arabe n'interrompt pas les travaux académiques à Édesse, Nisibe, Alexandrie, Jundishapūr (pp. 12-16). Puis l'auteur étudie les traductions des textes philosophiques (pp. 13-31), et consacre une section spéciale aux éléments néoplatoniciens, à savoir la *Pseudo-Théologie d'Aristote* et le *De Causis* (pp. 32-44). Enfin une quatrième section étudie les influences persanes et indiennes (pp. 45-50).

Le chapitre deuxième aborde "Les premières tensions politiques et religieuses". Une première section étudie les factions religio-politiques qui ont provoqué des conflits doctrinaux concernant les rapports de la foi avec les oeuvres, le califat, la gravité du péché etc. ainsi que la formation des groupes antagonistes (Kharijites, Murjites, Shi'ites) (pp. 51-56). Une deuxième section analyse la naissance de la scolastique musulmane (*kalām*), ce que, dans notre *Introduction à la Théologie musulmane*, nous avons appelé: la rencontre de la pensée musulmane avec la théologie chrétienne à Damas. C'est là que M. Fakhry donne un résumé précis de la doctrine des Mu'tazilites d'après les sources classiques (Ash'ari, Baghdādi, Baqillānī, Shahrastānī) mais malheureusement pas le *Mughnī* du Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (pp. 56-81).

Une fois ce fond de tableau tracé, M. Fakhry entre *in medias res*: dans le chapitre troisième, il étudie les "début des écrits philosophiques systématiques du 9^e siècle". Une première section est consacrée à al-Kindī, "le premier philosophe créateur arabe" (pp. 82-112); une seconde à la "naissance du naturalisme et au défi qu'il présentait aux dogmes de l'Islam", avec une étude d'Ibn al-Rawandī et de Rāzī (Razes) (pp. 112-124).

Les tendances néo-platoniciennes, implicites dans la philosophie d'al-Kindī et de Rāzī, deviennent prédominantes chez Fārābī et Avicenne. M. Fakhry leur consacre le chapitre quatrième (pp. 125-183).

Le chapitre cinquième est consacré au "néopythagorisme et à la popularisation des sciences philosophiques": c'est une étude des *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*. L'auteur analyse tour à tour leurs pré-supposés mathématico-philosophiques (pp. 188-193), leur cosmologie et leur métaphysique (pp. 193-199), leur psychologie et leur épistémologie (pp. 193-202).

Trois auteurs font l'objet du chapitre sixième: Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, l'auteur d'al-*Imtā'* (pp. 205-209),

Miskawayh (pp. 209-210) enfin Yahya Ibn 'Adi (pp. 216-227).

Le nouvel esprit de recherches introduit par la philosophie grecque dans le monde musulman avait donné naissance à la théologie scolastique. Dans certains cas, cette rencontre donna lieu à un clivage entre la religion et la philosophie. Le chapitre septième étudie un des aspects de cette inter-réaction marquée par l'éclipse du rationalisme théologique: étude d'Ash'ari (pp. 228-235), de l'école ash'arite, et de la formulation occasionnaliste (pp. 235-253); enfin de Ghazali et de sa systématique réfutation du néoplatonisme (pp. 244-261).

Avec le chapitre huitième, nous passons, sans explication, à la "naissance et le développement de la mystique musulmane (soufisme)". L'exposé est classique: les origines ascétiques (pp. 262-269); les tendances panthéistes avec, principalement, al-Bistami et al-Hallaj (pp. 270-275), la synthèse et la systématisation avec al-Ghazali et Ibn 'Arabi (pp. 276-286).

La *falsafa* en Espagne constitua un "interlude" et une renaissance du péripatétisme; l'auteur lui consacre le chapitre neuvième. Après un aperçu sur les débuts de la spéculation philosophique en Espagne avec Ibn Masarra, al-Majriti et Ibn Bajja (pp. 287-284), il étudie Ibn Tufayl et "le progrès naturel de l'esprit vers la vérité" (pp. 294-302); enfin une bonne vingtaine de pages sont consacrées à Ibn Rushd et sa défense de l'aristotélisme (pp. 302-325).

De nouveau la mystique fait son apparition avec le chapitre dixième consacré aux "développements post-avicenniens": illumination et réaction contre le péripatétisme. En effet, dans ce chapitre, M. Fakhry étudie Suhrawardi (pp. 326-338), puis ses successeurs, partisans de la philosophie illuminative, en particulier Shadr al-Din al-Shirazi (Mulla Sadra) (pp. 339-346).

Le chapitre onzième, intitulé "Réaction et reconstruction théologique" étudie d'abord le mouvement littéraliste et néo-hanbalite avec ses trois étapes: Ibn Hazm, Ibn Taymiyya et Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab (pp. 347-354), puis un mouvement de modération et de déclin où sont mentionnés Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, très rapidement, Najm al-Din Nasafi, Jurjani et Bajuri (pp. 354-359). Une dizaine de pages sont consacrées à "la réaction et la reconstruction" avec Ibn Khaldun (pp. 359-369).

Enfin le douzième et dernier chapitre essaie d'esquisser les mouvements modernes et contemporains: d'abord l'apparition de l'esprit moderniste avec Jamal al-Din al-Afghani et Muhammad 'Abduh (pp. 370-385), le modernisme en Inde avec Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Ameer Ali et Muhammad Iqbal (pp. 385-399); enfin "la scène philosophique d'aujourd'hui" où l'auteur passe rapidement en revue quelques auteurs comme Sayyid Qutb, al-Bahiy 'Aqqad, Badawi, René Habashi, Zaki Naguib Mahmud et Yusuf Karam.

Tel est le contenu de ce volume de plus de 400 pages, d'un texte imprimé en caractères relativement gros, très aéré. Avant d'exprimer quelques remarques critiques, disons immédiatement que ce qu'écrivait M. Majid Fakhry est toujours sérieux, pondéré, appuyé sur des textes lus et longuement médités. En particulier la majeure partie de la première partie, surtout les chapitres concernant les *falsafa*, est bien venue.

Cela dit, il nous faut discuter rapidement la conception même du volume et les proportions de ses différentes parties. On a l'impression que la deuxième partie, surtout les deux derniers chapitres, a été écourtée et que l'auteur aurait pu, si la liberté lui en avait été accordée, en dire beaucoup davantage. Peut-être les exigences, parfois tyranniques, de l'éditeur ont-elles obligé l'auteur à faire des coupes sombres dans son texte primitif et à en rompre ainsi l'équilibre initial²).

Il reste que la conception même de l'ouvrage ne ralliera peut-être pas tout les suffrages. M. Fakhry pourrait répondre que c'est celle-là même de T. de Boer. Oui, mais depuis que le livre de ce dernier a paru plus d'un demi-siècle s'est écoulé et les travaux effectués dans le domaine des différentes "sciences religieuses" musulmanes sont devenus si nombreux qu'il est devenu difficile de vouloir les embrasser tous dans un même ouvrage. Il y a quelques années nous avons entrepris une enquête auprès d'une trentaine de nos collègues au sujet de la nature de la philosophie islamique (ou arabe) et du domaine qu'elle recouvre³). Les opinions furent des plus partagées: les uns voulaient la limiter à la *falsafa* classique, d'autres, à l'autre extrémité, souhaitaient l'étendre à toute la pensée musulmane. Il est étonnant que M. Fakhry n'ait pas songé à soulever la question au début de son livre ni exprimé son point de vue. Le plan qu'il a suivi montre que son idée des frontières de la philosophie musulmane reste quelque peu flottante puisqu'il y fait entrer et la mystique et certains aspects de jurisprudence et de la théologie, voire la philosophie de l'histoire d'Ibn Khaldun.

Répondra-t-il que ces auteurs avaient une certaine "philosophie" qu'il est intéressant d'expliciter? Mais ne risque-t-on pas, en ce faisant, de trop distendre le concept de philosophie islamique et de lui faire perdre sa spécificité? En faisant entrer Ibn Hazm et Ibn Taymiyya dans le domaine de la philosophie, n'est-ce pas aller à l'encontre de toute la tradition musulmane pour qui les *Falāsifa* étaient les partisans de la philosophie hellénistique héritée des Grecs?

Que si M. Fakhry insiste pour garder une conception large de la philosophie au sens de la *pensée* musulmane, alors il aurait dû justifier les proportions accordées aux différents auteurs, expliquer par exemple comment Fakhr al-Din Razi soit traité en quelques lignes et Jurjani en quelques mots. Et si on commence à parler de la mystique où s'arrêter?

Nous arrêtons là ces quelques questions. M. Majid Fakhry, pour les travaux duquel nous avons la plus grande estime, ne nous en voudra certainement pas de les lui avoir posées, soulevant ainsi certains problèmes de méthode, sur lesquelles d'ailleurs, dans notre domaine, l'accord est loin d'être fait. Et de toute façon, le grand public éclairé pour qui, semble-t-il, l'ouvrage est avant tout destiné sera très heureux de trouver, dans une langue élégante, claire, précise un aperçu vivant et étoffé de la pensée musulmane depuis ses premiers débuts jus-

²) Effectivement, nous avons pu savoir par l'auteur lui-même qu'il avait dû, à la demande de l'éditeur, réduire d'un quart le manuscrit initial. En particulier un chapitre entier sur la morale d'al-Kindi a dû être supprimé.

³) Cf. *MIDEO*, tome 5, 1958-59 (reproduit dans *Etudes de Philosophie musulmane*, Paris, Vrin, 1974, pp. 17-67.

qu'à la période contemporaine. Les étudiants en philosophie musulmane y trouveront également leur compte: les notes bibliographiques accompagnant le texte leur permettront d'étendre leurs lectures. L'ouvrage du Professeur Majid Fahry restera pour longtemps la meilleure introduction, en langue anglaise, à l'étude de la philosophie musulmane.

Le Caire, mai 1975

G. C. ANAWATI

* *

W. Montgomery WATT, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Edinburgh, the University Press, 1973 (8vo, pp. XII, 424). Price: £ 5.—.

In the present work, Prof. Watt, whose numerous earlier studies have contributed substantially to the efforts of scholars to sort out and order the complex and often confusing data from which the history of Muslim religious speculation is to be constructed, offers a general survey of the development of Islamic theological thought from its beginnings through A.D. 950. The work is divided into three main sections: I "The Beginnings (632-750)" (pp. 9-148), II "The Century of Conflict (750-850)" (pp. 151-850), and III "The Triumph of Sunnism (850-945)" (pp. 253-318). Though the focus is almost entirely on religious and theological questions, the author has preferred the title "thought" "since during the period under consideration religious doctrine was at the centre of the intellectual life of the whole community, including its political life, and had not become an academic preserve for professional theologians" (Introduction, p. 1). The survey, he says, is based on "a radical critique of the sources" since this is prerequisite to the task he has set himself (Preface, p. v). The principal rules which guided the study (set forth *ibid.*) involve, besides a general preference for earlier material over later, a focus on particular individuals and their views rather than the "sects" discussed in the sources, and a linking of doctrinal statements with contemporary political issues, since "the elaboration of dogma in Islam was mainly due to political pressures" (p. 99) and "the aim of the modern scholar is not to give precise definition of the group names, since this varies, but to understand the relationships of individuals and their beliefs to one another and to the events of the times" (p. 165).

Though saying that "sects" are not the primary focus of the work, Watt nonetheless devotes a great deal of space to the discussion of the more important groups as they are commonly identified by title (e.g., the Murji'a, set aside as a "pseudo-sect" on p. 142, the Qadariya, et al.) most often to bring in and organise the historical and political facts that are or may be pertinent to doctrinal disputes (his use of as-Sahraṣṭānī's semantic analysis of the term 'irgā' is quite fruitful in this respect: pp. 120ff. et *alibi*) and to the careers and teachings of various individuals said to have been adherents of the particular "sect" or, as in the case of the term *sunni*, to discuss the general formation of the "orthodox" tradition: the coalescence of attitudes and doctrines into the dominant tradition that took the name of that of *ahl as-sunna wal-jamā'a* (pp. 256ff.).

The relation of doctrinal issues to political events and attitudes is near paramount in Watt's perspective. The discussion, thus, of the Hawarij and of the debates over the *imāma*, which must perforce be viewed within a political and social framework, are set out in relatively great detail and the issues subjected, on the whole, to a more thoroughgoing analysis than are more speculative topics such as God's determination of events and human autonomy, natural and physical causation, and the like. Of the latter, some issues are given somewhat fulsome treatment insofar as they may be related to political movements and factions but are treated, insofar as the inherent theoretical and strictly theological issues are concerned in an anecdotal and often cursory fashion. Questions of ethics and the nature of law are mentioned, in effect, only in passing while the debates over epistemological questions are not discussed at all. Watt's attempt "to present a coherent picture of the way in which Islamic thought developed" (p. v) rests thus heavily on the coherence of the correlation of attitudes and theses to one another as these correlations may be made and ordered in terms of the political and social framework. Watt is a good historian and the parts of the picture, indeed, are neatly set forth and arranged so that the complex progress of the development of various dogmas and doctrines is given coherence, and herein lies the real value of the book, viz., that so many of the disparate data concerning the growth and formation of the Islamic tradition have been put together in a clearly ordered historical view with most of the principal elements organised and discussed with a judicious perception of their most significant factors. Because of the predominance of the author's concentration on the political and social framework, however, the picture of the development of Muslim *thought* as such is not, in some respects, clearly focused and, I think, failing in part to bring out the internal and conceptual discipline and coherence which Muslim religious reflection progressively achieved during this period, fails both to do justice to it as thought and to grasp some significant elements of the order of its development in the period from 850 to 950. It may be useful here to indicate some aspects of this imbalance of perspective. I do not in any way mean by the criticisms that follow to denigrate a genuinely useful book, but rather to sharpen the focus and balance the historical perspective on one or two important facets of the evolution of Islamic theology.

Watt seems to neglect the fact in that articulating and so creating Islamic "dogma" (ἀ δόγμα), Muslim thinkers — the various individuals with their various prejudices, presuppositions, and perspectives — did not simply react to events but also brought (or in some instances sought to bring) to thematic formulation the larger sense and context of coherence in which the events were generated and were interpretable and which, therefore, was in a way prior to them. In the lengthy discussion of the Qadariya and their opponents (pp. 82-116) there is little or nothing to indicate that for many pious individuals who were given to reflection on the fundamentals of their religion and its implications, the issues involved in the question of divine omnipotence and human freedom were important as such and as problems to be considered and discussed were unavoidable, inde-

pendently of any political conflict within the community. Does one really want to say that the disagreement between, e.g., Ibn Sirin and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was basically political or is to be interpreted in political terms? Or were it not better to suggest that there was a universal problem, here posed in Islamic terms (sc., those of the Koran, as Watt well emphasises) in which some saw or projected and thereby established for the time being, political implications, but which nonetheless was, and by many was recognised to be, a problem that far transcends any question of Umayyad rule? Watt seems to take at face value the commonplace thesis of "the Arab and Semitic preference for the concrete over the abstract" (p. 168) as also that of "the difficulty experienced by the Arabs in observing the internal or mental aspects of human life" (p. 238) (though how he reconciles this with a reading of, e.g., al-Muḥāsibī I do not understand). Thus it is also that whereas, from the standpoint of their thought, the most conspicuous elements that characterise the Baghdad Mu'tazila as a theological school and distinguish them from the Basrians are, e.g., their notion of physical causation (sc., of the *ṭabā'ī*) and their interpretation of the *af'āl mutawallida* (not *mutawallada* as on p. 237), Watt states (p. 221) that "the distinctive feature of the Mu'tazilite school of Baghdad is that for most of the reign of al-Ma'mūn and for the whole of the reigns of his two successors ... the caliphs and their leading officials were men of Mu'tazilite sympathies so that Mu'tazilism was an important factor in the determining of imperial policy". (Further concerning the Baghdadis, the contention [p. 301] that al-Ka'bī is the foremost representative among the Mu'tazilites of "the atomistic view of nature" is scarcely defensible). Similarly, regarding the controversy over the essential character of "God's speech" and the createdness or uncreatedness of the Koran, Watt does not see at the heart of the debates a crucial theological issue that involves the nature and character of God and His revelation and so, in good part, of Islam's fundamental concept of the nature of man's relation to God, but rather a "hair splitting argument" (p. 179) the once importance of which becomes apparent to the modern reader when he sees its origin in the political stances of the parties involved, viz., that the thesis of the created Koran is correlated as such to an "anti-constitutionalist doctrine" (since as such the Koran would be "changeable") while the "unchangeable character of the Qur'ān was part of the justification for making it the basis of the empire, and also increased the power of the ulema as the authorized interpreters of it" (see generally pp. 175-179). The thesis is interesting enough, but an analysis of the debates and the arguments gives scant support to the conjecture on which it is founded. (Some of the elements of the debates are indicated on pp. 242ff. — see also p. 285f. *et alibi* — though the treatment of the opposing positions and the reasoning behind them is oversimplified, the basic subtlety of neither position being adequately reflected. Further, to render the term *naḥs* in the expression *ma'nān fi n-naḥs* as "soul" [p. 285] is to introduce an alien concept that cannot be integrated into the conceptual framework of the argument.)

The same situation is manifest later where, discussing

the debates over God's attributes, Watt suggests (p. 246) that "after so many centuries it is difficult to know just why this question of the attributes generated so much heat. Why was it so important to deny that God had the attribute of knowledge? Was it because to admit it would mean admitting an attribute of speech and ultimately an uncreated Qur'ān? Or could it have been fear of confusion with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity? ... Or perhaps the Sunnite theologians came back to belief in the attributes because this was closer to the outlook of the ordinary Muslim. To insist on the bare unity of God was a tidy rational theory, but it did not do justice to the fullness of religious experience. The negative statements of Dirār and an-Nazzām are unsatisfactory to the ordinary worshipper, for the object of worship is thought of as knowable or at least effable". The heat was generated precisely because the issue crucially involved Islam's interpretation of its own belief: the articulation and so the definition — at the time yet a-forming — of its faith in several of its foundational elements and the determination of the way in which this was to be conceived. Involved were not mere "academic" or political questions, that is to say, but the interpretation of religious and theological issues of the first magnitude. The chief participants in the debate were well aware of this and if the modern reader has some difficulty in seeing the point at issue and its importance, it is most probably because the discussion in much of contemporary 'theological' writing is primarily focused upon questions that either are themselves or are cast in terms that are basically anthropological or psychological rather than upon more strictly theological questions as such. To admit "an attribute of knowledge" (the translation is not strict, for *ilm* is more properly knowing rather than knowledge) — even in al-Aṣ'arī's terms — cannot per se require admitting an uncreated Koran; to admit an attribute of speech (i.e., to hold that *mutakallim* is predicated of God in some positive sense), indeed, scarcely entails the affirmation of an uncreated Koran, since this involves the interpretation of a whole complex of concepts that must be defined in order coherently to support or demand any particular thesis concerning the nature of the Koran. Again, an-Nazzām and his contemporaries amongst the *mutakallimīn*, even though their thought may not have gained the sophistication and refinement of their successors in the following generations, were not simplistic or amateur theologians who were likely to be stampeded into a position simply for fear of some "confusion" with Christian doctrine. Watt's use of the term "attribute" is, in fact, loaded with the partisan interpretation of the issue by Aṣ'arite orthodoxy. In what sense, given the historical context, can one meaningfully say that the "Sunnite" theologians "came back to belief in attributes"? Just as an-Nazzām's attack on the authority of the Traditions (not discussed by Watt) at the very time the concept of their general "canonicity" was taking form, raised a problem that in the course of things was alerady resolved against him, so also his "negative theology" of the attributes was too remote from the predominant pattern in which Islamic thought was evolving ever to gain general acceptance. The somewhat radical affirmation of God's attributes by an-Nāṣī' (likewise not treated by Watt) is interesting to consider in this con-

text, particularly in view of his admiration for an-Nazzām. Most important is Watt's reference to "the outlook of the ordinary Muslim" and to "the ordinary worshipper", a notion to which he appeals in a number of contexts. One must beware of employing such a notion simplistically and thereby obscuring the configuration and complexity of the historical situation. Ibn Ḥanbal's conception and understanding of the divine attributes was no more that of the common believer than was that of the Pseudo-Denys several centuries earlier in his own community. Neither he nor Ibn Kullāb nor an-Nazzām nor abū l-Hudhayl addressed their theological reasoning to the ordinary man. The learned tradition does not follow the conception and understanding of the "common man" — though in the integration of the culture it is not altogether independent of it either — but leads and ultimately informs it. In a situation of beginnings such as is the concern of the present work, the issue is particularly complicated. Most important — to abbreviate and simplify the question — is the integration of the community's sense and understanding of itself and the significant elements of its world as these are conceived and interpreted by its intellectual leaders. To suggest, for example, that Greek philosophy's failure to take hold and gain wide adherence in Islam in the earlier period was due in part to the educational system (p. 206) is, in a sense, to invert the elements of the situation so as to give the effect for the cause, for what the learned, those who create, embody, transmit, and in time revise and renew the "great tradition" (as opposed to the "little tradition" in the anthropologists' sense) consider important and significant is what is in fact taught.

Watt's primary operative focus on political events and on the doctrines and teachings of theologians as theses having greater and lesser prestige within the government and the dominant circles rather than as systematic, theoretical understandings of the basic elements (*uṣūl*) and beliefs of Islamic faith causes a distortion in the view of the situation of the various schools at the time of their maturation. This is most conspicuous, perhaps, in his coupling of "the maturing of Sunnite theology" with "the silver age of the Mu'tazila" (Chapter 10), for the fact is that both traditions reached their maturity (not, certainly, their highest development) simultaneously. The common acceptance of the notion that the acme of Mu'tazilite intellectual and theological development was in the earlier period — prior to abū Ḥāšim and al-Ka'bī, if not the generation of al-Ḡubbā'ī — is based to a large extent, it would appear, not merely on the use of social and political factors as the measure of the theoretical development of the theological systems, but also on an uncritical reading of the evidence of the heresiographers. As Watt and others have often pointed out, a "sect" (*firqa*) may, and often does, represent the idiosyncratic teaching of a single individual. The heresiographers, moreover, tend to cite for any theologian or "sect" chiefly, if not exclusively, those doctrines (theses or formulae) that are peculiar to him, i.e., to the "sect" (or that the heresiographer finds especially offensive) and to attribute common school doctrines, to the extent that they are mentioned at all, to the individual who is held to have

originated them. Now the early period — particularly in its beginnings — is a period of formation, one in which there is and, in the nature of things, can be no established (i.e., commonly recognised and accepted) system of Islamic theology, nor any clearly determined drift, style, and order that could be recognised save to historical hindsight; on the contrary, rather, one must be built and discovered within and along together with the consolidation of the evolving religious culture. Many attempts, thus, are made by many individuals out of, amongst, and as part of the sundry elements at hand and the influences at work in forming the yet fluid and unsettled intellectual environment. As the culture progresses in defining itself — in creating and then discovering, approving and fixing its own unique intellectual and spiritual identity, progressively objectified in the formation and maturation of the "Islamic Sciences" — the number and diversity of distinct and disparate theological systems is reduced. Theological thought coalesces into more narrowly circumscribed school traditions. The plurality of Mu'tazilite "systems" recorded for the 3rd/9th century by such writers as al-Baḡdādī and aṣ-Ṣahrastānī is due not in any way to the political influence of the Mu'tazila, nor reflects the general acceptance of their doctrines, but witnesses rather the yet uncoalesced plasticity of the religious and intellectual culture. Nor, again, does this plurality and diversity of systems betoken a higher degree of intellectual effort or a higher level of speculative acuity or achievement. The historical situation is directly reflected in the major heresiographies: as the *sunni* (not in Watt's sense, but including the non-ṣī'ite followers of the Mu'tazilite tradition) theologies coalesce into well defined school traditions, the number of "sects" recorded is reduced. To compare the number of Mu'tazilites listed after the generation of al-Ḡubbā'ī in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Murtaḍā with those found in al-Baḡdādī and aṣ-Ṣahrastānī is instructive in this regard. Aṣ-Ṣahrastānī feels no need to record the doctrines of abū Ḥāšim's disciples, abū 'Abdallāh, Ibn 'Ayyāš, Ibn Ḥallād, for example, and of their successors since the teaching of the Basrian school had reached its classical form in that of abū Ḥāšim.

The central feature of the "maturation" of Islamic theology as Islamic and as theology (the "hellenisation" of the *kalām* beginning at the end of the 11th century represents a kind of mutation and, though its relationship to the *kalām* of the earlier, "classical" period — of the 10th and 11th centuries — has never been more than superficially assessed, need not be considered in the present context) is that of the rise of well defined trends or schools and, most importantly, within each school, the coherent refinement and integration of the various elements, presuppositions, concepts and constructs of the basic system into a unified theoretical view and the treatment of the principal theological issues and their corollaries in such a way that the whole, in all its relevant parts, achieved a maximal coordination with the other "Islamic sciences". The *kalām*, that is to say, could not reach its maturity as an Islamic science, i.e., achieve a (for nearly two centuries, anyhow) fixed and stable form, recognised and accepted as such by significant segments of the intellectual milieu within which theo-

logical speculation was important, without being integrated in all pertinent respects with the other Islamic sciences, most importantly grammar, philology, and law. (Exegesis and *ḥadīṭ*, as sciences, are secondary within the present perspective. Exegesis is largely dependent on philology and grammar while its theological premises and conclusions are governed by presuppositions and conclusions belonging properly to *kalām*, the *ʿilm ʿuṣūl ad-dīn*, and so also with the theological interpretation and exegesis of the *ḥadīṭ*. In this way the integration of the *kalām* with the other Islamic sciences does not require that the Muʿtazila should share the attitude of the *ahl al-ḥadīṭ* towards the theological authority and interpretation of the Traditions, but only that the canonicity of the *ḥadīṭ* be recognised in principle and that a theory of its role and function in theology and in law, as also its relation to the exegesis of the Koran, be elaborated within the framework of the system). Though Watt in several places goes to some length to draw out the growth of the law and the *ḥadīṭ* and to discuss their relation to *kalām*, he does not take up directly the role and significance of the integration of the Islamic sciences or view the general question of the maturation of the *kalām* from this perspective. (His awareness of the matter, however, would seem indicated in the discussion of the *ḥadīṭ*, pp. 205f.). Apart from the discussion of abū Hāsim's concept of the *ḥāl* (p. 300) the question of the contribution of the grammarians to the *kalām* is raised only once, viz., in the suggestion (hardly plausible, particularly if one considers the character of Arab grammatical theory and analysis) that one "factor contributing to Islamic atomism is the Arab interest in language and grammatical science which argues a more developed perception of differences and of the relation of things to words than of relatedness and of the causal relation between things" (p. 302, at the top).

Viewed from this perspective, the relative predominance of the Basrians among the Muʿtazila can be seen as a function of their closer association with — their tendency to make more direct application of concepts and ideas that had been worked out in the somewhat senior sciences of philology and grammar to their theological analysis. Some of this is already visible in the thought of abū l-Hudhayl. The doctrine of the Basrians, however, reached its maturity later and in two stages, viz., in the work of al-Ġubbāʾī (whose thought in the earliest stage of his career is significantly dependent on that of abū l-Hudhayl) and in its subsequent revision by abū Hāsim. Al-Ġubbāʾī (the partial treatment of whose doctrine by Watt — pp. 298-300 — is on the whole accurate, though the conclusion he draws from a single thesis from al-Ġubbāʾī's treatment of the question of the "*aslah*" that in his teaching "God is not bound by human conceptions of justice and injustice" is erroneous) had a profound interest in philology and grammar which is manifest in two aspects of his work. He devoted, first, a great effort and attention (not mentioned by Watt) to semantic and linguistic analysis, particularly of "the attributes" (not just God's attributes but to whatever predications are made of beings). In this, his influence on later writers was considerable; his work became normative for his successors in the Muʿta-

zila and was used and in part adopted by many of the Ašʿarites, including al-Quṣayrī who cites him and Faḥr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, who does not acknowledge the fact. On the other hand, al-Ġubbāʾī attempted to make a rather radical application of certain concepts and constructs taken from grammatical theory to the analysis and interpretation of the attributes. This, however, did not meet with acceptance in the school and because of certain major difficulties (chiefly that al-Ġubbāʾī's analysis cut off the possibility of working out an adequate ontology) abū Hāsim, mainly on the basis of his conception of the *ḥāl* (accurately described by Watt on p. 300, although he fails to note its importance to the system as a whole or that for al-Bāqillānī and al-Ġuwaynī the concept served primarily a logical and not an ontological role) revised the system in a way that involved a shift in the orientation of the whole. It is only here that the Basrian tradition of the Muʿtazila reached its "maturity", i.e., its classical form. The statement that after A.D. 850 "one might have expected the Muʿtazilites either to try to come closer to the ordinary man again or else to look for new Greek ideas" (p. 302) ignores the internal momentum and theoretical drift of the school tradition. Again, the suggestion (*ibid.*) that "after 850 the Muʿtazilites became more and more a small cotery of academic theologians cut off from the mass of the people and exercising little influence on the course of Islamic thought" is at least a trifle exaggerated, particularly in view of the number of important and influential grammarians who were adherents of the school (as is evidenced not simply in the biographical notices but also in some cases, in their grammatical writings) long after 850. It assumes, that is, a more rapidly pervasive "triumph of sunnism" and the Ašʿarite system than surely was the case.

In the thought of al-Ašʿarī that tradition which subsequently came to represent the predominant theology of *sunnī* Islam reached its "maturity", contemporaneously with that of the Muʿtazila. What was the internal process of this development is less clear, however, than is that of the Muʿtazila. Watt's suggestion of the relation of al-Ašʿarī to Ibn Kullāb (pp. 311f.) is undoubtedly correct and, in the present state of the evidence, is about all that can be said. (One might note also that al-Ġuwaynī refers to Ibn Kullāb as "one of our masters".) The formation of the Ašʿarite system and its success, however — its maturation in terms of the integration of elements, the stability of the system in its treatment of the fundamental issues and its acceptance as the theological expression of *sunnī* "orthodoxy" — forms a more complex and in some ways curiously phenomenon than Watt makes clear.

The progress of the Basrian Muʿtazila to the maturation of their theology is easily traced in an almost linear development of the theoretical conception and treatment of several basic problems, the chief of which is the ontology of the attributes (which includes the question of the objective character of the ethical qualities of acts). In the background of al-Ašʿarī's theology, however, no such clear line of development is visible. The basic elements of his "synthesis", indeed, seem already at hand; the central elements of his doctrine, that is, are already

present in nearly their essential form in the work of Ibn Kullāb, while the notion of the human act as *kasb* (the most easily "detachable" element of the system), originally formulated by Dirār, was evidently current in "orthodox" circles, as is witnessed by its adoption by al-Māturīdī, the basic conception of whose theology is notably different from that of al-Ašʿarī. What one sees in the Ašʿarite system, thus, is less the progressive development of a speculative system than the bringing together into a definitive form and configuration of already stated concepts, constructs, and positions that expressed and articulated an understanding, centered in the Koran, of several fundamental theological issues that was gaining more widespread adherence among the leading authorities in the religious sciences. The influence of Ibn Ḥanbal, who was, after all, more a theologian than a jurist, cannot be overestimated. Though the general drift of the movement necessarily involved many factors and most particularly the overall development of the several "religious sciences", one or two may be viewed as primarily operative in the process.

Because of the close relationship of law and *ḥadīṭ*, the general adoption of aš-Šāfiʿī's position regarding the role and authority of the Traditions in law, together with the construction of the corpus of canonical Traditions, was a paramount factor in the overall situation, but this hardly entailed the formulation of a theology structured along the lines of that of al-Ašʿarī, as is clear from the writings of the Muʿtazila. The crucial factor was the concomittant rise of a particular attitude towards the broader and more general theological (rather than merely legal) authority of revelation and of the relationship of "faith and reason", i.e., of the position of reason vis-à-vis the understanding of the revealed texts. The matter is more complicated than immediately appears, however, for the affirmation of and belief in the simple predominance of the authority of the revealed text to the (relatively) autonomous exercise of human reason does not as such require a particular exegesis of the text (though it may well exclude some) and certainly does not demand al-Ašʿarī's conception and analysis of the attributes and even less the affirmation, whether in his analysis or another, of the uncreatedness of the Koran. (From a purely theoretical standpoint, al-Ašʿarī could, had he been so inclined, have classed *mutakallim* as *ṣifatu fiʿlin* without causing any major perturbation within the other principal theses he affirms.) Nor is the general adoption of the thesis of the uncreatedness of the Koran simply traceable to the fact that "by the beginning of the reign of al-Mutawakkil many people were heartily sick of the endless hairsplitting discussions about the Qurʾān" (pp. 280f.). It is plain that Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ašʿarī held this position not on the basis of any simplistic and pietistic understanding but through a keen perception of its theological implications. The crux of the issue, in the final analysis, is the notion of what exactly is revealed and how: what is presented or made accessible to and for human consideration and guidance (to know and to understand what is and what is to do), how it is to be taken and in what way its significance and meaning to be grasped. To ask simply "how it is to be understood" would tend already to prejudice the

reply in a "Muʿtazilite" direction. That is to say, the doctrine of the uncreatedness of the Koran (that *mutakallim* is, in God, an "essential attribute" indicating that "speech" — including the Koran itself — belongs somehow to God's Self, His "essence": *nafs/dāt*) is, when the conceptual integration of the system is examined, seen to be the ordering thesis of the system, the fundamental conception that gives theoretical coherence to and in a sense requires both its "method" and general conception, and most of its conclusions. The basic soundness of the thrust and emphasis of Watt's presentation is thus manifest as he begins the section on "the maturing of Sunnite theology" with the question of the createdness of the Koran in "the aftermath of the miḥna" (pp. 280f.) and restricts the discussion of al-Ašʿarī's teaching to the presentation of "his rational methods" (pp. 307-310), even though he does not discuss explicitly the relationship between the two.

This view is important to our understanding of the subsequent development of theology in Islam. The Ašʿarite theology does not seem so rapidly to have taken firm hold as Watt would imply. In contrast to the Muʿtazilites, whose writers of the mid 11th century (e.g., abū Raṣīd and Ibn Mattawayh) cite a continuous series of masters from al-Ġubbāʾī and abū Hāsim, there seems to be a kind of hiatus in Ašʿarite speculation between al-Ašʿarī and the great masters of the early 11th century (al-Bāqillānī, Ibn Fūrak, and abū Ishāq al-Isfarāʾīnī) by which time the greater part of his writings may have passed out of circulation. What would appear to have happened is that al-Ašʿarī had but a small following initially (partially, no doubt, because of the audience to whom he addressed himself) and that, since the "system" does not in so fundamental a way as those of the Muʿtazilites rise out of and so depend for its coherence and meaning upon a highly elaborated speculative framework (and this is of signal importance to the adaptability of "Ašʿarite" thought from the early 12th century), such direct followers as he had felt little or no need to refine and perfect his work. In effect, al-Ašʿarī was, as it were, "rediscovered" (or simply "discovered") and his theology taken up and given further technical elaboration only later and then, in good part, under the pressure of the continued vigor of the Muʿtazilite tradition. The triumph of "Sunnite" theology, that is to say, occurred much later than the mid 10th century.

Another question that is crucial to an understanding of the evolution of the *kalām*, the parts and problems of which are too seldom set in clear perspective, is that of the influence of "Greek ideas". It is commonly held that the "outstanding service [of the Muʿtazila] to Islamic thought was the assimilation of a large number of Greek ideas and methods of argument" (p. 249) and often suggested (and not altogether incorrectly) that in some way or another the Muʿtazilite theologies were too "Greek" or too "rationalistic" to survive. This, of course, means simply that certain elements came ultimately to be found uncongenial to and were not assimilated into Islam's evolving sense and expression of its own theological understanding on the one hand and on the other that certain basic stances towards the treatment of theological questions and certain styles and methods of inquiry

and analysis similarly proved uncongenial. The matter, however, and the identification of its significant elements is not altogether simple. What does it mean to speak of "the Greek conceptions or methods of argument which lay at the heart of the distinctive Mu'tazilite position" (p. 211) or to say that "the school of the Mu'tazilites arose out of ... attempts to amalgamate the Greek rationalistic outlook with the basic religious thinking (mostly Qur'anic) of ordinary men" (p. 302), when one considers the several systems each as a whole and all together and seeks to understand their interrelations and the success and predominance of some over others? (Concerning the simple ambiguity of the term "Greek" it might be noted that the major problem of the autonomy of human reason in its consideration and treatment of the data of revelation is not in any strict sense of the term a Greek problem but, within the present context, a Patristic one, and those that hanker after "sources" and "influences" might find on the part of the learned an analogue at Nisibis to the "hanbalite" attitude towards speculation.) A few brief and quite general remarks on this problem will serve to bring out several rather interesting points that are neglected or unclarified in Watt's presentation and that might contribute to an integrated understanding of the whole.

Though a number of "Greek" elements remain in the general conception of the treatment of several major questions (only one, however, to my mind can be viewed as basically Greek in its conception — I do not suggest an immediate source — while others are plainly Patristic and without antecedent in the speculative tradition of pagan antiquity), the most conspicuous feature of the evolution of the theology of the Basrian Mu'tazila to its maturity is, as was noted above, its integration within the context of the Islamic sciences. The basic elements of the system, the fundamental concepts (and vocabulary) and also the general conception and method of analysis employed in the reasoning and argumentation is wholly Islamic and in a very real sense thoroughly Arabic. Moreover, even though they are separated by a profound divergence of conception and intention on all levels, there is between the Basrian Mu'tazila and al-Aṣ'arī (and his school until the 12th century) a clear kinship that is manifest on various planes and that becomes particularly evident as one compares their writing and thought with those of the Baghdad traditions (e.g., their vocabulary, the general treatment of the 'a'rād, their denial of the causality of the *ṭabā'i*, their specific interest in linguistic problems, as well as their handling of certain arguments and the way the conclusions are drawn). All this — not the parallelisms as such, but the general characteristics of the two systems as set within the larger framework of the Islamic sciences and the general religious culture — is of unquestionable significance in the predominance of the characteristically "Basrian" systems over those of Baghdad in which the "Greek" elements are, if not more numerous, more conspicuous. The case of al-Māturīdī is of particular interest. The writing of al-Māturīdī (and I refer exclusively to al-Māturīdī himself as seen in the *K. at-Tawḥīd* and his *tafsīr*, not to the Māturīdism of his later followers such as al-Pazdawī or at-Taftazānī, whose thought is assimilated in significant respects to the dominant Aṣ'arite

tradition) differs markedly from that of al-Aṣ'arī in a number of ways, both in its vocabulary — not in the words always so much as in the concepts they represent — and in its general conception and shows a distinct and unmistakable affinity with the Mu'tazilite tradition of Baghdad. (This is not mentioned by Watt.) The system as seen in the *K. at-Tawḥīd* is altogether more "Greek" (viz., "Patristic") in conception and tone than are any of those of Basrian origin. Symptomatically, as it were, al-Māturīdī will cite "Aristotle" approvingly in his *tafsīr*, something well nigh inconceivable on the part of any Basrian of the period. What one sees in the later development of the Māturīdite tradition (apart from any consideration of the general "hellenisation" of *sunni kalām* from the 12th century) is the loss of these elements. One witnesses, that is to say, the elimination of precisely those elements and aspects of the system that are not congenial to and assimilable with the predominant and, in essence, more "Arabic" — and because predominant, more typically Islamic — conception of the Basrians. A careful examination and consideration of the detail of this matter would shed important light on the specific character and spirit of Islamic religious thought as it developed.

I would not be unjust to Prof. Watt by undervaluing the contribution of this present volume. His focus is not on Muslim thought as such but on the way it developed: not on what developed, that is, but how. The general question is wonderfully complex in its host of elements and these he has ordered into an overall view with skill and insight. The few criticisms and suggestions made here fall within a somewhat narrower perspective — one, for that reason, easier to bring into sharper focus — and are meant only to add to, not to detract from, what he has presented.

Washington, D.C., August 1975

R. M. FRANK

* *

André RAYMOND, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*. I (Damascus 1973) pp. lv, 1-372; II (Damascus 1974) pp. 373-920. Paris, Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve). Price: NF 150.

Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle is a major work by a distinguished French Orientalist. It is original, lucid, elegant and, despite its length, concise. It is an important contribution to the economic history of the 17th-18th centuries on both the European and the Islamic plane. This may appear surprising in view of the generally accepted belief of both Western and Islamic historians that the necessary documentation is too scanty for the serious pursuit of economic history in Islam; but M. Raymond's work is a decisive refutation of this. It is, however, much more. It is, firstly, a general history of Egypt from the Ottoman conquest (1517) to the coming of the French in 1798; it is an explanation of the social and economic causes of the appalling economic collapse which made the reforms conceived under the French occupation (1798-1801) providential; it is a meticulous account of an Islamic city in which it is nevertheless appropriate to speak of proletariat, petty bour-

geoisie and grande bourgeoisie with divergent interests and genuine class conflicts; and it is a paradigmatic analysis of a backward society with self-enrichment the overriding aim, opportunities for investment almost entirely restricted to class exploitation, and the rise to power of new ethnic groups rather than the possibility of steady social advancement.

Some of the facts have been recognised: the stagnation of Egyptian industry, the lack of investment of the profits from international trade in the local market, the increasing importance of European imports and the predominance of the merchant class and the military. But they have too often been ascribed to the Ottoman domination of Egypt, which then appears as an unwillingly exploited colony. It would be unjust to attribute to this richly varied study any single thesis, but it emerges very strongly that the economic ills and injustice of Egyptian society in the 17th-18th centuries are, on the contrary, to be attributed largely to local factors. The administrative reforms following the Ottoman conquest had been mostly beneficial. The incorporation of Egypt into the Ottoman Empire gave it immediately an enormous captive market. And the crucial rôle of Cairo and the Egyptian merchants in the coffee trade with the Hijāz more than off-set any decline initiated by Portuguese exploitation of the Cape route to India.

Moreover Egypt enjoyed a considerable measure of local autonomy. Its decline — corrupt administration, onerous taxation which, nevertheless, because of tax-farming became steadily less remunerative to the State, debasement of the currency, and an insubordinate army — though paralleled by the internal decline of Turkey bore little direct relation to it. For most of the period 1660-1798 Egypt paid a yearly tribute to the Porte in *paras*, the standard Egyptian silver currency which depreciated [41] "avec le caractère inexorable d'un phénomène naturel": but Ottoman attempts to reform the coinage or to raise the amount of the tribute [45] all failed because of local opposition. On the economic side Ottoman attempts to control the steadily increasing profits of Europeans in the coffee trade and its carriage in the Mediterranean were regularly frustrated, with Egyptian connivance. The preponderance of European shipping in the Mediterranean is explicable since by travelling in convoy [169] European vessels were better equipped than the Ottoman navy to repulse the Barbary corsairs. However, in the Red Sea, which remained closed to European shipping almost till 1800, the Ottoman administration left the carriage of coffee and spices in the hands of Arab-Egyptian shipping which [115] was primitive, inefficient and dangerous. Neither politically nor economically, therefore, was Ottoman control strict enough for it to count as a major factor in the catastrophic decline of 18th century Egypt.

However, the evidence M. Raymond so adroitly uses differs in important ways from that available to European economic historians. For example, although there is some evidence that the population of Cairo remained stable throughout the 17th and 18th centuries there are no reliable basic population figures prior to the French census of 1798 [xv], since no Ottoman census figures for Egypt have yet been located in the Istanbul archives. His sources are of three main types: Egyptian historians

and contemporary travellers; the relatively complete French and Italian Consular records, which are particularly useful for the detailed figures they give for international trade [174]; and 2,230 of the notarised wills in the archives of the principal court of Cairo, the old *Maḥkama al-Shar'iyya*. The larger estates tend to be over-represented, and none of them throw light on production figures [see xvi, xxiv for further discussion of the drawbacks of such documents]. However, they are an extremely valuable, largely untapped, source for the fluctuating fortunes of the various ethnic and social groups. They are most numerous for the period 1660-1740, which determined M. Raymond's starting date. However, there are too many for piecemeal analysis and he has had recourse to sampling as follows: all documents for the periods 1624-36, 1679-1700, 1725-30, 1745-56 and 1776-98; all documents for one year per decade; a complete survey of all documents pertaining to the coffee-trade for the period 1661-1798; and analyses of prices and the coinage for the periods 1624-6 and 1661-1798. Despite his reservations the results are remarkably coherent and, in the case of the coffee trade, are borne out by the foreign Consular records.

Comparisons made on the basis of these notarised wills demanded considerable caution. The monetary system was chaotically complicated. Accounting units bore no relation to actuality. International trade used European gold or silver currency of constant fineness (Venetian ducats [*bunduqī*], Spanish reals and later Austrian thalers) which was mostly exported to the Hijāz as payment for coffee purchased [129-38, 146-53] since in this sector Egyptian exports fell far short of imports. The local currency was the *para*, a silver coin, the steady depreciation of which merits Oscar Wilde's comment on the fall of the Indian rupee. The few Ottoman attempts to reform it simply caused confusion. In 1755, for example [34-5], at least three different *paras* were simultaneously in circulation; prices were fixed in the most debased, and the most desperate opposition to the Ottoman reforms, therefore, came from the poorest classes, whose tiny resources were in debased *paras*. This massive depreciation was slightly off-set by the considerable lag in the exchange rate of the *para* against European gold and silver.

To enable comparisons between prices and estates recorded in the *Maḥkama* archives M. Raymond proposes a constant unit [liii-lv] based upon the average exchange rate of the *para* against the ducat and the real, with the period 1680-88, when the ducat was stable at 105 *paras* and the real at 50, as base, corrected by an index of the annual depreciation of the *para* [see 42 Table I]. This works adequately, he concludes, except for short periods in the 18th century when *paras* of different values were simultaneously in circulation, or when reform was attempted and an arbitrary official exchange rate fixed.

The inevitable consequence of the monetary inflation was a steep rise in prices over the whole period 1660-1798, even allowing for the depreciation of the *para*, though some irregularity was inevitable because of the unpredictability of the Nile flood which determined corn-prices which in their turn triggered off rises in the price of other foods. No regulatory mechanism was ever

devised by the government (in spite of a complex structure of Islamic law (*hisba*) governing the just price) except for the traditional draconian measures against grain-hoarding and speculation in times of crisis [105-6], which were either ineffective or unenforceable. On the other hand, prices in the export sector (by the late 18th century principally the cloth trade) apparently remained fairly constant despite increases in the cost of raw materials [79-80]. M. Raymond concludes from analysis of coffee prices over the same period that this stability was the result of the pressure of competition on the international market with, possibly, some local competition from European imports. Whatever the reason, the price squeeze in the weaving trade was a principal cause of the collapse of the Egyptian economy by 1798.

Consideration of the class-structure in 17th-18th century Cairo presupposes some familiarity with the topography of the city, which still maintained the mediaeval distinctions of quarters by trade. The sociography of Islamic cities has been a favourite pursuit of French historians of Islam since Brunschwig, Sauvaget and Le Tourneau, since in cities so crowded as Aleppo, Damascus or Fez changes of location indicate changes in the pattern or the volume of trade. M. Raymond's description of central Cairo [307 ff] (for his general purposes the area enclosed by the Fātimid walls of 1087-91) also analyses the ethnic groups which, for commercial reasons, were concentrated in particular quarters and demonstrates that topographical chance is also an important index of social change. He concludes [710-21] that changes in Central Cairo in the 17th-18th centuries are particularly related to the decline of the *muhtasib*, the all-powerful official charged with the supervision of the markets, and the only public official with any control over urban development [372]. His survey brings to light some curious facts: the rarity of Persian merchants [482]; the appearance of Central Anatolian Turkish iron-mongers in the centre [286-7], normally the focus of the luxury trades (they never assimilated, remained poor and may have been clientelae of Anatolian Janissaries who set themselves up in business); and the absence of any large Egyptian colonies elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire [201] or in the European ports principally concerned with the Egypt trade.

From this topographic survey and the Mahkama documents a coherent class structure emerges. The proletariat [386] worked for a daily wage, lived at subsistence level and had no community of interest but distress. The petty craftsmen or tradespeople, principally distinguished by an independent abode, lived mostly outside central Cairo, even when they worked inside, in rented accommodation and in shops held on short-term leases. The "middle classes" usually owned a shop with a storeroom and a domicile inside central Cairo. There was no precise dividing line between the petty craftsmen and the *shaykhs* of the guilds [396]. The grande bourgeoisie, merchants rather than manufacturers, was separated by a gulf from the lower classes, firstly, by its immense riches, mostly held in European gold or silver and, secondly, by its failure to channel back the profits from international trade into local industry. The merchants' way of life was ostentatious; non-Cairenes begin to ap-

pear as an important element [402]; but most of all they were united by complementarity of interest and inter-marriage with the military, with whom they shared the tax-farming. They were, M. Raymond concludes, the only element of Cairene society at this time in which class consciousness was significant [415].

These merchants were not efficient: without their monopoly of the Red Sea trade they would soon have been driven out of business by European competition. This inefficiency has been sometimes ascribed to Islamic disapproval of competition as socially potentially harmful and to the theoretical prohibition of lending out money at interest. However, usury was practised, normally by non-Muslims, and M. Raymond adds that for his period it even makes sense to speak of an average rate of interest of 12% [281]. Moreover, personal partnerships (*shirka*) were legal, though normally for one transaction at a time, so that they tended to be unstable or inconveniently vague. Nevertheless, there were no merchant dynasties and the case of the Sharā'ibī family which, for five generations, worked as a sort of limited company with one of the family as director and the others drawing annual dividends is apparently unique.

The primitive banking system, some prejudice against the profit motive in general, the Islamic laws of inheritance governing the division of an estate strictly in accordance with degrees of kinship, the lack of insurance [301], even though navigation in the Red Sea was notoriously dangerous, all tended to keep capital liquid and discouraged long-term investment in industry. However, alternatives were few — the purchase of rural tax-farms (*iltizām*), which harmed the peasants; building *khāns* (half market, half lodging [251-4]), which added to the profits of international trade without benefitting the Cairene economy; and *waqf* (pious foundations endowed by property which was tied in perpetuity, usually with a saving clause permitting the founder's kin to benefit from any surplus revenue, which might reach gigantic proportions; such endowments were probably more secure from arbitrary confiscation, but were highly vulnerable to inflation). M. Raymond perhaps over-emphasises the importance of *waqf* in Cairene mercantile investment, since in Ottoman Cairo the greater part of the centre was already *waqf* and the cheapness of urban property (a flour-mill [224-5] cost only one fortieth and a sugar refinery one tenth of a *khān*) evidently reflected a low return on investment. Moreover, craftsmen were entitled to hereditary security of tenure upon payment of a standard tax (*gedik*), so that any sale of property must have involved masses of sitting tenants. Not unnaturally, the rich turned to conspicuous consumption. This partly explains the marked deficit of the Europe trade by the late 18th century and the concentration of imports upon luxuries [184] — woollen cloth, Venetian glass, amber and spices (of which Egypt had formerly been the major exporter), paper and iron-mongery (perhaps weapons [cf. 287]). So even the merchants' massive expenditure was of minimal local benefit.

The artisans [396, 237] who comprised half the active labour force of Cairo were economically much less privileged. Oddly enough, since technology had remained at a standstill since the Ottoman conquest and was pri-

marily labour-intensive, businesses remained very small [218 ff.] and no craftsmen apparently made any attempt to combine and benefit from economies of scale. The fragmentation of industry was paralleled by the proliferation of guilds (*tā'ifa/tawā'if*) — there is no better English equivalent, though they lacked two essential functions of their European counterparts, namely, mutual benefit and the control [566] of what their members produced — generally corresponding to the geographical location of groups of craftsmen. Since most crafts were hereditary apprenticeship was non-contractual [545]; and although in the skilled trades it was usual to submit a master-piece before recognition as a master-craftsman this requirement was futile in the absence of subsequent control over the quality of workmanship. The guilds, headed by a *shaykh*, were a closed shop, "foreigners" being excluded, and their monopolies [582 ff.] discouraged innovation and thus contributed to the economic stagnation of 18th century Egypt.

In view of the considerable disagreement among Islamic historians regarding the importance and functions of such guilds M. Raymond deliberately restricts his discussion of them to Ottoman Egypt, defining them as "urban groups exercising the same trade under the authority of a *shaykh*" [507]. This eliminates the Giza guilds [516] and the merchants; but it does not eliminate Christians, who could hold any office but that of *shaykh*, as he demonstrates [524-5] against Baer, with whose general conclusions he otherwise agrees: in the 17th-18th centuries it was exceptional for religion to be a criterion of membership of a guild. This is significant because admission to a guild involved an admission ceremony [536-40] with *inter alia* a catechism on the *futuwwa*, which was originally a Muslim code of honour. Had this been more than a meaningless ritual Christians could scarcely have participated; conversely, it demonstrates that the *shaykhs* were essentially the administrative and fiscal agents of the government. The proliferation of guilds was therefore essentially an extension of government control and explains why even the tobacco trade, which was only introduced into Egypt in the 18th century, was similarly fragmented [217].

On many aspects of these guilds M. Raymond is refreshingly agnostic. He is not disposed to see the *futuwwa* ritual as indigenous to Egypt [529] and suggests that if it came with the Ottomans in 1517 there is ample evidence that by the 17th century it had lost all sense in Cairene life [529-40]. Nor is there any evidence that guilds fostered political unity [440, 449]. M. Raymond, like Baer, is also rightly sceptical of the conventional assumption of an association between guilds and particular *Ṣūfī* orders. At least for the period 1660-1798 it is an anachronism; but it may also be a more serious misinterpretation [504] of the fact that guilds and *Ṣūfī* orders tend to have hierarchies of similarly named officials. Many artisans, or *shaykhs* of guilds, indeed belonged to *Ṣūfī* orders [437], but this was essentially a personal matter and there is no evidence that the connexion of a *shaykh* with an order had any effect on the members of his guild.

The privileges of belonging to a guild are difficult to assess. They were evidently held to exist, since *shaykhs* had the power of expelling recalcitrant members. How-

ever, the guild structure included even the dregs of Cairene society, inn-keeping and winemaking, occupations barely tolerated in Islam (here, exceptionally, religion was a criterion of membership), and one may wonder what the consequences of expulsion from such guilds would have been. Price-fixing, though nominally the prerogative of the *muhtasib* or the *Āghā* of the *Mustahfiẓān*, probably involved prior consultation with the *shaykh*, who may also have stipulated the pay for workers conscripted into government service. Although it is commonly asserted that the guilds looked after their needy members no funds were held for the purpose [567-8]. Just what happened to the weavers [79-80] in the collapse of the Egyptian economy is, therefore, unclear. The guild system probably made bankruptcy impossible; but it also prevented them from taking up another trade.

For the most part the privileges lay on the side of the *shaykhs* [560] who were responsible to the government for the good conduct of their members and for the collection of taxes or arbitrary dues, which were levied not individually but upon the guild as a whole. As a class they were not especially privileged [556, 582], though they very probably levied a percentage upon the taxes collected and also charged their members certain statutory dues. However, they did little to prevent injustice. They were under constant pressure from their richer members to dispense them from their due share of the burden, and the French fiscal reforms of 1799 contained explicit provision against *shaykhs* extorting the greater part of the taxes imposed upon the guild from its poorer members.

Mention must also be made of two other groups, the *'ulamā*, headed by the *Shaykh al-Azhar*, and the minorities, Egyptian and "foreign". The *'ulamā* was the only career open to the talents [417], though there was a marked tendency for the highest positions to become hereditary. They were respected [429-33] as the traditional protectors of the people against governmental injustice and in their turn were expected to control popular discontent. However, the great *shaykhs* associated with al-Azhar drew no salaries, which led them to engage in trade, particularly the coffee trade [423], or to amass considerable fortunes from small investments in urban property [429]. By the 18th century they were mainly linked to the upper classes, by marriage and trade, so that their interests in times of crisis lay with the government.

In the remaining groups M. Raymond makes two important distinctions: between the Egyptian non-Muslims (Copts, Armenians, Greeks and Jews) or the non-Egyptian Muslims who, with the exception of the Turkish colony, were not regarded as foreigners; and the non-Egyptian non-Muslims (French and Italian, but particularly Syrian Christians) who decidedly were. In 1798 the total non-Egyptians, Muslims and non-Muslim, constituted only an eighth to a sixth of the population of central Cairo, but over the previous twenty years their wills notarised in the Mahkama archives form a quarter of the whole and 42% of the total value of all estates.

Of the Egyptian non-Muslims the Copts [456-7] were principally important in the bureaucracy, while the Armenians [500], like the Karaite community [459],

were mostly jewellers or watch-makers. 17th-18th century Egypt seems to have been exceptionally tolerant towards non-Muslims. This makes the so far unexplained decline of the powerful Jewish colony in central Cairo [487], the bankers, international financiers and great tax-farmers of Egypt, especially remarkable. In 1786 'Ali Bey divested them of most of their power, removing control of the Customs and much *iltizām* from their hands. The Jewish community was evidently temporarily crushed by this blow since in Kléber's projected fiscal reform of Egypt (1799) it was allotted only one forty eighth of the total tax-farms of the country.

By far the richest non-Egyptian Muslim community in Cairo was North African [470-3], mostly merchants, whose estates between 1700 and 1725 averaged as much as a quarter of a million *paras*. Their numbers and wealth directly reflected the scale of Egyptian trade with the Maghrib. Their *riwāq* was one of the most important in al-Azhar and in 1736 they even emerged victorious from a confrontation with the *muhtasib*. The Palestinian and Syrian Muslims [476-81] were almost as rich but were less numerous and, despite their monopoly of basic commodities like soap, declined between 1750 and 1798 at the expense of the Syrian Uniates [486-94] (that is, the Greek Catholics, whom the European sources generally fail to distinguish from the Maronites).

In 1724 the Syrian Uniates broke away from the Greek Orthodox church. Twenty years later they formed a large colony at Rosetta and were already deep in the European trade, initially as middlemen but with ramifications all over the Mediterranean, which soon enabled them to challenge the long-established European monopoly. From 1769 they took over the Egyptian Customs from the Jews, remaining safe from Muslim reprisals by the financial dependence of 'Ali Bey's successors upon them, though they were not exempt from the forced loans regularly demanded by the government from the merchants. They gained control of the cloth trade, first with the Hijāz, then with Venice and Leghorn: this strengthened their links with the European merchants and explains their participation in European demands for the opening of the Red Sea to foreign trade. Finally in 1788 they were recognised as an independent minority (*millet*) within the Ottoman Empire with their own Melkite patriarch. Ironically, the Greeks of Cairo, headed by the Orthodox patriarch, who remained in good standing throughout the period and who had violently opposed the Melkites' secession were then subordinated for administrative purposes to the Syrian community. The Syrians' average estates eventually came to exceed those of the great Maghribi merchants, and they lived on a colossal scale in houses valued, by themselves, in 1800 at a quarter of a million *paras* [494]. Their rise led to the development of the Ġamāliyya quarter in the Northern sector of the walled city of Cairo. But they did nothing to reinvest their profits in local industry and their spectacular rise to power had, therefore, no effect upon the economy of Cairo.

M. Raymond ends with a detailed consideration of the tax system and the extent to which each class benefitted, or suffered, from it. The Porte lost steadily:

despite the depreciation of the *para* and repeated injunctions the annual tribute remained at about twenty million *paras*, ultimately being suspended altogether, and the revenues from the sale of tax-farms likewise remained fixed [653]. In an effort to supplement them the Porte sanctioned the creation of urban tax-farms (*muqafa'āt*) [see 648 for a detailed break-down of goods and markets and the dues paid], but there is little evidence that it benefitted much from them. Instead they opened the way to the exploitation of Cairo by the military and the Mamlūks. Virtually all categories of production, including vice, were tapped by innumerable monopolies, octrois, levies and protection rackets (*himāya*) [691-2]. The system was inefficient, burdensome and complicated and every conceivable abuse associated with tax-farming practised by every stratum of society, except by those too poor to do anything but pay up [609-35]. Those who profited most from these urban farms were the Janissaries who, at the height of their power, [657] came to control more than half the revenue from them. The total taxes paid cannot be evaluated since the Ottoman registers give only the amounts received by the Treasury. But it can easily be demonstrated [652] that four to five times this figure was actually paid by the Cairene population.

One circumstance may have lightened the appalling burden upon the lesser tradespeople, the decline of the Janissaries. The original prohibitions against marriage [664-71] had been relaxed and the regiment opened to free-born Muslims. It therefore became possible for the tradespeople of Cairo to enter Turkish regiments which by 1700 controlled virtually all the Muslim craftsmen of Cairo, either directly or through the *shaykhs* of the guilds: in 1725-30, the peak of the Janissaries' power, 72% of the Maḥkama documents analysed and 96% of the total estates were "Janissary" [669]. Conversely, the steady depreciation of the *para* led the Turkish Janissaries or their children to engage in trade almost as soon as they arrived in Cairo. The links between the military and the craftsmen were so strong that, M. Raymond notes, only in the late 18th century, when power passed decisively to the Beys, did a real gulf between tradespeople and soldiers appear.

The merchants reacted in a slightly different way. Some communities, notably the Maghribis, the Syrian Christians and the *shaykhs* of al-Azhar succeeded in putting themselves beyond the control of the *muhtasib*. But other merchants, probably deliberately, penetrated the army through their white Mamlūks, freed slaves who owed their manumission their first loyalty [579]. In the army they often reached high rank [682], in contrast to the Turkish soldiers [680-1] who worked their way into the merchant class but rarely advanced beyond minor employment. Alliances between merchants and the Mamlūks were cemented both ways, and the genealogy of the historian 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī (1753-1824 or 1825) an illuminating illustration of these interconnections [686]. By the late 18th century alliances between merchants and the military were so much taken for granted that [710] European contemporaries found difficulty in distinguishing the two.

If in the light of this one asks who actually benefitted from the taxes and dues controlled by the military the

answer is by no means clear. Initially, even at the lowest level, M. Raymond suggests [702]; military service provided a sort of annuity; later, even when no longer directly remunerative, it protected the serving soldier to some extent from the control of the *muhtasib*, which gave him some freedom to fix his own prices, and even from the civil power [702-3]. The Janissaries' protection-rackets (*himāya*) were essentially security against other arbitrary measures and were a definite improvement upon the expedients of the 16th and 17th century Pāshās of Egypt to raise ready cash [706]; moreover, the tradespeople *qua* soldiers may themselves have benefitted from these exactions to some extent. The military connexion goes some way to explain the undoubted prosperity of the artisanate between 1760 and 1700; while the continuing power of the Janissaries up to their fall in 1760 clearly owes much to their close relationship with the merchants and the tradespeople.

However, a crucial change came with the 18th century when rural tax-farms (*iltizām*) also began to pass into the hands of merchants. As the power of the military decreased the merchants strengthened their hold, a move from production to parasitism upon the country which is another significant factor in the decline and fall of the Egyptian economy. M. Raymond's final two chapters [727-808] are a grim recital of the merchants' attempts to establish their power through their creatures, the Mamlūks. They became independent, ousted the Turkish regiments in 1760 from their semi-protective rôle, and in thirty years of intestine feuds, extortion, civil war and oppression which left the population [801] nostalgic for the days of Ottoman rule brought Egypt to its knees.

The only factor in the decline of the Egyptian economy upon which M. Raymond reserves comment is the probable drain of craftsmen to Istanbul, which remained the centre of patronage throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. His reserve is justified since, paradoxically, much less is known of the artefacts of this period, in either Egypt or Turkey, than of the 12th-14th centuries. However, this entitles the reviewer to cavil at one small point, namely his reliance upon the *Description de l'Égypte* as the final word upon the evident decline of craftsmanship in 17th-18th century Egypt [206-7]. The luxury products of 13th-14th century Egypt were probably already in decline by the early 15th century. This was not known when the *Description de l'Égypte* was published (1822), and contemporary European ignorance of Islamic art is particularly evident in its treatment of pottery. Chabrol (1822) is cited [340] as evidence that coffee cups, both porcelain and earthenware, were imported from Germany. This in itself is no evidence for local decline, since at all periods luxury wares have been imported into Egypt. However, the Kūtahya factories in 18th century Turkey produced innumerable coffee cups and saucers, some of them strongly influenced by Meissen shapes. Kūtahya wares were certainly imported into Egypt in large quantities, but there is no material evidence for German imports at all, and it is highly probable that Chabrol mistook Kūtahya for Meissen. Although, therefore, there is a natural presumption that all craftsmanship declined the evidence for this is now extremely difficult to assemble.

In 1798 the Egyptian economy was in a state of col-

lapse. M. Raymond's detailed survey of Cairo in the preceding period demonstrates that the collapse was largely the result of internal factors even if the periodicity of economic crises inside Egypt rather surprisingly reflects the international crises of the 18th century [106]. Egyptian society in the 17th-18th centuries was neither closed nor ruthlessly exploited by a foreign power. Through alliances by trade or marriage at all levels there was a considerable measure of integration between the Turkish occupying forces and the merchants and tradespeople of Cairo, even if the military in the main benefitted from the association. It is, he concludes, not fortuitous [726] that the peak of the Janissaries' power coincided with the height of the commercial prosperity of Cairo. Sir Hamilton Gibb, in the preface to the first volume of his translation of the Travels of the 14th century traveller, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, remarked "Homesickness was hardly to be expected in a society as cosmopolitan as that of mediaeval Islam". The absence of any large Egyptian colony abroad suggests that, at least in the 17th-18th centuries, this was no longer entirely true. However, M. Raymond has shown that, contrary to the received view, up to 1760 his Cairenes might well have gone further and fared worse.

American University in Cairo,
September 1975

J. M. ROGERS

* * *

Rouchdi FAKKAR, *L'influence française sur la formation de la presse littéraire en Égypte au XIX^e siècle. Aux origines des relations culturelles contemporaines entre la France et le monde arabe*. Paris, Librairie Geuthner, 1972 (8vo, 177 pp.). Price: 24 F.

Rouchdi Fakkār has excellent credentials: a graduate of Al-Azhar University in Cairo and the Universities of Paris and Geneva, he is now a Professor at the University of Rabat. He is also the author of *Al-Hilāl et la pensée progressive en Europe* (Cairo, 1959) and *Réflexions sur l'Islam: fondements de croyance et aspect social* (Paris, 1972).

The book under review deals with an important subject — French influence on the nineteenth-century literary press in Egypt. For its preparation the author has perused an impressive amount of materials, including rare issues of periodicals (mostly discontinued) in Egyptian and French libraries. The result is an examination of one of the few unresearched aspects of the cultural consequences of the 1798 French Expedition into Egypt.

After having listed the French periodicals published in Egypt during the nineteenth century, Professor Fakkār shows how they imitated their counterparts appearing in France. He argues convincingly that they were concerned much more with the French scene than what was going on in Egypt, in literature, criticism and intellectual life in general, including music and the plastic arts. The French press in Egypt was more extensive than the Italian or the Greek, and also than the English. This was largely due to the support the French press gave to the Egyptian nationalist movement, particularly after the British Occupation in 1882.

All the above, while highly interesting, can hardly claim to be original. What one would have liked to have read more of — in more concrete terms — is the tracing of French influence on the Arabic press in Egypt. Fakkar has attempted this, but in a somewhat roundabout way, not always conclusive. For instance, he quotes a number of translated passages in *al-Hilāl* and other Arabic journals, then lists several Arabic translations of Racine, Molière, Jules Verne and others. While this is useful, it hardly shows the direct impact on the Arabic press. The same holds good of what Fakkar thinks are Arabic translations of French terms and phrases in the Arabic press. He lists three examples: "to kill time", "to play a role", and "to read on someone's face". These could equally have been borrowed from the English as from the French.

In other words, Fakkar does demonstrate that a sizable number of Egyptian journalists had a French cultural background and, probably under French influence, that they introduced the article, or *maqāla*, into the Arabic press. He fails however to fully satisfy the reader's curiosity about how the French impact was reflected in style and language. For this purpose, a detailed, thorough contents' analysis is required, and one regrets that such a well-qualified investigator as Fakkar has not undertaken it. Only in this way could one get a true picture of the real role of the French component — versus the Arabic — in the makeup of the Arabic press in Egypt.

The book was originally presented as a doctoral thesis at the University of Paris in 1956, and it seems that the author did not try to update it when it was published sixteen years later. The bibliography reaches only until 1955, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is quoted only in its first edition, although three large volumes of the second edition had been in print by the time Fakkar's study appeared. Most of the sources used are in Arabic and French, with a very few in German and none in English, although I. L. Gendzier's *The practical visions of Ya'qūb Ṣanū'* (Harvard University Press, 1966) would have proven useful.

Lastly, the book's value is marred by some mistakes — such as Yaqub ben Sanua (pp. 83-84) instead of Ya'qūb Sanua — and numerous typographical errors. In German, nouns like *literatur* (*sic*) should begin with a capital letter. On page 80, the date 1824 should read 1842 (as on page 90). On page 84, note 18, Zu'mā' should read Zu'amā'. The bibliography contains many errors, especially in the transliteration of Arabic words into French. Examples: Firinsiya (Faransiya or Fransiya), taṭawur (taṭawwur), 'awawal ('awwal), fan (fann), maqālat (maqālāt), diwān (dīwān), al-Tāsi' 'aṣr (al-Tāsi' 'aṣar).

These comments notwithstanding, Fakkar's book is a useful contribution, and should find a place in all libraries specializing in the modern Middle East.

Jerusalem, January 1975 JACOB M. LANDAU

* *

Robert Brenton BETTS, *Christians in the Arab East. A Political Study*. Athens, Lycavettus Press, 1975 (Pp. 293 & two maps).

The author of this significant study of the social and

political involvements of the Christians in the Arab East is well known to many scholars of the Eastern Mediterranean political scene. Dr. Robert Brenton Betts received his graduate degrees from John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in International Relations and Middle East Studies under Professor Majid Khadduri. As a research analyst in Arabic he worked at the Library of Congress and later served as a foreign service officer of the State Department in Kuwait. *Christians in the Arab East* is the product of years of intense research of an often neglected area, of the social and political contributions of the Christian minorities in Egypt and the regions of the Fertile Crescent.

No reader will dispute the timeliness of this volume as statesmen and businessmen in the Western world concentrate their attention upon the political and economic developments in the Middle East. The emergence of Arab Nationalism, the complexities of the Arab-Israeli confrontation and the role of many Arab nations in the oil producing community, these and other recent developments have made it increasingly imperative for responsible citizens in the Western world to attain a maximum understanding of the political, social and religious compositions of the Arab East. As one Western diplomat said some time ago: "For the next few months our eyes will be focused upon the developments in the Middle East. The destiny of Western civilization may depend upon the way things will turn out in the Arab world".

Dr. Betts political study of the roles and functions of the Christians in the Arab East traces their heroic and uncompromising struggle for survival throughout the centuries, from the early beginnings until 1975, from the humble missionary efforts of the 4th century Arian priest Theophilus who raised three churches in Arabia Felix — the modern Yemen — to the political involvements and intrigues of such outspoken supporters of the Palestinian cause as the Melkite Archbishop of Jerusalem, the Rt. Rev. Hilarion Capucci, arrested in August 1974 for having illegally transported arms for the Palestinian guerrilla movement. Anyone interested in the manifold religious and cultural networks in the Arab East from the Iraqi Chaldaeans and Assyrians on the banks of Mesopotamia's Euphrates and Tigris to the Egyptian Copts in the Nile Valley will find this volume a reliable and informative source. As a handy up-to-date work it surpasses previous attempts, most of which are restricted to a particular political area or limited to a specific historical period.

In the opening discussion on the history of Christianity among the Arabs and Arabised peoples of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, the reader is introduced to the religious and political situation which prevailed in the Arab World during the pre-Islamic era, and attention is focused upon the early missionary movements of the Nestorian and Monophysite communities expanding from the Fertile Crescent to the East. For most Christians in the Arab East the millenium following the 7th century Arab Conquest was a period of trials and tribulations, of hardships and political and economic difficulties. Western cultural and economic expansion during the 19th century introduced to the Arab East many of the liberal and egalitarian principles of the period. Moreover, the unprecedented tolerance of Muhammad Ali,

motivated by his desire to bring backward Egypt and later Syria into the 19th century, offered Christians new opportunities in the cultural, economic and political life. In some regions of the empire there was little change in the relationships between the Ottoman state and the Christian minorities, in other places, however, the new humanistic ethos assisted in providing the Christians with a liberating sense of identity. What Dr. Betts called "the Revival 1798-1918" was in fact the collective pursuit for political and religious recognition by the government, which was cruelly crushed by wide-scale persecutions of millions of Armenians, Jacobites, Syrian Catholics, Nestorians and Chaldaeans by the Turks during the First World War. The following period between the First and the Second World War was marked by a concentrated acceleration towards national independence, and it is noteworthy that the Christians in the Nile Valley and in the Fertile Crescent countries played not only an important but often even a decisive role for the attainment of these goals.

In his discussion of the religious demography of Egypt and the other Arab countries, the widely ranging ecclesiastical spectrum of the Christian minorities is displayed with historical precision, led by the Greek Orthodox with their ancient patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. There are the Jacobites or Syrian Orthodox, the Syrian Catholics and Maronites in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq who constitute a significant political force, while the Copts of Egypt represent the largest Christian group in the Arab East. Depending on the Egyptian census statistics, Dr. Betts speaks of 2.5-3 million Copts, a figure which should be increased by another 2 million, even without falling into the extreme position of some Copts who estimate their population in terms of 6 or 7 million. In Iraq there are the Nestorians or Assyrians and the Uniate community of the Chaldaeans, while scattered throughout the Arab East we find a large number of Armenian communities, Orthodox, Catholic and Evangelical, which emerged during and after the First World War.

Following this concise historical introduction of "Who is Who", Dr. Betts focuses his attention upon each Arab country beginning with Egypt and, moving eastward, analyses the demography of Palestine-Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf and Turkey. Well prepared and informed by the historical and sociological groundwork, the reader is introduced to the major thesis of the work with a lucid presentation of the role of the Christians in the present-day social structure of the Arab East and their participation in the secular and political life of the region. "The involvement of individual Arab Christians in the internal politics of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and even Israel, both within and outside the accepted governmental framework, has been a feature of the Arab East since independence, and this movement can be traced back over a century to the first stirrings of Arab Nationalism, the original exponents of which were in fact Levantine Christians".

For the student of Middle Eastern Affairs the chapter on the Christian Arabs and the Palestinian conflict may be the most significant contribution of this scholarly undertaking. By tracing the major events and describing the principal personalities of the Arab Christian invol-

vement in the Palestine issue, the reader is reminded of the deep passions which many Arab Christians share regarding the present Arab-Israeli conflict. What are the prospects for the Christian minorities in the Arab East? The degree of identification with the national aspirations of the Arab world will undoubtedly determine the degree of full acceptance and integration in a modern egalitarian Arab society.

Dr. Betts *Christians in the Arab East* — strongest in his analysis of the Lebanese and Syrian situation — provides important information and source material for anyone interested in Middle Eastern politics, and many of the detailed demographic statistics are made available here for the first time in the English language. The author does not disguise his political and religious leanings in the various conflict situations, whether Christian-Islamic or Arab-Israeli, for which he is to be congratulated.

Athens, March 1975

OTTO MEINARDUS

* *

T. G. BIBBY (with one chapter by Holger KAPEL), *Preliminary Survey in East Arabia 1968. (Reports of the Danish Archeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf. Volume Two)*. Jutland Archeological Society Publications Volume XII, 1973 (1974) (1 vol. in-4^o, 67 pp., 66 figs.). Price: 60 Dkr.

In this brief second volume of the Reports of the Danish Archeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf, Mr. T. G. Bibby presents the results of an archaeological survey carried out in 1968 in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia. Previous to this date the Danish Bahrain Expedition had made three very short visits to the Eastern Province in 1963, 1964 and 1965 (KUML 1964: 86-111; ID. 1965: 133-152; ID. 1966: 75-95; Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun* 1970: 307-328; 363-383).

The following detailed discussion of the main results of the Danish activities in Saudi Arabia, may appear unwarranted by the brevity of Mr. T. G. Bibby's report. However, I have taken into account the unfortunate paucity, to date, of publications dealing with the Danish archaeological work in the Gulf area, and for this reason feel that the work should receive full attention. Also the Jutland Archeological Society Publications Volumes may have a fairly restricted circulation amongst orientalist in general.

In this preliminary report, the excavator deals with small-scale cuttings and sondages, carried out within 12 weeks at four sites of suspected promise, and incorporating the results of a general survey of the area within reach of these four sites.

Under a separate heading Holger Kapel has commented on the Stone Age flint sites and the Report ends with an account of the discovery of an Ubaid III site at al-Dosiriya lying c. 12 kms. southeast of Jubail.

The four sites investigated by the Danish Expedition are Thāj situated some 160 kms. west-north-west of Dhahran; Tarut island lying off Qatif on the mainland of Saudi Arabia; Uqair and its northern surroundings south-south-west of Bahrain island; and the oasis of Yabrin positioned c. 368 kms. inland from Uqair.

Thāj. A summary of various earlier descriptions and investigations of this town, bracket the duration of its occupation between the late first to mid third centuries A.D. and Islamic times¹). A discussion of the variously shaped artificial mounds in the near vicinity follows, and this leads to an account of the three weeks' exploration of the site.

A reconnaissance revealed that the walled area of the city of Thāj has a quadrilateral plan and that the fortification system consists of a wall of c. 2545 metres, constructed of square ashlar limestone blocks and a rubble core. Two square southwest and southeast corner towers with a projection of some 6.6 metres are revealed and it can be conjectured that the lay-out of the outer wall was originally furnished with two further corner towers. Along the southern and eastern outer walls rectangular turrets measuring 6.6 x 4.4 metres could be traced at regular intervals (33 metres and 40-45 metres). No gateways could so far be identified. Ashlar limestone house walls were found within the boundary of the city walls and also in an apparently unfortified living quarter southeast of the city proper. No detailed town or street plan emerged from the maze of foundations and neither was there evidence of particularly outstanding constructions.

The report mentions "two very large stone-built wells some six metres in diameter" which lie "Immediately south of the city and to the west of the 'suburb'". No date is mentioned but from the description of the complexity of the irrigation system connected with it one is led to believe a possible contemporaneity with the affluent period of Thāj. The presence of water may well have been a factor of importance in the very existence of a city of this size so far inland.

A sondage pit measuring 2 x 2 metres with a total depth of c. 5 metres provided 16 levels. It was carried out in the southeast corner of the city and cut into the south wall which proved to stand on a projecting foundation.

The finds from this sondage pit, which are reported to be "uniform all the way down", consisted for the greatest part of broken terra cotta figurines of females (males are rare) and animals, mainly Arabian camels (average height 10-18 cms.²), 2 "miniature altars" and an accumulation of pottery and pottery sherds.

The fragmentary clay figurines (red or buff with a cream slip) appear to be of the same variety as those which have been previously collected from this site by various persons including Bibby himself (Bibby 1970:

322). The representations which are flat based, show naked women in a kneeling posture and holding their breasts. The faces are sketchily modelled but the female characteristics are well accentuated. Whenever represented, these females have an elaborate hair-do, "including three plaits, one down the back and one along each shoulder". Occasionally impressed circle patterns indicate the presence of elaborate necklaces. They are all of a small size, 10-14 cms. and only "exceptionally up to twice this size".

The small square incense burners (or "miniature altars"), 8-10 cms. wide, which are also frequently encountered on the surface of the site (see e.g. Parr 1964: nos. 11-12; Bibby 1970: 322), are mostly made of clay, though occasionally of steatite, and stand on 4 square, short legs and their sides may bear incised geometrical patterns.

The uniformity of the excavated levels is again stressed by the fact that "even the two 'altar' fragments occurred in the lowest and the second highest levels respectively", and the report goes on to say that "probably each house had a shrine-group consisting of a figure of the goddess, one or more camels, and an incense burner".

The buff, reddish, brown to red or gray coloured pottery fragments, sometimes gravel- or straw tempered (Bibby Types 2a and 4a respectively) and occasionally with a cream slip (Bibby Type 1), have been grouped by Bibby into 9 Types (Bibby: 20-24, Figs. 15-16). They fall into four major categories:

1) (Bibby Type 1) a tall slender vessel with a well-defined "trumpet-shaped" neck and a solid "rolled rim". The base seems almost certainly to have been rounded and the average recorded height is 40-50 cms.

Fragments of a vase of this category bearing a cursive "Aramaic-like" inscription in black paint on the shoulder were apparently found associated with sherds of Bibby Type 3 bowls on the one hand, and with a recessed, though empty cist grave with a stone slab bearing a "South Arabian" inscription³), reused as its headstone, on the other. This cist grave lay "on the southwestern limestone knolls ringing the Thāj depression".

2) (Bibby Types 2a-c) a kind of wide- or open-mouthed cooking bowl with a roundish curved profile, "often showing pronounced ridges from finger-pressure during turning".

The bases are described as "generally round-based, though occasional flat bases are encountered". The rims are short and slightly outturned, some of them even have a distinct ridge on their inside. Their height varies normally from 10-20 cms. Occasionally these bowls (Bibby Type 2b = generally gray coloured) have a rather distinct shoulder often associated with "3 raised horizontal ridges as handles at the widest part, the ridges

³) In the course of the reconnaissance at Thāj in 1968 two more stone slabs with "South Arabian" inscriptions were found in addition to the "Gravestones with inscriptions in Nabatean script" (which) "were seen built into the house of the modern village" (KUML 1964: 110). The latter inscriptions are also mentioned in Bibby's 1970 publication where he calls them Sabaeen and dates this "South Arabian" script to "about 800 B.C. to about A.D. 400" (Bibby 1970: 321-322).

being 6-7 cms. long and often decorated in "chain-ridge" pattern".

3) (Bibby Types 3-8). These bowls are fairly wide, mostly straight-sided and, judging by the drawings, they seem to be of varying height and differing grades of shallowness. When recorded the bases are flat but there is much variation in the rim shapes. Some are inwardly rolled, others slightly rounded and incurving. Yet other types range from a simple to a flaring rim, or have a more or less vertical one, or even a rim fashioned at an inward oblique angle. Occasionally there is "a slight offset between the rim and the body of the bowl, or a decoration of one or two impressed lines at this juncture". (Bibby Type 3). Bibby Type 3 may well have been used for ritual purposes since the excavator discovered in three different levels of the sondage pit, that these bowls (6 in total) were used in pairs, one turned upside down on top of the other. In all cases they only contained fine sand. Their position very near the city wall, "in some cases touching the masonry and never more than 10 cms. away" causes Bibby to refer to the "snake offerings" of City IV at Qala'at al-Bahrain, which he dates to the 1st half of the 1st millennium B.C. (Bibby 1970: Fig. on p. 163, Pl. 17A). The exception in this group is Bibby Type 4 which shows a rather more curved profile and "a slight shoulder below the rim, often decorated with a groove".

4) (Bibby Type 9) a larger kind of thick-rimmed vessel with outwardly sloping walls. (Only encountered in three rim fragments).

A very limited number of all the pottery examples recovered from this sondage pit differs from the above mentioned types. However, Bibby does mention a small proportion of glazed ware, for the most part "two-sided glazed", originally of a greenish colour. This is a thin ware in which shallow bowls appear to be prominent. They have either "incurved rims" (Bibby Type 6), "or straight-sided with a downward-expanded rim, or straight-sided with a vertical edge, sometimes decorated with grooving. Bases were flat, or slightly concave, with the exception of one very deep ring-base" (see below).

Incised decorative patterns occur occasionally, mostly consisting of an incised "sawtooth" decoration set between parallel bands. Painted ware was uncommon but radially strip-burnished sherds were encountered — one example being black-painted gray ware — and half a dozen sherds bearing terracotta red paint above a cream slip. No patterned painted decoration was found but during the 1968 reconnaissance as well as during previous visits to Thāj in 1963 and 1964 (KUML 1964: 110; Id. 1965: 150) fragments of small Attic black-on-red ring-based plates or bowls — some with a 'roulette' pattern — had been picked up in the cemetery area, which lies on the higher ground, e.g. the upward slopes of the valley surrounding the ancient site of Thāj on the west, the south and the east.

It is the presence of this imported Greek pottery⁴),

⁴) After the publication of Mr. J. P. Mandaville's article "Thāj: A pre-Islamic site in Northeastern Arabia", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Number 172, 1963: 9-20, the handle

which apparently was not encountered in the sondage, and "the general resemblance of the bowls, particularly the radially-burnished red and black-painted bowls", to the City V levels at Qala'at al-Bahrain and to the "Greek" tell on Failaka", which provides Bibby with a date within the "Hellenistic" period, "roughly 300 B.C.-100 A.D.". The excavator sees the absence of Roman or Nabatean wares combined with the occurrence (on the surface?) of 'Attic' import ware (4th-3rd cent. B.C.) as an indication for a narrowing of the date for Thāj to 300-100 B.C.

Some illustrations of the glazed bowls which seem to point to the presence of Parthian pottery in this sondage pit and the results of the C-14 samples taken in 1968 from the ash layers below the wall and from the "upper destruction levels" (p. 17) would have been a great help in verifying this suggested date of 300-100 B.C.⁵). Moreover the present lack of publication of the material from City V of Qala'at al-Bahrain and from the "Greek" tell on Failaka Island, renders it somewhat useless to scholars to point out resemblances and parallels with the Thāj finds. In addition the assumption of a pre-Roman date based on the absence of Roman wares in a 2 x 2 m² sondage needs a word of warning. Roman glass found in graves on Bahrain in association with green glazed Parthian pottery⁶) has pushed up the date of Bibby's Seleucid (currently given the title "Hellenistic") City V to at least the second half of the first century A.D., although neither Bibby's surface collections nor his excavated material from Bahrain had, to my knowledge, so far contained anything Roman.

The reconnaissance of the Danish Expedition carried out in the higher areas around the site of Thāj, has resulted in the discovery of additional tumuli and ring-mounds on the slopes of the southern limestone edge of the valley which surrounds the site. A total figure of ca. 40 mounds has been given occurring with a diameter of up to 50 metres. This is in contradiction to the previous belief that this type of tumuli did not occur to the south, though they are now only visible as shallow white circles.

From this cemetery area came the large beehive-shaped alabaster vessel measuring 14 cms. high, fitted with a circular lid with a handle in the shape of a reclining lion (KUML 1965: 150, Fig. 5) and also the above mentioned 'Attic' import ware.

Bibby mentions on p. 16 that "Apart from the tumuli the whole of the upward slopes of the valley appeared to be occupied by a large number of graves. Capstones protruded above the sand in many places, and in some cases erosion or grave-robbery had exposed sufficient of the grave below for it to be determined that many, if not all the graves consisted of cists of stone, sometimes

of a pottery amphora from Rhodes was recovered. It bore a stamped Greek seal impression, providing the name of the potter and the month in which the jar had been made, thus datable to probably the 3rd cent. B.C. This date corroborates the late 4th cent. B.C. date for the black burnished Greek pottery.

⁵) Bibby 1970: We have carbon samples from the lowest and the uppermost levels which may give us the span in time of the city".

⁶) Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers, "The Bahrain Tumuli", *Persica* VI, 1972-1974: 148, 150, 152-155, Fig. 5, Pls. XXII-XXIII.

¹) P. J. Parr, "Objects from Thāj in the British Museum", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Number 176, 1964, 20-28, does not so much "disagree to some degree with the evidence for this date" (as Bibby, 13), but clearly states: "The primary purpose of this paper is not to dispute the proposed date, but merely to correct the false impression that has developed concerning the painting sherd" (see Dickson, H. R. P. and V.P., *Iraq* X, 1948: Pl. II: 2).

²) Bibby 1970: 322 elaborates on these camel figurines saying that "Frequently harness could be made out, represented by lines or chains of circles grooved into the clay". The present report also mentions this detail: "and in many cases the harness is represented by lines of impressed circles". However, the illustrated fragments in Fig. 9 do not show clearly any straps or trappings, to confirm this statement.

plastered inside". Extensive grave plundering had taken place. I fail to understand, clearly, from this statement, whether these graves represent a different group from the previously mentioned tumuli and ring-mounds. If so, was the 'Attic' ware associated with these 'cists' graves or with the tumuli and must we regard both categories (if there is a question of difference) as being contemporaneous? It is to be hoped that the author can throw some light on these points in his future final report.

A hastily dug section trench into one of the low, out-lying ring-mounds with a diameter of some 20 metres "near the eastern shore of the *sabkha*" north-east of Thāḥ city, did not provide conclusive evidence with regard to the structural details of this type of mound. No material finds are mentioned, but in 1964 a haematite cylinder seal of the Isin-Larsa period with the familiar worship scene (ca. 2000-1800 B.C.) was found "near some large conical tumuli N-E of the main ruins" ⁷). I have missed this reference in the author's introductory words on pp. 10, 12, the more so as this 1964 discovery was made in roughly the same area as that in which the Danish team directed their excavation in 1968. Apart from anything else, if this seal is genuine ⁸) and indeed was actually found in that area, its presence may point to an occupation of the site well before Bibby's date of 300-100 B.C.

Tarut island. A return visit of 10 days to the island of Tarut (KUML 1965: 150; Id. 1966: 95) resulted in an exploration of the steep-sided Tarut tell in the centre of the modern town of that name; of Al-Rafi'ah 1½ kms. east-south-east of the latter and of Fariq al-Akhrash situated 1½ kms. north of Tarut town.

Lack of time for a "serious excavation" and the fact that the tell on the west, north and east sides is entirely enclosed by modern buildings, made the author decide to investigate, within the granted two hours, the south side of the tell of Tarut, where the ladies' *haram* lies, and where walls of massive square-shaped stone were already exposed.

On this south side at least four layers of occupation could be recognized, but the short span of time available did not allow for extensive results. However, "Surface reconnaissance confirmed the presence on the tell of the red ridged 'Barbar-culture' sherds in some abundance, including a large fragment of a typical 'sieve-mouthed' jar" ⁹). This, as far as I have been able to find out from the KUML reports and from Bibby's 1970 publication, is the first mention of a type of strainer with a narrowish mouth closed by a membrane of clay with a number of holes executed, in proper "Barbar ware" pottery. The published material ¹⁰) has, so far, led one to believe that

this particular type of vessel was made of a slipped drab or yellow ware and that this type was restricted to use in Bronze Age graves ¹¹). It would now be of interest to know how frequently this type of "sieve-mouthed" jar occurs in the "Barbar" occupation levels at Qala'at al-Bahrain, in which context and in which kind of fabric, red ridged ware, plain drab-coloured pottery etc.

The lowest reachable occupation at the south side of the tell of Tarut has on the basis of one potsherd of a "completely nondescript scrap of a yellowish clay" and a handful of flint wasters and one secondarily worked awl ¹²) has been cited as Neolithic and the dawn of the history of the tell has been synchronized with the occurrence of the Al 'Ubaid cultural assemblages in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia (see the end of this Report and the Bibliography).

Situated at the north-west edge of the tell and used as a women's bathing pool, an abundant spring bubbles in a natural rock basin approximately 20 metres in length, 6-7 metres in width and 3.50 metres in depth. Two metres below the present water level are visible vestiges of mighty walling, laid of square blocks over a metre in length. The tell itself is crowned by the ruins of an Islamic fort and Bibby says "This pool was clearly the reason for the existence of the settlement on this spot, and must have supplied the town with water for over four thousand years" ¹³). The existence of this spring recalls, of course, a similar situation in Bahrain and reminds us of the "well chamber" belonging to the Barbar Temple.

Al-Rafi'ah. Previous visits to the "area of waste ground between the growing town of Al-Rabi'yah and the village of Al-Rafi'ah" in 1964 (KUML 1965: 150) and 1965 (Bibby 1970: 371) has led to the discovery of mounds which, due to sand quarrying activities, were already exposing grave chambers consisting of long cists lined with gypsum plaster "resembling those known from the Hellenistic period in Bahrain".

On the surface of these mounds and in the neighbourhood the Danish team could pick up undecorated alabaster and steatite bowls" of indeterminate date" ¹⁴), pieces of "undoubted Hellenistic-period bowls and two sherds of red ridged ware closely resembling the Barbar ware of late Third Millennium B.C. Bahrain (and of the Tarut town tell)".

Three small sondages were sunk at a point in this area which "suggested the desirability of an investigation of the area, particularly since destruction of the sites was said to be continuing at a rapid rate". These, however, did not provide "clear evidence for the date of the occupation levels". Nevertheless the recovery in the "thin layer of sand above the occupation level of Sondage 3" of a fragment of a thick-walled steatite vessel with a

("British School of Archaeology in Egypt", Memoir 47), London, 1929: 26, Pl. VII, Nos. 18 (Tomb 15(a)), 23 (Tomb 21(c)).

¹¹) However Mrs. J. C. M. H. Moloney has shown me "sieve-mouthed" pottery in red ware with a cream slip from Qala'at al-Bahrain. This is in the author's opinion "Barbar ware".

¹²) Bibby 1970: 371 mentions three pieces of worked flint, including "an undoubted flint knife-blade".

¹³) Bibby 1970: 370.

¹⁴) KUML 1965: 150 describes them as "apparently of First Millennium B.C. date".

carved pattern of groups of parallel lines and arcs, the so-called "doorway" or 'hut-pot' architecture provides the excavator with a *terminus post quem* of Early Dynastic II-III (2750-2400 B.C.).

This pattern of parallel lines and arcs from Al-Rafi'ah (Bibby, Fig. 31) can be closely paralleled by a steatite fragment described and illustrated by Grace Burkholder and also coming from Saudi Arabia ¹⁵) and by a comparable carving from Tepe Yahya, layer IV B in southern Iran ¹⁶). Mr. Bibby would have been justified in underlining the importance of the occurrence of this particular group of carved steatite vases in Saudi Arabia, and in briefly touching upon Tepe Yahya as an important centre for steatite mining, and as a producing area for carved steatite for both local use and for export. This was, more than likely, the source of many of these widely traded carved 'hut-pots'.

Edith Porada holds the view that this particular group of carved steatite vessels was manufactured between the end of Protoliterate D and Early Dynastic III A = ca. 3000-2500 B.C. She suggests that "More complicated geometric patterns, however, may still have belonged to the period corresponding to Early Dynastic I. An example of such a pattern is No. 5 (Burkholder) with its groups of parallel lines and arcs" ¹⁷). It suffices here, to add that a 'translation' of the original idea of the 'hut-pots' decoration, into the derived, and possibly even misinterpreted, pattern of groups of parallel lines and arcs from Saudi Arabia and from Tarut, seems to warrant an Early Dynastic date, though perhaps towards the end of that period.

Also an Early Dynastic date has been suggested for "a male limestone statue almost a metre high resembling very closely the Early Dynastic statues from Mari", which forms part of a collection of surface finds in this area in early 1966. We have to take this suggested comparison at face value, and the same applies to a pottery vase bearing a painted zone of goats "resembling to the point of identity the pottery of the Umm an-Nar culture found in Abu Dhabi (Bibby 1966, p. 88; Frifelt 1970, p. 357)"; in fact Bibby himself had only photographic material on which to base this assumption.

However, the presence of Umm an-Nar painted pottery on Tarut island would not come as a great surprise. Traces of this latter culture have also been reported from the earliest levels at Qala'at al-Bahrain ¹⁸) and the second and third Barbar Temple periods ¹⁹). A date in the first centuries of the Third Millennium B.C. as suggested by the fragmentary carved steatite vessel and the "Mari-type" statue appears to find support in the presence of this Umm an-Nar painted vase and a Third Millennium B.C. date is further corroborated by the recovery during

¹⁵) Grace Burkholder, "Steatite Carvings from Saudi Arabia", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XXXIII, 4, 1971: 307, Pl. III, No. 5.

¹⁶) C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran 1967-1969; Progress Report I* ("Amer. School of Preh. Res., Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Bulletin 27, 1970"); Pl. 23 C, Fig. 21 H.

¹⁷) Edith Porada, "Excursus: Comments on Steatite Carvings from Saudi Arabia and Other Parts of the Ancient Near East", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XXXIII, 4, 1971: 330.

¹⁸) Bibby 1970: 360-361.

¹⁹) P. Mortensen, "On the Date of the Temple at Barbar in Bahrain", (English version) KUML 1970: 396, Fig. 6.

a reconnaissance in this area of Barbar ware "including part of a red ridged Barbar vessel with sieve-neck (Fig. 27), of the same type as had been found the day before on the Tarut tell (Fig. 25)" (see above).

Bibby's *terminus ante quem* at Al-Rafi'ah is apparently Hellenistic since he refers to "rim-sherds of undoubted Hellenistic-period bowls" which were picked up during the previous visit in 1964, to Hellenistic ware found on the reconnaissance trip in this area in 1968 and finally to "5 glazed vases with small vertical handles close to the neck, of a well-known Hellenistic type (see Bibby 1957, p. 134)", which belong to the collection now thought to be with the Qatif Municipality. In a recent article ²⁰) I have compared the glazed vase Pl. 18A from Bibby's 1970 publication (which is either the same as, or otherwise very similar to, the one in KUML 1957, p. 134, Fig. 5) with pottery from Parthian levels at Dura Europos in Syria and Seleucia and Uruk in present day Iraq. This calls for a certain amount of caution when using Bibby's "Hellenistic" terminology ²¹).

Fariq al-Akhrash. One more locality on Tarut island was visited by the Danish Expedition, namely the area near the village of Fariq al-Akhrash, situated 1½ kms. north of Tarut town.

A similar "mixed bag" of sherd was encountered but the local populace produced a collection of complete vessels, inducing Bibby to assume the existence of simple inhumation burials in the area of Fariq al-Akhrash. However, he states that "Whether the presence of objects of at least two distinct periods at Fariq al-Akhrash means that graves of two periods exist here, or whether, as at Al-Rafi'ah, the graves of a later period are dug into a settlement of the earlier period, only excavation can determine".

I do not wish to query Mr. Bibby's knowledge of the Third Millennium Bahrain material after so many years of first hand acquaintance, yet, I find it difficult to accept the proposed evidence for a Third Millennium B.C. occupation or level of Fariq al-Akhrash merely based on "a small vase of red ware (Fig. 33a), narrow-necked, globular and round-bottomed, which is of a type found in the Third-Millennium gravemounds of Bahrain", two small geometrically painted sherds which Bibby compares with similarly painted pottery "common in the Bahrain settlements of the same period (see Bibby 1957, Figs. 14 and 15)" and a round bottomed steatite vessel with a band of impressed concentric circles round the rimless opening and with four vertically-pierced lugs. The above-mentioned comparisons with the Bahrain material need backing up by fully illustrated and descriptive reports on the Danish excavations in the Gulf. As long as the latter are still lacking queries will keep cropping up. Regarding the steatite vessel I would be inclined to exercise caution. It is apparently only the ring of impressed circles which compares with Durrani's steatite specimens from the Early Dynastic Ishtar Temple at Mari ²²).

²⁰) During Caspers 1972-1974: 155-156.

²¹) The fact that the collection of the Qatif Municipality is also said to contain a Greek inscription, does not contradict my warning.

²²) F. A. Durrani, "Stone Vases as Evidence of Connection Between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley", *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. I, 1964: 85, Pl. II, Figs. 7-8.

⁷) A. Barger, "Cylinder Seal from Saudi Arabia", *Archaeology*, Vol. 18, Number 3, 1965: 231-232.

⁸) See note (6): "a scene of worship with a suppliant goddess and worshipper before an enthroned god or king of the period of the Isin and Larsa dynasties" (quoted E. Porada).

⁹) KUML 1966: 95 mentions that one sherd of "chain-ridge" ware was found on the surface of the Tarut tell indicating that this early third millennium Bahrain culture also encompassed the island of Tarut.

¹⁰) F. B. Prideaux, "The Sepulchral Tumuli of Bahrain", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1908-1909*, Calcutta, 1912: 70, 75, 77, Fig. 7; E. J. H. Mackay, *Bahrain and Hemamieh*

However, the majority of the surface objects are "of undoubted Hellenistic date". They consist almost entirely of open bowls, either grey-glazed, or with red paint inside and with radial burnishing and are according to the author comparable to wares found at Thāj and Bahrain (Fig. 32).

A single find is a greenish-glazed pitcher or jug with a globular body, ring based and a tall, straight single, cylindrical neck. The jug has a single handle between the neck and the beginning of the shoulder.

Since the "Hellenistic" material from Bahrain is still awaiting publication the author's elaboration on the suggested parallels between Bahrain, Thāj and Fariq al-Akhrash is difficult to follow.

However, no matter how tedious this may seem to become, it needs stressing that it is misleading to use the term "Hellenistic" too frequently for too many different sub-phases of the last centuries B.C. and the early centuries A.D. The jug or pitcher which Bibby illustrates in Fig. 32a does compare quite satisfactorily with a similar shaped green glazed jug from Dura Europos in Syria²³) coming from Town B8-H17 and described as a "green glazed replica of Roman 'Pergamene' red glazed ware". Since N. Toll considers the bulk of the pottery found in Dura Europos to belong to the last half century of the town's existence before its destruction by the Persians in 256 A.D. this pitcher would certainly have an A.D. date²⁴).

Uqair. Bibby's quest for the identification of the city of Gerrha has turned out to be a bitter disappointment. The wealth and prosperity of this city due to its "control of the transit trade in aromatics from the Hadhramaut to Babylonia and thence to the Mediterranean world", as well as the passage of "other commodities from India and Africa" (Bibby p. 37) has been mentioned by several Classical writers from the mid 3th century B.C. to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The position of classical Gerrha was recorded by Pliny and Strabo in a more or less detailed and accurate fashion. Bibby (p. 38) quotes P. B. Cornwall ("Ancient Arabia: Explorations in Hasa, 1940-41", *Geographical Journal* CVII, 1946), an article leading to the identification of Gerrha with the deserted ruins of the large walled city of Uqair (Ogair - local dialect) on the mainland of Arabia and which lies by the modern village of the same name. Cornwall stated that, "There are quite clear indications of two distinct cities. The more extensive is marked by foundation walls of medium-sized, well-shaped, mortared limestone blocks; the other was built less solidly upon mud-joined slabs of coral rock".

Bibby's own reconnaissance of the remains of Uqair in December 1962²⁵), and subsequently in 1968 when four small sondages were sunk in the northern area of the town, has led to the following, apparently negative, observations and conclusions:

1) Neither the surface sherds nor the recorded mate-

rial from the four sondages has revealed anything else but Islamic and "there was only one — apparently comparatively brief — occupation level belonging to the city".

2) The "earlier city" of limestone blocks reported by Cornwall could not be traced.

3) The walls of the city of Uqair had been built of *farush*²⁶), a building material not used at Thāj or Bahrain in "Hellenistic" times, but resembling Islamic Bahrain.

4) The city walls of Uqair traversed the *sabkha* = salt marsh and Bibby holds the view that "anywhere where there was *sabkha* today there had been water even as recently as two thousand years ago"²⁷).

Taking all this into account Bibby concludes that "The site of Uqair has not yet produced a single object which can be dated to the period when Gerrha is known to have existed, and cannot therefore be regarded as a likely site for that town" (p. 47).

Areas north of Uqair. The presence of old irrigation beds or ditches 20-30 kms. north and north-west of Uqair had led to a short reconnaissance of this area in 1965²⁸) and a short survey in 1968 has resulted in the following discoveries.

1) At the head of what originally may have been a bay or possibly a river estuary, but what is nowadays a deep *sabkha* inlet lay a village site, numbered (I); unfortunately there is no datable pottery available.

2) "On the original coastline" (p. 41), now *sabkha*, lay a fort (also called the "*sabkha* fort") numbered (II). It had been first visited by Bibby in 1965²⁹) and the discovery of several late First Millennium B.C. objects by various persons, including the author himself³⁰), resulted in the following words which can be found in the KUML 1966 report: "the site was unanimously labelled 'Gerrha' (with firmly inverted commas) ..." ³¹). Bibby dates this fort which measured ca. 50 metres a side in "the Seleucid period" because of the occurrence in a test trench of pottery fragments of two types of bowls which are apparently comparable with pottery Type 2a from Thāj and "a Hellenistic type well-known from Bahrain" (p. 43).

3) Roughly south of the "*sabkha* fort" another fort, numbered (III) was first discovered in 1968, "the line of walls and three of the corners being clearly traceable" (p. 43). The given measurements are 52 x 49 metres. The description of the construction of the wall foundation, encountered in a small test trench, is, to me, reminiscent of Bibby's description of Thāj. He writes of its "very solid footing of large roughly-squared stones ..." (p. 44) and "occasional traces of stone structures" on the south side. Like Thāj this fort also appears to

²⁶) *Farush* is a "coral-like conglomerate which the inhabitants of the Gulf quarry at low tide from the sea bed" (Bibby 1970: 324).

²⁷) Bibby 1970: 324.

²⁸) KUML 1966: 95.

²⁹) KUML 1966: 95.

³⁰) See this Report p. 39.

³¹) KUML 1966: 95.

have been destroyed by fire and "From the levels above the ash layer sherds were found of a bowl of Thāj type 2a with a short horizontal lug handle of chain-ridge pattern (Fig. 42)" (p. 45). A date within Bibby's "Hellenistic period" seems, therefore, feasible and it is a pity that the earlier occupation layers running underneath the wall have not provided any datable material.

4) To the west of the above mentioned "Hellenistic" fort lies a line of tumuli, one of which, circular in circumference and numbered (IV), was partially excavated. Although at least two, probably three, different graves had been partly dug into one another no datable objects seem to have been recovered either from the burials themselves or from the fill of the mound.

Bibby concludes this part of the survey as follows: "The area 26 kms. north of Uqair shows every sign of having been a fairly densely settled agricultural area during the Hellenistic and somewhat earlier periods, situated at that time on a northern extension of the present bay of Uqair. It would thus reconcile the apparent contradiction of Strabo's description of Gerrha as "on a deep bay 23 miles distant from the sea". The finding at the tumulus of tiles of apparently fired *sabkha* clay lends point to Strabo's description of the city of Gerrha as built of the salt-filled local clay. On the other hand there is no trace in the area of a walled city The question of the location of Gerrha must therefore be left, as it was found, in abeyance" (pp. 47-48).

Yabrin. The result of a 10-day visit to the large oasis of Yabrin and the hills around it, was the discovery and, subsequently, the examination of graves of "at least three distinct types" (p. 57) at various places in the main Yabrin oasis area (*Umm an-Nussi*, *Qubailiyat*, *Ain Tuwairif*, *Umm ar-Ramadiya*) and on "practically every height around the oasis" (p. 52) e.g. along the southern edge of the oasis (*Barq as-Samr*), at the northern edge of the oasis (*Jebel Jawamir ash-Sharqi*) and on the ridges south-west of Yabrin (*Jebel Makhrug*).

The existing difference in grave types can be briefly summarized.

On the northern slopes of and adjacent to a tell near the wells of *Umm an-Nussi* in the Yabrin oasis lay about a dozen cist graves which had originally been covered by four or five capstones. The examination of one of them which had a north-south orientation showed it had been robbed and was therefore empty, except for the skeletal remains of a contracted youth. It was surmised that the deceased had originally worn bracelets since his arm bones appeared to have been removed, possibly by robbers. An empty space above his head suggested that grave furnishings once stood there. Similar stone cists can also be seen on outlying hillocks at the tell of *Qubailiyat*. A surface find on this same tell at *Umm an-Nussi* was "a portion of an open-spouted bowl reminiscent of those found in Buraimi in early First Millennium B.C. contexts (Frifelt 1968, Fig. 4b)" though other sparse fragments collected gave no indication for dating.

Immediately north of the well of *Ain Tuwairif*, situated 6 kms. north of *Qubailiyat*, large low tumuli were discovered. These were built of large, roughly-squared

stones and consisted of a long, narrow cist grave covered with large capstones some of which are now visible on the surface.

One of the southernmost tumuli, partially investigated, had a diameter of 42 metres, a height of 3.42 metres and an east-west orientation and Bibby saw evidence of "a ramp, or even a staircase, leading down to an entrance in the west end of the cist chamber" (p. 50).

Ca. 4 kms. north-west of *Ain Tuwairif* lies the tell of *Umm ar-Ramadiya*. Surface finds seem to suggest a 17th or 18th century date, although Bibby states that "the general ground level within the fortifications is some two or three metres above the level outside, a difference in height which may suggest earlier phases of occupation" (p. 52). The discovery of "a dozen or so surface-flaked flint implements, mainly spearheads or knives (Fig. 49), found among the potsherds on the surface outside the walls of the town" induces Bibby to suggest that the inhabitants of this site used them for fire-making after having collected them from other sites, since "no swarf or discards were found" (p. 52).

The heights around the Yabrin oasis (*Barq as-Samr*, *Jebel Jawamir ash-Sharqi*, *Jebel Makhrug* (Huruq)) were thickly covered with burial mounds "and from these heights further mounds could be seen on the hilltops to the limits of vision perhaps 30 kms. from the oasis" (p. 52). "They were mostly a metre or less in height" (a few metres in diameter) "and built of untreated stone, often roughly piled but sometimes laid in courses" (p. 52). Bibby subdivides these mounds in 1) plain cairns, 2) ring-mounds with a ring-wall 2-3 diameters from the mound, 3) "Bezel"-mounds where "the mound lay on the ring-wall like a bezel on a ring", 4) "tailed" mounds, the "tail" being a short, narrow stretch of often a single row of slabs standing on end.

One "circular pill-box" cairn, situated due west of *Jebel Makhrug* was selected for excavation and proved to measure 4 metres in diameter and to have a "roughly oblong chamber measuring 1 x 1.5 metres constructed of slabs of stone standing on edge and surmounted by one or two surviving courses of horizontal slabs corbelled inward" (p. 57). It must have been covered originally by a capstone. The cairn had been robbed, but in addition to fragmentary human remains, there was a socketed bronze spearhead with pronounced shoulders with a length of 14.8 cms. Bibby suggests "a Middle or Late Bronze-Age date, around the middle of the Second Millennium B.C. (Schaeffer 1948, figs. 83, 100, 254)" (p. 59). A second cairn, measuring 1 x 0.85 metres lying only 25 cms. away from the first one, was without contents.

Lack of sufficient material findings from the mounds and cairns from the oasis itself and from the surrounding heights makes it difficult to hazard a date. The mounds of *Barq as-Samr* provided Islamic ware "though one was a thin sherd, brown with a red-brown slip, of a straight-sided jar, somewhat reminiscent of Umm an-Nar ware" (p. 52). Additionally, no settlement tells of certain pre-Islamic date were identified.

This rather negative archaeological evidence for the Yabrin area induces Bibby to finish his conclusions with these final lines: "... it may be suggested that the overland incense route which we know to have been of such

²³) N. Toll, *The Green Glazed Pottery in: The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report IV, Part I, Fascicle 1, 1943: 41, Fig. 22 (1932, 1284).*

²⁴) Two similar pitchers are in the Bahrain Museum collection.

²⁵) KUML 1964: 110.

importance in Hellenistic times bypassed Yabrin to the west, following rather the route from Qaryat al-Fau to Kharg, Thaj and the Arabian Gulf" (p. 59).

Holger Kapel's chapter on the Stone Age implements discovered during this survey in Saudi Arabia can be regarded as a continuation of his *Atlas of the Stone-Age Cultures of Qatar, (Reports of the Danish Archeological Expedition to the Arabian Gulf. Volume One)* Jutland Archeological Society Publications Volume VI. 1968. The results are fairly limited due to the short duration of this survey.

We can be grateful to Mr. T. G. Bibby for this elaborately, well illustrated and lavishly published preliminary report since it raises high expectations regarding the standard and quality of publishing methods of the future Danish reports on their Arabian Gulf material.

Leiden, ELISABETH C. L. DURING CASPERS
January 1975

* *

Gêza FEHÉRVÁRI, *Islamic pottery. A comprehensive study based on the Barlow Collection*. London, Faber, 1973 (4to, pp. 191 and 138 Plates). Price: £ 15.

E. ATIL, *Ceramics from the world of Islam*. Freer Gallery of Art. Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition III. Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1973 (pp. 225 with 101 Plates).

The late Sir Alan Barlow's large collection of Islamic pottery has since 1956 been divided up between his family, various museums — the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the Percival David Foundation for Chinese art in the University of London, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum — and the Athenaeum and the Savile Club. It was an appropriate idea, therefore, to conceive of a complete catalogue, and something on the lines of the late Arthur Lane's modest but still useful catalogue of the Hitchcock collection, *Islamic pottery from the ninth to the fourteenth century* (Faber, London 1957) would have been entirely adequate. Dr. Fehérvári has, however, included some wares not represented in the Barlow Collection in an attempt to give a comprehensive account of Islamic pottery. He has been too ambitious. Recently discovered material, and the results of technical and scientific analysis, have so revolutionised chronologies and attributions that even Lane's admirably sure-footed mapping of terrain much of which is still terra incognita, *Early Islamic Pottery*, is in need of revision (at the moment in the capable hands of Dr. D. M. Whitehouse) and without this any comprehensive account of Islamic pottery is virtually impossible.

Dr. Fehérvári's catalogue has also appeared at an unfortunate moment. While it was in the press various crucial works have appeared which would certainly have led him to modify many of his conclusions. These include J. A. Allen's article "Abu'l-Qāsim's treatise on Ceramics" (*Iran* XI (1973) 111-20) with a translation and commentary; J. Carswell's study of Kūtahya with its fundamental implications for the reclassification of

wares hitherto attributed to Iznik (Oxford 1972: see the review in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXXII 1-2); A Caiger-Smith's highly informative *Tin-glaze pottery in Europe and the Islamic world* (Faber, London, 1973); R. H. Pinder-Wilson's revision of Lane's *Later Islamic Pottery* (Faber, London, 1973, to be read in conjunction with Ettinghausen's helpful review article in *Artibus Asiae* XXXV, 165-169); and Charles Wilkinson's publication of the Nishāpur material (New York 1973) from the American excavations just before the Second World War. There have also been further excavation reports from Fustāt, Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī, Sirāf, Tripoli in the Lebanon, and Bālis/Eski Meskene and Dībsi Faraj on the Euphrates, where in this last case the Dumbarton Oaks excavations have produced clearly differentiated Umayyad and 'Abbāsid levels. Dr. Fehérvári certainly has used sherd material which has come his way; but this is chiefly from his own surveys of Tammīsha in North-East Persia, and Ghubayrā and the Bard Sir valley near Kirmān, which, curiously enough, he finds relevant to his discussion of Syrian pottery [150]. However, since the former, in the province of Gurgān, was a mere dependency of a provincial centre and the status of the latter as potteries and the wares produced there are still undetermined the impact of Dr. Fehérvári's material upon the standard sources (Lane, Reitlinger and Pope's general account in the *Survey of Persian Art*) he chiefly uses is difficult to assess. But his general account adds little that is new.

Timing is a matter of luck. However, one is entitled to certain standard information from the standard catalogue of a collection: attribution; provenance; a complete description, including readings of inscriptions, even if no commentary on them appears pertinent; indications of repairs; and technical information, which may involve the application of relevant techniques of archaeological analysis, together with some indication of their limitations. There are, unfortunately, few pieces of Islamic pottery with a provenance other than "Dealer", and many attributions, particularly for Persian groups, are still disputed; however, a complete description of the pieces would have been welcome, and in this respect Dr. Fehérvári's catalogue is disappointing.

In the first place, profiles, which are an essential element in the classification of pottery, are neither drawn nor photographed and the descriptions of shape he gives are too vague to be of any use. He has no interest in epigraphy and generally does no more than mention that a piece bears an inscription. Exceptionally, when he uses an inscription to date a piece [93 No. 105] 600/1203-4, he fails to note that the *sittamī'a* is clearly preceded by [tham]ān, which has been partly obliterated by incompetent restoration, but which then gives the date 608/1211-2. Nor does he distinguish between genuine and pseudo-inscriptions. These omissions show up one other: his failure to indicate precisely how pieces have been restored. This is evident in his description of a *mināi*-painted bowl [101 No. 121], illustrated in colour on Plate H, where only two fragments of the benedictory inscription round the rim make sense. They are in a clear Kufic hand in white enamel; the rest, written in an illiterate hand, is nonsense, looks markedly yellower and is obviously repainting. This immediately raises ques-

tions about the remaining decoration of the piece and the decoration of other *mināi* pieces illustrated in black and white where such solecisms are not so readily apparent. Examination in ultra-violet light would have shown up repainting, but Dr. Fehérvári gives no indication that this was done; nevertheless, it is extremely important for the history of *mināi* that we should know how much of the decoration is original. Dr. Fehérvári's readers will leave his catalogue wishing that they also had had the privilege of examining the pieces.

Some of the catalogue entries contain remarks on glazes and pastes. But, after quoting a clear and concise account of the history of glazes by Henry Hodges [28-30], in which Professor Hodges is justly cautious regarding the use of tin oxide as an opacifying agent, he then adopts "tin-glazed" without qualification to describe both the 'Abbāsid pottery of Mesopotamia and Fātimid lustre wares. He furthermore assumes that "soft-paste", composite or quartz-enriched bodies are a Persian "Seljuk" invention [70] and that they are invariably used with an alkaline glaze; whereas, in fact it can be shown that there is a whole spectrum of types. Caiger-Smith has shown (in *Tin-glaze pottery in Europe and the Islamic world* [22-40]), moreover, that bodies and glazes are only partly interdependent. Briefly, quartz-enriched pastes were always desirable because they contract on cooling and by compressing the glaze prevent crackling. They were used at Fustāt in the Sa'd period (provisionally circa 1100). But the reasons for employing alkaline glazes over a white slip were different: firstly to avoid the expense of tin oxide; and, secondly, as an aid to producing copper-red lustre which was technically more difficult than yellow or green. Fātimid lustre of the Sa'd type, for example the dish signed by Sa'd in the Victoria and Albert Museum showing a priest with a censer, is typically a reddish lustre on a transparent alkaline glaze over a white slip covering a quartz-enriched body (as is a Syrian piece misleadingly catalogued by Fehérvári [51 X.6]); but conversely (Caiger-Smith [39, 45-6]) Persian 12th-13th century *mināi* and green or yellow lustre painting are all on an opaque lead-tin glaze over a frit paste.

Dr. Fehérvári's grasp of technology is weak in other respects. He makes unnecessarily heavy weather of double glazing which, Mrs. Yolande Crowe kindly informs me, was already widely used in 13th century Iran and had spread to Syria by the 14th (compare a Syrian sherd in the British Museum 91.7.1.289), presenting it [127] as a Tīmūrid novelty and localised in Tammīsha (Gurgān), when it was simply a widely used expedient in the constant struggle of Islamic potters to prevent underglaze colours from running in the firing. His use of the term *coperta* [40 note 1], as a synonym for glaze is also confusing, since it is used by practising potters to describe a sort of varnish (Caiger-Smith [222] gives a Delft recipe composed of roughly equal parts of two allotropes of lead monoxide with a potash and salt flux), applied over the tin glaze before firing, which in the firing amalgamates with the glaze to give a hard, brilliant surface. *Copertas* of this type were doubtless used by Islamic potters, but the wares have yet to be identified.

The catalogue is tiresomely cavalier in its treatment of names. For example [114] the plural of *habb* (in

Classical Arabic *ḥubb* plurals *aḥbāb*, *ḥibāba*, *ḥibāb*) is given, impossibly, as *habbāb*. The Zand dynasty in Persia becomes the Zanj [134], the tomb of al-Tawrizī [132] at Damascus the Mosque of al-Tawrizī [Index 187], Sharaf al-Abwānī, the Mamluk potter, Sharaf ibn Abwān, Kōsedagh Kōshedagh, and the Beylik period in 14th century Anatolia the Beylerbeg [144]. There is also a lack of co-ordination between text and map, Aghkand appearing in the text [69] as South West of Tabriz, but on the map as South East. — Does anyone really know?

There are, however, errors of fact which will inspire the reader with less confidence, notably his assertion "The addition of the tile revetments at the Dome of the Rock in 1532 was almost too early to assist in the dating of the later sc. bole-red Islamic [? read Iznik?] wares" [155], with a footnote citing K. Otto-Dorn's *Türkische Keramik* (Ankara 1957) 108. It might have been, except that Professor Otto-Dorn gives the date as 1552 (this is probably a median since the operation, to judge from the numerous inscriptions, took at least ten years [see *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Die Kunst des Islam* edited J. Sourdél-Thomine and B. Spuler (Berlin 1973) 376 No. 390 and 364 LXV for a brief account of the restorations]) and significantly remarks that the earliest datable bole-red tiles are in the Ramazan Oğulları Mosque at Adana (1541). Dr. Fehérvári's general account of Iznik wares suggests that he is rather at sea. He insists that Abraham (*sic*) of Kūtahya, Damascus and Rhodian wares are all misnomers and that all were produced at Iznik [148], whereas it now appears established that the first of these groups is to be attributed to Kūtahya. But he also appears to think that nothing was made outside Iznik till after 1700, when poor quality runny tiles [156] with "the same lead composition as the wares made at Kūtahya during the 18th and 19th centuries" may have been produced by potters who left Iznik and set up at Kūtahya. Acquaintance with Kūtahya wares (of which the Barlow Collection has none) would have shown that this is a travesty. But he also ignores the well documented provincial potteries known to have operated at Damascus and Cairo in the 17th century, if not earlier, which produced sub-Iznik tiles. Most misleading, perhaps, is his assumption that similarity of glaze is of any value as evidence for place of manufacture. Glaze recipes tend to be fairly constant and pass from pottery to pottery, where they may be more or less suitable; it is differences of body which count as evidence for place of manufacture. So the wrong evidence has been misinterpreted to produce a false conclusion.

There is much to add to almost everything discussed; his brief account of *lajvardina* wares [100] which, following Lane, he places circa 1315 demonstrates this. Published tiles from Takht-i Sulaymān are dated 1271; the *lajvardina tābūt* of Quthām ibn 'Abbās at the Shāh-i Zinde in Samarkand is almost certainly to be attributed to the restoration of the shrine dated 1334-5 (I owe this information to Mr. Basil Gray); and G. A. Pugachenkova has observed spots of overglaze red on cobalt both on tombs in the Shāh-i Zinde dated post-1386 and on the façade of the palace of Āqsaray at Shahr-i Sabz, the cobalt revetment of which was still incomplete in 1397.

The conclusion is that overglaze techniques in Islamic pottery evidently persisted far longer, and in odder places, than has so far been realised.

There is, admittedly, little enough evidence in many cases. However, Dr. Fehérvári's approach suggests that what there is could have been used better. The best evidence for attribution is kiln wasters, though it is too often assumed that they limit the wares of which wasters are found to one site. With regard to wasters recently found in excavations at Gurgān [89] he brings them forward as evidence for the production of lustre there, while simultaneously saying that so far lustre manufacture cannot be demonstrated; but, obviously, wasters of one type are insufficient evidence for the manufacture of other types, so one is driven to assume that his Gurgān wasters were not lustre and are therefore irrelevant. He also appears to think that sherd material, perhaps in large quantities, though he does not say, is evidence of equivalent force [for example, 124, 131] when discussing Kirmān as a pottery. Which it is not; otherwise Sulṭāniye would have been counted as one of the principal potteries of 14th-15th century Persia.

For historical explanation, Dr. Fehérvári repeatedly has recourse to major political events, like the fall of the Fātimids in Egypt [51], which, he assumes, led to massive displacements of potters. Admittedly, Lane also had a weakness for this and the historians, like the Arabic accounts of Tīmūr's invasion of Syria and Iraq, do occasionally speak of mass deportations; but if they actually took place there is no material evidence to show it. Islamic potteries have in fact been very stable, clay being much less exported than fired pots, and the effects of invasion or even major damage upon them are difficult to assess. Nishāpūr was a pottery throughout the 14th century, despite its destruction by the Mongols in 1221 (later 13th century Persian historians speak of it as a flourishing town, and it is surely aberrant to suggest that invasions destroy only potteries); Kāshān continued in production, despite Fehérvári's unwarranted suggestion [125] that the potteries closed down in the late 14th century, up to the late 17th century, when Charadin mentions it; and Cairo-Fustāt has never stopped. Of course, it may be difficult to identify later wares with any confidence (16th century Kāshān and Fustāt wares remain a mystery); but that is another matter.

This makes the destruction of potteries like Rayy and Raqqa a matter for comment. Rayy, whatever it produced (and the Rayy sherds in the Pennsylvania University Museum and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts scarcely correspond at all to the products normally associated with Rayy), never recovered from the Mongol invasion of 1221. However, Yāqūt who was there two years previously, says that the town was already half in ruins because of factional strife. As for Raqqa and other North Syrian potteries like Bālis, there are two possible reasons for their desertion after the Mongol invasions of 1258-9: firstly, it is probable that many local imitations of North Syrian wares were already being made in Egypt or even on the Syrian littoral (perhaps Tripoli), so as to damage the export trade; and two chocolate lustre "Sulṭānābād" pieces in the Freer Gallery (see below page 92) are so similar to Raqqa lustre in design and profile that some potters must almost certainly have

been deported to cater for the increased demand in Persia as the Mongols established themselves there.

The stability of potteries also raises problems when it comes to establishing the pre-histories of potteries like Rayy and Kāshān. What happened there before they became prominent in the late 12th-13th century? They must have had a past, just as the Iznik potteries are known to have produced *inter alia* "Miletus" ware and were doubtless Byzantine potteries before the Turkish conquest of Nicaea. This stability is sufficient to make Fehérvári's suggestion that Aleppo was a pottery in the Mamlūk period [132] extremely improbable: there are in fact no known Mamlūk Aleppo wares; but neither is anything known to have been produced at Aleppo either before or after.

Even if potteries are stable craftsmen are not. But their mobility does not depend upon political crises, like the fall of the Fātimids, but upon day-to-day contacts or major economic crises, like that provoked by some of the Mongol invasions which, by depopulating certain regions, must have led to changes in the pattern of trade. In normal circumstances, however, no more than one craftsman is needed to teach his tricks elsewhere, which makes Fehérvári's bald account of the transfer of lustre from Egypt to Iran because of the advent of the Ayyūbids quite unacceptable. Lane at least attributed the migration to the burning of Fustāt, though Ali Bahgat had demonstrated long ago that it was not the potteries but the ruins which were burned. But why should the Ayyūbids (who also controlled Syria) discourage lustre? What was the population of Cairo to do if their potters had all left them? And what was the population of Kāshān or Rayy to do with an unexpected and doubtless inconvenient influx of Egyptian potters? Conversely, the history of imitation lustre wares in the slip-painted pottery of Nishāpūr and/or Afrāsiyāb [52-7] shows how far pots might be exported without the required craftsmen coming to make the genuine thing. In fact, apart from revetment jobs, like the palace of Ābāqā at Takht-i Sulaymān (1271), where craftsmen were probably conscripted to fire a complete set of tiles on the spot, potters rarely follow Courts around: they cater for them but as in Europe remain themselves relatively fixed.

Much which is lacking from Dr. Fehérvári's catalogue can be learned from a much less pretentious but equally sumptuously illustrated catalogue of a hundred and one pieces from the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington by Dr. Esin Atil. It has long been famous as a collection of masterpieces of Islamic pottery, largely acquired by the efforts of Richard Ettinghausen; but few of the pieces have ever been published in detail. *Ceramics from the world of Islam* was doubtless subject to the usual pressures of exhibition planning. But few of its facts are disputable and it represents a considerable achievement for a young museum curator. She has not hesitated to use the services of the laboratory of the Freer Gallery or to call in someone to read inscriptions (it is not her fault that he could sometimes have done better and that he could not tackle the Persian); and she has also consulted the rich Islamic sherd collections of some of the great East coast American museums. Though there is no bibliography her reading is evidently well

up to date, and the comparative material she cites shows how carefully she has approached her task. The catalogue applies common sense where it should have been applied long ago and will remain of permanent value as a record of the first batch of the extraordinary collections of the Freer Gallery.

Dr. Atil has for the majority of the pieces catalogued supplemented description of body colour (Appendix II [223-4] by thermoluminescence tests. The body-colour of an individual piece may not be significant since it may result from an accident of firing, but body-colour is a statistically significant criterion for classification which may be refined to indicate provisionally the chemical composition prior to its determination by detailed analysis. Thermoluminescence tests, on the other hand, show decisively whether pieces have been recently fired. Results on pieces which have been badly broken and restored may be inconclusive, and in one case (No. 18, a polychrome sgraffiato "Aghkand" bowl) Dr. Atil asserts its genuineness, in spite of its failure to pass the thermoluminescence test, since it evidently consists of broken pieces joined together by some medium which was then stabilised by refiring. In such cases, analysis of glazes might well be useful; but one cannot demand everything of an exhibition catalogue, and it is always pleasant to chart the course of future analysis.

Each piece is illustrated facing its description for ease of reference, with a profile for all pieces chiefly decorated in the interior. The profile of the Syrian polychrome stained sgraffiato piece [No. 62] is surprisingly similar to that of the "Aghkand" wares [Nos. 18-19], and even the bodies are similar [224]. Moreover, the similarity of the *laqabi* and heavy monochrome carved wares (which she accepts as Persian but which could equally well be Syrian) [Nos. 16 and 17] is demonstrated by their profiles and simultaneously refutes Fehérvári's incautious assertion [80] that "Aghkand" and *laqabi* wares are related. The profiles of Nos. 59 and 60 are particularly suggestive. No. 59 is a characteristically "Tell Minis" shape, with chocolate lustre (apparently showing spurmarks) over a transparent greenish alkaline glaze on a frit-enriched body covered with a white slip. No. 60 is a "Fātimid" piece in the decoration of which *sa'd* (felicity) appears five times, surely the name of the potter, *Sa'd*. In view of the occurrence of alkaline glazes and composite bodies in wares of the "Sa'd" period the coincidence of profile is very suggestive evidence for some relationship between these wares and early lustre wares in Syria. From the relative chronology of Syrian and Persian lustre wares any Fātimid influence upon Persia must have been via Syria. The absolute chronology is still disputed, since although it is generally agreed that *Sa'd* is "late", there are no dated pieces, and some Syrian lustre is closer in design to 11th century Fātimid lustre. Fehérvári's suggestion of a direct transfer from Cairo to Rayy or Kāshān in 1171 [51] is, therefore, neither historically plausible nor stylistically possible.

Dr. Esin's catalogue is full of thoughtful remarks. She suggests the relevance of manuscript hands to the classification of East Persian calligraphic wares and rightly comments on the didactic, not to say sermonising, character of their inscriptions [Nos. 7-8, 11-12]; but

her statement à propos of No. 7 that the inscriptions are in Arabic, the literary language of the period, raises curious questions since these "Samānid" wares (10-11th centuries) are a product of the revival of Persian as a literary language. She is particularly illuminating on the question of *mināi* wares, remarking of a 12-pointed *mināi*-painted star tile that it is of a rare type; precisely, because to fit into a characteristic star-polygon unit it would also need squashed lozenges, elongated pentagons or hexagons and some squashed stars (compare J. Bourgoïn, *Les éléments de l'art arabe: le trait des entrelacs* (Paris 1879)). Such tiles suggest, therefore, that in 13th century Iran there must have been elaborate patterns of wall-revetment, far more complicated than the star and cross patterns, however elegant, which now survive.

In the case of No. 48 she distinguishes between typically "Kāshān" carving and piercing and typically "Rayy" *mināi* painting (the terms were already artificially determined by the *Survey of Persian Art* and have been accepted unquestioningly ever since), rightly observing that local schools of *mināi* are almost impossible to identify since craftsmen moved about so much. But which craftsmen? Scarcely the potters, who could not transport their kilns with them; the painters, therefore. This exposes at one blow the whole chaotic problems of *mināi* factories, and suggests a common-sense solution. *Mināi* wares were far too expensive and difficult to produce to be exported ready finished to their destinations, all the more so since mediaeval Islam knew of no insurance against breakages en route. Most probably, therefore, the pots were exported ready fired to their destination, where resident painters decorated them and fired the enamels. Much the same must have been true of the fragile Syrian glass enamelled in the Mamlūk period which has chiefly come to light in Cairo: this must have been exported ready blown but undecorated to Egypt to be finished on the spot by local craftsmen. With *mināi* wares radical revision of types will be necessary, but Dr. Atil is certainly right in considering that the painted decoration is less good evidence for place of manufacture than the potting. Perhaps at this stage detailed analysis of bodies might produce evidence for precise localisation.

There is one other suggestive correlation of shape, between No. 77, a large storage jar dated 683/1284-5, the soapy glaze of which, apparently due to the addition of borax, is characteristic of Mongol monochromes, and No. 25, the photograph of which, for once, leaves the texture of the glaze unclear. She (rightly) compares the shape of this, however, to that of the lustre-painted Vasilievski jar in the Hermitage (recently well illustrated in colour in B. V. Veimarn *Iskusstvo arabskikh stran i Irana VII-XVII vekov* (Moscow 1974) Plate 124); but this is quite plainly a late 13th century piece of Kāshān manufacture. No. 25 is, therefore, probably of the same date as No. 77.

She is sceptical of the status of Rayy as a pottery, pointing out that fine piece-moulded "Seljuk" monochrome wares [No. 21-2] have chiefly been found, together with moulds, at Nishāpūr. Her scepticism is doubtless justified, but a really staunch defender of Rayy might argue that moulds are exportable and are,

therefore, of less value as evidence for local manufacture than other types of kiln material. Incidentally, her comment on the loss of sharpness in the moulding of these fine wares is interesting. Unlike bronze-moulds which clog up and soon become unusable, pottery moulds can always be washed, and the numerous mediaeval pottery moulds which have come to light are all very sharp. A thick glaze would certainly blur details, but these Seljuk wares apparently have a thin glaze, and the only possible explanation, therefore, is that pastes very rich in quartz or felspar, contrary to the generally accepted views of writers on "Seljuk soft-pastes", do not lend themselves particularly well to carving or moulding.

As for Sultānābād, which Dr. Atil accepts provisionally as a pottery in the Īl-Khānīd period, her choice of pieces from among a bafflingly diverse range of products demonstrates a clear relationship between lustre "Sultānābād", for example, No. 74, dated 676/1277-8 in figures, and No. 71, and a group of Raqqa lustre painted bowls, exemplified by No. 63, with almost exactly similar profiles, lustre colour and decorative motifs and with very similar exterior and interior decoration. The more formal "Sultānābād" pieces lack the careless abandon of the Raqqa lustre wares, but the heavily pitted glaze of No. 74 is typical of a potter struggling to adapt his glazes to refractory local materials, and its date, 676/1277-8, is less than a generation after the presumed dispersion of the North Syrian potteries in 1258-9. This particular type of "Sultānābād", therefore, wherever it was actually made, appears to be the work of North Syrian craftsmen or the first generation of their descendants.

On Šafawid wares Dr. Atil's views are particularly refreshing. She is rightly dismissive of arguments for resemblances between "Kubachi" [No. 89] and Iznik wares [contrast Fehérvári 135-6]. She is not over-impressed by Persian imitations of Wan Li and K'ang Hsi blue and white [Nos. 93-4]. And her choice of monochrome wares and celadons [Nos. 90-2, 95-6] makes two interesting points: that the glazes are not invariably fat and soapy but may iridise; and that the vogue for these wares was not simply a response to local or European demand for imitations of Chinese monochromes but was in some respects a return to the monochrome tradition of 12th-13th century Persia. A similar point might be made about the Šafawid lustre wares she has chosen, in which lustre painting over a cobalt stained glaze [compare Nos. 99-100] is paralleled only in pieces of 12th-13th century provenance. But, in contrast to Fehérvári [137-8], who implausibly argues for an uninterrupted tradition of lustre-painting in Persia, Dr. Atil rightly comments on their peculiar ornament, which is neither Islamic nor Chinese. Its faint resemblance to late Spanish lustre wares from Malaga or Valencia may point to Western inspiration; however, there are no large collections of Šafawid lustre wares of any antiquity outside Persia, so that they can scarcely have been designed for the export market.

A final word on inscriptions. Dr. Atil has laudably attempted to give all the Arabic inscriptions in full, but she has not been well served and most of the readings require some correction. Few are important, however,

since only one piece bears an owner's name [No. 39], an emir, Abū Naṣr Kirmānshāh, who cannot be identified, and only one piece bears a craftsman's (painter's) signature, [No. 35] 'Alī ibn Yūsuf, with a repeat in Persian "wa bi-kār-i 'Alī ibn Yūsuf", just to make sure that the customer read it. But she has also had to contend with intractable pieces. No. 35, for example, has *li-šāhibihī* spelled with a *sin*, not a *šād* (not, incidentally indicated in the transcription), and contains the word *al-'ālim* (learned), which is out of place in a prayer or inscription of good wishes to the owner, where *al-'ilm* (learning) is standard. Was the vain painter, 'Alī ibn Yūsuf, illiterate? or is it the work of an illiterate restorer? Analysis should show. The occurrence of *al-'ālim* which is, *inter alia* one of the Ninety Nine Names of God doubtless led her to see the pseudo-epigraphic sequence, *aliḥ-lām-qāḥ* [compare Nos. 29 and 38 and Fehérvári X.5 Plate 12c] as al-Haqq, the pre-eminent Name of God, which is surely unsuitable for a pot. Such decoration may not be intended to be read at all, but if it must the sequence is more plausibly *waw-lām-lām-hā*, which would give *wa li'llāhi* (And to God), perhaps a contraction of *wa'l-mulk li'llāhi* (And Power is God's).

The Persian inscriptions — unfortunately, since they are at best scribbled and are barely dotted — will all have to be read, since they now represent the principal unexploited source for the dating or interpretation of scenes represented. Some which have been read, mostly in deservedly anonymous verse, are of such extraordinary inconsequence that A. S. Melikian-Chirvani ("The Šūfi strain in the art of Kāshān" *Oriental Art* N.S. XII (1966) 251-8) has suggested that they are of esoteric significance; they may also be, Heaven forbid, chronograms. However, sometimes the exercise is worth the trouble. Dr. Renata Holod's work on the famous *mināi*-painted Freer battle dish [No. 50] which has identified the scene represented as one of the battles of Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh (*obit* 1230) has shown that some of these Persian inscriptions are narrative. And a lustre-painted Kāshān tile in the Fogg Art Museum (T.L. 16471.8) representing a seated couple in a scribbled frame has recently been read by Dr. Wheeler Thackston as verses in praise of Joseph, which identifies the couple as Yūsuf and Zulaykha. Not all problems have been solved, however. The date on this tile is clearly legible as 619/1223-3, but the tile itself is in a Kāshān technique which could well be as late as 719/1319-20, and the only explanation which comes to mind is that it may have been specially manufactured to replace an earlier tile in a panel which had suffered damage. The reading of Persian 13th century scribble should therefore be encouraged.

Even completely stereotyped Arabic benedictory inscriptions may be worth closer attention, since although some craftsmen may have been careless enough to write rubbish [compare No. 40, which I cannot check from the illustration but which was, Dr. Atil observes extremely difficult to read] and some customers uncritical enough to accept it, some of them may have had a point. Take *al-dawla* (rule). Under the Buwayhids the Royal *laqab* was *al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn* and although succeeding dynasties later adopted *al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn*, leaving *laqabs* in *al-Dawla* to their subordinates, it still remained

restricted to their highest officials — for example, to Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī in Seljuk Turkey (*obit* 1287) or to Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Juwaynī (*obit* 1284) and Rashīd al-Dīn (*obit* 1318) in Mongol Persia, all of them among the greatest magnates of their time. On the other hand, *al-dawla* is inappropriate for a *shaykh*, one of the 'ulamā' or a merchant, however rich. This might be taken as some evidence, therefore that pots on which *al-dawla* occurs were intended primarily for Court use, and it is perhaps not fortuitous that the pieces in Dr. Atil's catalogue which most frequently bear *al-dawla* are *mināi* wares, which are unquestionably luxury products. One needs to analyse a wider range of such inscriptions to confirm this suggestion; but it shows how some useful conclusions might be wrung from highly unpromising material.

Dr. Fehérvári illustrates almost all the pieces from the Barlow Collection and there are some fine colour plates. However, those who require illuminating illustrations and detailed, up to date, well presented information on most of the major types of Islamic pottery and some suggestive conclusions thrown in had better buy Dr. Atil's catalogue.

American University in Cairo,
December 1974

J. M. ROGERS

PRECLASSICA - CLASSICA

Antonio TOVAR, *Sprachen und Inschriften. Studien zum Mykenischen, Lateinischen und Hispanokeltischen*. Amsterdam, B. R. Grüner, 1973 (80, 214 S.). Preis: f 62.—.

Für die vorliegende Sammlung hat der jetzt in Tübingen wirkende spanische Gelehrte A. Tovar aus seinen sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen insgesamt 14 ausgewählt und in deutscher Übersetzung vorgelegt. Die Nr.n 1-3 gelten den mykenischen Lineartafeln, 4-9 dem Lateinischen und 10-14 den sprachlichen und inschriftlichen Problemen der iberischen Halbinsel. Alle Arbeiten wurden, wie der Vf. in seinem Vorwort (S. 3) bemerkt, „in Einzelfragen berichtigt und präzisiert und, soweit die ursprünglich vorgetragenen Auffassungen inzwischen überholt waren, modernisiert“. Es ist im Rahmen dieser Anzeige nicht möglich, alle Einzelbeiträge zu nennen und in gleicher Ausführlichkeit zu würdigen; es sei gestattet, einiges herauszugreifen.

A. Tovar gehört zu denen, die — fasziniert von der Entzifferung der mykenischen Texte und überzeugt von der Richtigkeit dieser Entzifferung — sich sehr bald mykenologischen Problemen zugewandt haben; seine einschlägigen Untersuchungen verdienen auch heute noch Interesse, wenn sie auch teilweise als überholt gelten dürfen. Die Deutung von *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* als *teuthrāgoros* / „Orseillesammler, Färber“ (S. 11-15; zuerst 1957) — mit **teuθpa* „Orseilleflechte“ im Vordergrund des Wortes — kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden¹⁾; allerdings liefert die Tatsache, dass in den Ta-

feldn in der Nachbarschaft des betreffenden Begriffes Wörter wie *ra-pte-re* / *rhaptēres* /, *ka-na-pe-u* / *knapheus* / und der Personennamen *ru**83- (von T. gedeutet als *ῥογεύς* „Färber“; s.u.) stehen, keine Stütze für diese Deutung.

Die Lesung des myk. Zeichens *83 als *qe*₂ (S. 16-20; zuerst 1958), schon von M. Lejeune²⁾ abgelehnt, hat ebensowenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich wie die Lesungen *qo* (V. Georgiev), *twe*, *swe*? (C. Gallavotti); erwägenswert vielleicht der Vorschlag von C. J. Ruijgh (*dwo*: SMEA 11, 1972, 102). Auch die mit der Lesung *qe*₂ verbundenen verschiedenartigen Kombinationen sind kaum mehr zu halten.

Der 3. mykenologische Beitrag befasst sich mit dem Titel *te-o-jo do-e-ro-a* / *thehojo dohelos.-ā* /, der neben vielen anderen, z.T. ebenfalls von T. diskutierten Titeln vor allem in den E-Tafeln erscheint (S. 21-43; zuerst 1961). Die Untersuchung liefert viele erwägenswerte Beobachtungen, die auch in der späteren Forschung Berücksichtigung gefunden haben³⁾; der Hauptthese allerdings, dass sich hinter dem im Titel genannten *θεός* der pyllische *wa-na-ka* / *wanaks* / verberge, wird man kaum mehr folgen können⁴⁾.

Von den Arbeiten der 2. Hauptgruppe sei besonders der Akademievortrag des Jahres 1968: „Das Latein Hispaniens und die Ausbildung des Wortschatzes in den romanischen Sprachen“ (S. 44-76) hervorgehoben. Anhand zahlreicher Beispiele gelingt T. der überzeugende Nachweis, dass entscheidende Elemente der heutigen romanischen Sprachen und Dialekte der iberischen Halbinsel vor allem im Bereich des Wortschatzes in die Zeit der römischen Eroberung und Besiedlung zurückgehen; besonders interessant ist dabei, dass in vielen Fällen die in den späteren Sprachen nachlebenden Ausdrücke gar nicht genuin lateinisch sind, sondern verschiedenen italischen Dialekten entstammen. Die aus den sprachlichen Beobachtungen gewonnenen Ergebnisse fügen sich, wie T. nachweist, in den grossen historischen Zusammenhang der Kolonisation aufs beste ein; aber auch auf die Frage nach dem Verhältnis des Vulgärlateinischen zu den romanischen Einzelsprachen insgesamt fällt durch die Untersuchungen T.s neues Licht.

Auch für den Mykenologen interessant die Arbeit „Über gewisse Anomalien in der indogermanischen Nominalflexion“ (S. 104-121), da in ihr u.a. zum Problem des griechischen *-φι*-Suffixes Stellung genommen wird, dessen innergriechische Genese durch die myk. Texte nun viel deutlicher geworden ist. Die Diskussion ist seit der von A. Tovar (S. 120, Anm. 84) genannten Arbeit von M. Lejeune aus dem Jahr 1956 mit Erfolg weitergeführt worden⁵⁾.

Es verdient besonderen Dank, dass T. auch einige wichtige Untersuchungen aus seinem zentralen Arbeitsgebiet, der Erforschung der Sprachen der vorrömischen hispanischen Halbinsel, durch die Wiederveröffentlichung in diesem Sammelband einem grösseren Interessentenkreis zugänglich gemacht hat, zumal diese Unter-

¹⁾ Vgl. zuletzt Marg. Lindgren, *The People of Pylos II* (1973) 146; J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (1973) 447: „no satisfactory explanation has been offered“.

²⁾ *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne* I (1958) 286f, n. 11.

³⁾ Über die Problematik der E-Tafeln berichtet zuletzt in ein-druckvoller Prägnanz J. Chadwick, a.O. 443ff.

⁴⁾ Vgl. M. Lindgren, a.O. II 38.

⁵⁾ Hinweise bei A. Heubeck, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 526.

suchungen erstmalig meist an schwer zugänglichen Stellen erschienen sind. Seit der Entzifferung der iberischen Schrift durch M. Gómez-Moreno ist ja endlich die Möglichkeit gegeben, die sprachliche Situation der vorrömischen Zeit von gesicherter Grundlage aus zu erforschen, und T. gehört zu denjenigen, die diese Arbeit massgeblich getragen und geprägt haben.

Besonders instruktiv erscheint dem Rez. der Beitrag Nr. 12: „Indogermanische Schichten auf der hispanischen Halbinsel“ (S. 162-180; zuerst 1958), in dem die Entwicklung und der augenblickliche Stand der Forschung trefflich umrissen und die noch ungelösten Fragen in Deutlichkeit vorgeführt werden. Es hat sich herausgestellt, dass das westliche Gebiet vom zentralen Andalusien bis nach Narbonne von Trägern einer relativ einheitlichen nichtindogermanischen Sprache, die aber offensichtlich mit dem anderen nichtindogermanischen Element der Halbinsel, dem Baskischen, nicht zusammengehört, besiedelt gewesen ist. Dieses Gebiet ist zuerst der Romanisierung ausgesetzt gewesen und ihr auch relativ schnell unterlegen. Das Restgebiet, das erst später romanisiert worden ist, hat indogermanische Bewohner besessen. Mit guten Gründen nimmt T. an, dass wir mit einer Vielzahl von Einwanderungsschüben indogermanischer Stämme aus dem Norden zu rechnen haben, die in der Zeit von der Jahrtausendwende bis ins 3. vorchr. Jahrhundert eingeströmt sind. In welcher Form diese verschiedenen Wellen von Zuwanderern mit den uns aus den Inschriften und aus der Namengebung kenntlichen sprachlichen Gruppierungen in Verbindung zu bringen sind, ist in den Einzelheiten noch nicht zu klären; deutlich aber wird, wie z.B. dem eigentlichen keltiberischen Sprachgebiet zwischen Zaragoza und Burgos, das eindeutig als keltisch zu klassifizieren ist, ein lusitanisches Sprachgebiet zwischen Duero und Tajo gegenübersteht, das zwar (wie T. in seinem Beitrag Nr. 13, der sich mit der Inschrift von Cabeço das Fráguas befasst, zeigt) ganz deutlich indogermanisch geprägt ist, sich aber kaum als keltisch, sondern vielleicht eher als präkeltisch erweisen lässt. In diesem Bereich ist die Forschung, an der auch deutsche Gelehrte wie U. Sch moll und J. Untermann massgeblich beteiligt sind, noch in vollem Gang; es ist das Verdienst von T., durch die Beleuchtung der vielfältigen Problematik von verschiedenen Seiten und seine mit reichen Literaturverweisen dokumentierte Einführung in die wissenschaftliche Diskussion den Zugang zu einem Gebiet erleichtert zu haben, das über die engen Grenzen der Fachwissenschaft hinaus für die Indogermanistik und ebenso für die prähistorische, historische und epigraphische Forschung von hohem Interesse ist.

Nürnberg, April 1975

ALFRED HEUBECK

* *

Hermann BENGTON, *Kleine Schriften zur Alten Geschichte*. München, C. H. Beck, 1974 (8vo, XI + 670 S.). Preis: DM 98.

In diesem starken Band legt Hermann Bengtson, Ordinarius für Alte Geschichte an der Universität München, einem weiteren Fachkreis wohl in erster Linie be-

kannt als Verfasser der beiden Bände über Griechische und Römische Geschichte im Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, die wichtigsten seiner Zeitschriftenaufsätze in Neudruck vor, der die Originalfassungen im allgemeinen unverändert bringt mit Nachtrag besonders wichtiger neuerer Literatur in den Anmerkungen. Den Ort des ersten Erscheinens der Aufsätze entnimmt man anhand des Erscheinungsjahrs dem Schriftenverzeichnis am Ende des Bandes, die originale Seitenzählung ist am Rande vermerkt. Fünf der hier abgedruckten nicht weniger als 50 Aufsätze waren bisher ungedruckt, darunter gerade die beiden längsten und bedeutendsten über Caesar und den mutinensischen Krieg. Die Aufsätze bezeichnet der Verfasser als Parerga zu seinen Hauptbüchern über griechische und römische Geschichte und zu seinem wissenschaftlichen Hauptwerk über „die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit“. Selbstverständlich kann in dieser Besprechung bei der grossen Zahl der Aufsätze und ihrem vielfältigen Inhalt nicht auf alles eingegangen, sondern nur das Wichtigere hervorgehoben werden.

Die aufgenommenen Aufsätze gliedern sich in sechs Gruppen. Die erste kleinste Gruppe umfasst drei Reden aus der Würzburger Rektoratszeit des Verfassers in den Jahren 1959/60. Ihre Themen sind alles andere als überholt, im Gegenteil, die Entwicklungen vor denen Bengtson als Universitätsrektor damals warnte, befanden sich in den 50er Jahren erst in den Anfängen und haben seitdem mit der gewaltig zunehmenden Vermassung und Verschulung der Universitäten ein Ausmass angenommen, das die Universitäten in ihrem Kern und Wesen zu zerstören droht. So haben die dringenden Appelle des damaligen Rektors, die Freiheit reiner Wissenschaft und Forschung zu verteidigen und zu pflegen, und die Appelle an die Studenten, sich beim Übertritt an die Universität bewusst zu werden und zu bleiben, dass sie nicht mehr ein vorgeschriebenes Pensum lernende Schüler sind, die sich die für den gewünschten Beruf verlangten Kenntnisse äusserlich aneignen, sondern freie aus eigener Verantwortung und Einsicht ein echtes wissenschaftlich begründetes und orientiertes Studium gestaltende Persönlichkeiten sein und werden sollten, sind heute aktueller denn je.

Acht weitere Aufsätze sind mit der allgemeinen Überschrift versehen „Universalgeschichte und Alter Orient“ und dürften die Leser dieser Zeitschrift besonders interessieren. Der Verfasser redet hier nicht theoretisch über Möglichkeit oder Unmöglichkeit einer Universalgeschichte, sondern hebt in konkreten Einzeluntersuchungen die Wichtigkeit der Beschäftigung mit dem Alten Orient auch für die griechisch-römische Welt hervor, wie sie seit über einem Jahrhundert mit der Erschließung der altorientalischen Schriften, Sprachen und Quellen möglich geworden ist, wenn es auch bei der fortschreitenden Spezialisierung in der jüngeren Generation kaum noch Althistoriker gibt, die mit diesem Gebiet durch eigene Quellenkenntnis genügend vertraut sind. An Einzelheiten sind in diesen Aufsätzen z.B. behandelt die Bedeutung der Inschrift des Idrimi für die Kenntnis Syriens und die Mitte des 2. Jhrt.s v. Chr., die neuen Nachrichten über den Untergang des assyrischen Reiches, die aus der neuen babylonischen Chronik bekannt geworden sind (nr. 6 S. 70ff.), und das erste Vorkom-

men und die Verbreitung des Namens Jonier für die Griechen allgemein im Alten Orient und bis in die heutigen orientalischen Sprachen (nr. 7 S. 76ff.). Besonders hingewiesen sei auf die starke Betonung des föderalistischen Charakters des Achämenidenreichs in der ausführlichen Besprechung von Leuzes Buch über die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien (nr. 8 S. 83ff.) und des Buchs vom Erzen über „Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft“ (9 S. 101ff.).

Der nächste Hauptabschnitt betrifft die klassische griechische Geschichte mit 11 Aufsätzen, die mehr Einzelheiten betreffen. Hervorgehoben sei daraus nr. 15 (S. 151ff.) „Themistokles und die delphische Amphiktyonie“, in dem dargelegt wird, dass Themistokles aus wohlwollenden politischen Vernunftgründen Spartas Versuch zum Scheitern brachte, die delphische Amphiktyonie wegen des Verhaltens der meisten ihrer Mitglieder im Perserkrieg als politisches Gebilde in Griechenland auszuschalten, der nächste Aufsatz nr. 16 (S. 158ff.) „Hellenen und Barbaren“, in dem die Begriffsgeschichte dieser Bezeichnungen von ihrem Anfang bis in die römische Kaiserzeit verfolgt wird, und der letzte Aufsatz nr. 22 (S. 222ff.) „Das politische Leben der Griechen in der römischen Kaiserzeit“, weil er sehr mit Recht ein Thema behandelt, das zumeist recht vernachlässigt wird. In der grossen geistigen und literarischen Renaissance des 2. Jhrt.s n. Chr. sowohl wie bei den frühen christlichen Kirchenvätern gelangt das Griechentum noch einmal zu grosser Bedeutung und vermag sich dann nach dem Zerfall des römischen Reichs im byzantinischen fortzusetzen.

Der zahlenmässig grösste Anteil der Aufsätze (14) beschäftigt sich mit Themen aus dem Hauptarbeitsgebiet des Verfassers, der hellenistischen Geschichte, der auch bereits der letzte Aufsatz des ersten Abschnitts (nr. 11 S. 115ff.) „Universalhistorische Aspekte der Geschichte des Hellenismus“ gewidmet war und in dem Bengtson vor allem den Beziehungen zwischen der Geschichte der Staaten des hellenistischen Ostens und der italisch-römischen Welt nachgeht. In mehreren dieser Aufsätze betont der Verfasser die grosse welthistorische Bedeutung dieser Zeit, in der die griechische zur Weltkultur wurde, die weit über ihren eigenen Raum und Zeit hinaus weiterwirkte und über Rom und Byzanz die eine Grundlage auch des mittelalterlichen und heutigen Europa wurde. Wichtig sind vor allem die ersten allgemeineren Aufsätze, die die grossen Gesamtfragen, Probleme und Entwicklungen der hellenistischen Zeit beleuchten, „Alexander und der Hellenismus“ (23 S. 241ff.), „Wesenszüge der hellenistischen Zivilisation“ (25 S. 247ff.), „Die Bedeutung der Eingeborenenbevölkerung in den hellenistischen Oststaaten“ (26 S. 293ff.), ferner die gute klare Darstellung der ptolemäischen Staatsverwaltung mit ihren vor allem geographisch und wirtschaftlich gegebenen Besonderheiten (27 S. 304ff.). Speziellere Themen sind die folgenden Aufsätze gewidmet, nr. 31 S. 343ff., in dem die aus der von Wisemann veröffentlichten neubabylonischen Chronik bekannt gewordenen neuen genaueren Daten für die Regierungszeit der Seleukiden zusammengestellt werden. Zwei Aufsätze betreffen die Beziehungen zwischen Sizilien und der hellenistischen Welt (34 S. 367ff.) und nr. 33 (S. 358ff.) „Randbemerkungen zu den koischen Asylurkunden“,

woraus die Beobachtung auch für die römische Geschichte von Bedeutung ist, dass im Jahre 242 v. Chr., also in den letzten Jahren des 1. punischen Krieges, nicht nur die italischen Griechenstädte Neapel und Elea, sondern auch die sizilischen Kamarina und Phintias in eigenen Beschlüssen die Asylie des Asklepiosheiligtums von Kos anerkennen, Gesandtschaften von Kos empfangen und eigene nach dort entsenden konnten. Sachlich bemerkenswert sind auch die letzten zwei Aufsätze nr. 35 und 36 S. 377ff. und 389ff., die aufgrund neuer sehr aufschlussreicher Inschriften die sehr prekäre und stets bedrohte Lage der Griechenstädte an der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres schildern.

Der nächste Hauptabschnitt bringt Aufsätze zur römischen Geschichte vor allem der republikanischen Zeit, darunter als ersten (37 S. 401ff.) eine gute Würdigung der Bedeutung des Scipio Africanus für die Entwicklung Roms und der antiken Welt. Es ist die erste grosse Auseinandersetzung der ersten überragenden Einzelpersönlichkeit der römischen Geschichte mit dem römischen Staat als Kollektivum, in der dieses Mal noch der Staat am Ende den Sieg behält. Ich vermisse darin nur den Hinweis auf die Wichtigkeit der neuen Taktik der selbstständig operierenden Kohorten, die Scipio in Spanien erproben und einüben konnte, ehe er seinem grossen Gegner Hannibal selber entgegentrat. Vorzüglich ist die Schilderung von Caesars Leben, Entwicklung und Bedeutung und seiner schliesslichen Alleinherrschaft (38 S. 421ff.). Geradezu dramatisch zu lesen sind die „Untersuchungen zum Mutinensischen Krieg“ (40 S. 479ff.), eine äusserst gründliche, sorgfältig abwägende und bei aller genauen Behandlung das Entscheidende hervorhebende Darstellung dieses letzten eigentlichen Kampfes der römischen Republik gegen die kommende Monarchie. Diese beiden Aufsätze sind nicht nur die umfangreichsten mit je etwa 50 Seiten, sondern insofern auch die wichtigsten, als beide noch ungedruckt waren. Zum letzteren Aufsatz gehört als Pendant nr. 41 S. 532ff. „Die letzten Monate der römischen Senats Herrschaft“, in dem ebenso packend die ganze Hilflosigkeit und Planlosigkeit des Senats in diesen Monaten im einzelnen geschildert wird, der sich allerdings auch einer für hoffnungslosen Lage gegenüber sah.

Der letzte Abschnitt bringt „Biographisches“, eine Würdigung von Leben und Werk Mommsens (45 S. 583ff.), eine ebenso ausführliche Biographie und Würdigung Walter Ottos (46 S. 599ff.), kurze Nachrufe auf die verstorbenen Mitglieder der Bayerischen Akademie im Jahrbuch der Akademie, A. E. Breccia und A. Piganiol (47. 48 S. 619ff. 622ff.), ein „Gedenkblatt für Ernst Kornemann“, bisher ungedruckt (50 S. 639ff.) und eine Skizze der Beziehungen zwischen der deutschen und italienischen Altertumswissenschaft mit vielen biographischen Daten. Am Schluss stehen eine Seite Nachträge, eine Zusammenstellung der Hauptlebensdaten des Verfassers, seine Bibliographie (141 Nrn. von 1936-1973) und ein Register.

Eine Kleinigkeit zum Schluss. Die „Sequaner in der Schweiz“ (S. 515), die es nie gegeben hat, da ihre Wohnsitze stets westlich des Jura lagen, entstammen zu stärken Verkürzung der recht hypothetischen Vermutungen D. van Berchems in seinem in der Anmerkung zitierten Aufsatz über den Ort, an dem D. Brutus auf

seiner Flucht nach Mutina den Tod fand.

Für die Leser dieser Zeitschrift sei schliesslich noch darauf hingewiesen, dass die auf S. 53 besprochene „Gesandtschaft aus dem fernen Indien“ im Jahre 62 v. Chr. an den Statthalter von Oberitalien Metellus Celer, über die wohl mancher Leser stutzen wird, ein reines Luftgebilde ist, auch wenn der Verfasser das in einem früheren und hier wieder abgedruckten Aufsatz (nr. 39 S. 470ff. „Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer und die Inder“) zu begründen versucht hat. Der Verf. möchte diese auffallende Notiz damit stützen, dass Metellus Legat bei Pompeius auf seinem Feldzug im Osten im Jahre 66/65 v. Chr. gewesen war, man sich damals in Erinnerung an den Zug Alexanders wieder neu mit Indien beschäftigt und auch Nachrichten eingezogen hatte über die Möglichkeit eines Landweges nach Indien über das Schwarze Meer, die Kaukasusflüsse, das Kaspische Meer und Baktrien (Varro bei Plin. nat. hist. VI 52). In Tat und Wahrheit ist es aber nur so, dass Pomponius Mela in seiner Chorographia III 45 nach Nepos, wohl aus dessen Kuriositätsammlung (Peter Histor. Rom. reliquia II S. 30 fg 7. Nepos ed. Malcovati fg. 17) erzählt, dass dem Metellus Celer als Statthalter von Oberitalien damals von einem fremden König Inder zum Geschenk gemacht wurden, die nach den Erkundigungen Kaufleute gewesen seien, die durch Stürme verschlagen schliesslich als Gefangene nach Germanien gelangt seien. Dasselbe steht kurz auch bei Plin. nat. hist. II 170. Bei Mela heisst der König in allen Handschriften rex Botorum (nicht Botorum, wie Bengtson schreibt), bei Plinius Suevorum. Norden Germanische Urgeschichte 200f. A. 2 möchte den Widerspruch damit überbrücken, dass er vorschlägt, bei Nepos habe Sueborum Botorum gestanden, die Boti also ein Teilstamm der Sueben gewesen seien. Dafür könnte man mit Hirschfeld Kleine Schriften 365 A. 2 an die bei Strab. VII 1,3 p. 290 genannten Βούτωες denken, die zum späteren Herrschaftsbereich des Marbod gehörten; die modernen Ausgaben pflegen allerdings den Namen in Βούτωες zu ändern, W. Aly Strabo Bd. 4, Bonn 1957, 456 möchte Βου[φ]ροσδιω-τες καὶ Γού]τες emendieren, beides kaum richtig. Die Sueben im Süddeutschland, vor allem im Maingebiet, sind doch recht weit entfernt, auch wenn man das damals von Ariovist besetzte Oberelsass hinzunimmt, obwohl Autoritäten wie Mommsen und Norden diese Auffassung vertraten. Näher liegt die längst gemachte Emendation Boiorum, die paläographisch leicht und sachlich bestens vertretbar ist, nämlich derjenigen Boier, die nach Caesar b. Gall. I 5,4. 25,6. 29,3 damals in die Ostalpen bis in die Gegend von Klagenfurt eingedrungen waren und sich dem Helvetierzug anschlossen und nach denen Böhmen - Boihaemum bis heute heisst. Zu diesen Boiern s. sonst Strab. IV 6,8 p. 206. VII 1,5 p. 292, 2,2 p. 293, 3,11 p. 304, 5,2 p. 313, 5,6 p. 315. Plin. nat. hist. IV 146. Tac. Germ. 28. Weitere Zeugnisse dazu RE III 631,66ff. In den Ostalpen wären sie Nachbarn von Oberitalien gewesen. Norden l.c. wird wohl recht haben, wenn er diese angeblichen „Inder“ als Missverständnis des Nepos oder seines Gewährsmanns erklärt im Zusammenhang mit den Wunschvorstellungen, einen nördlichen Weg nach dem wegen seiner Naturschätze begehrten Indien zu finden, die damals durch Pompeius'

Zug in den Osten und die Vorstellung genährt waren, es gebe einen nördlichen Ozean, von dem das Kaspische Meer nur ein Meerbusen sei. Jedenfalls gehört reichlich viel Phantasie dazu, aus dieser mit so grossen Unwahrscheinlichkeiten und Unsicherheiten belasteten Anekdote eine „Gesandtschaft aus Indien“ zu machen.

Zürich, November 1974

ERNST MEYER

* *

Jacquetta HAWKES, *Geburt der Götter*, An den Quellen griechischer Kultur. Bern und Stuttgart, Hallwag Verlag, 1972 (4to, 292 pp., 43 colour plates, 134 pls. in black and white). Price: Sw. Fr. 48.

The author has written an interesting book with beautiful colour plates but a rather misleading title. She has tried to write a cultural history of the Minoan-Mycenian world, and, writing for the general public as she does in this publication, she has succeeded rather well. She has chosen a general scheme for presenting her material by contrasting the feminine culture of Minoan Crete with the masculine one of Mycenian Greece. This, of course, entails some simplification and some special pleading, but as a rule it illuminates the material as presented to the general reader fairly well. She starts with an introduction and then treats the matter of her book mainly in four chapters. She adds a chapter, which is specially interesting owing to her ideas regarding the formation of the culture of classical Greece, treating the end of the Mycenian period and its transition to Grecian culture proper with special emphasis on the importance of Homer. The author, also well known as a writer of novels, has written a book which is as a rule a pleasure to read. A few times, however, the novelist intrudes on the scholar. On p. 113, describing a scene from the famous Hagia Triada vase she writes: "... ein Mann lacht herzlich über einen halb zu Boden gestürzten Freund". How does she know that he is a friend and not a neighbour with whom he has quarrelled for a quarter of a century? On p. 201 she describes the palace of Nestor and mentions a kind of waiting-room for the visitors of the king, and then she tells us that the servants probably offered them a goblet of wine. Indeed, let us hope so, but not all royal families excel equally in hospitality. Remarks of this kind remain completely gratuitous. On p. 38 she mentions Egyptian totemism. It is, however, uncertain whether totemism ever existed in Egypt: animal cult and totemism are two completely different things. On p. 216 she concludes from the fact that the Greek title *anax* could be used for a king as well as for a god that Mycenae knew a sacral king. As far as I know, the fact that in England the title Lord may be given to God and to the nobility does not prove the divine character of the latter. In her last chapter she argues convincingly that it is not necessary to attribute any change in art to a change in population, as is so often done. It is of great importance that this insight now also reaches archaeology and classical studies. The colour plates by Harissades are splendid, the black-and-white illustrations are less satisfactory.

Groningen, December 1974

TH. P. VAN BAAREN

Ernst RISCH, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. Zweite, völlig überarbeitete Auflage. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, XIX + 475 S.). Preis: 158.— DM.

E. Risch hat sein Werk über die Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache, das vor 37 Jahren (1937) der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Zürich, an der er jetzt selbst als Lehrender wirkt, als Dissertation vorgelegt hatte, nach einer völligen Überarbeitung in 2. Auflage der gelehrten Öffentlichkeit vorgelegt und ist damit einer von zahlreichen Fachkollegen immer wieder und nachdrücklich an ihn herangetragenen Bitte gefolgt, seine längst vergriffene Untersuchung wieder besser zugänglich zu machen. Es ist keine allzu häufige Erscheinung in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte, dass eine Dissertation sich binnen kurzem geradezu als Standardwerk einer Disziplin erweist und zum unentbehrlichen, täglichen Handwerkszeug des Fachgelehrten wird; und ebenso selten ist es, dass eine Dissertation auf Grund ihrer Bedeutung im Rahmen der Fachwissenschaft eine Neuauflage erlebt. Es wäre also eigentlich in erster Linie von der Bedeutung des 1937 erschienenen Buches zu reden, das hinsichtlich seiner Thematik, seiner Anlage und seiner Durchführung bei weitem den normalen Rahmen einer Erstlingsarbeit überschritten und in jeder Beziehung und bis in die Details hinein die Hand des Meisters in seinem Fach verraten hat und das sich würdig in eine glänzende Tradition schweizerischer Sprachgelehrsamkeit eingeordnet hat: im Zusammenhang der Erforschung der griechischen Sprache und ihres Wortschatzes sei hier nur auf die vorbildhafte Arbeit von A. Debrunner über *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (1917) und auf die zahlreichen Untersuchungen des Lehrers von E. Risch: Manu Leumann hingewiesen, der dann später, 13 Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung der Arbeit seines Schülers, mit seinem Werk *Homerische Wörter* (1950) der Forschung neue Aspekte erschlossen hat. Immerhin kann hier darauf verzichtet werden, die Vorzüge der 1. Auflage der *Wortbildung* im nachhinein zu preisen; es war schon anzudeuten, dass jeder, der sich mit Fragen der Geschichte des Griechischen ebenso wie mit Homericum ganz allgemein befasst, mit dem Buch sowieso aus seiner täglichen Praxis aufs beste vertraut ist und seinen Wert zu schätzen weiss. Das Buch ist so bis in die Details überlegt, die Behandlung des Themas so umfassend, die Beurteilung und Deutung des Materials von unbestechlicher Einsicht in die Gesetze und Möglichkeiten von Sprache überhaupt und zugleich von vorsichtiger Zurückhaltung gegenüber verlockenden und gefährlichen Hypothesen geprägt, dass es keineswegs als verfehlt hätte bezeichnet werden können, wenn R. sich nur zu einem unveränderten Nachdruck der 1. Auflage hätte entschliessen können; schon ein solcher Nachdruck hätte durchaus seine Berechtigung gehabt.

Nun hat sich allerdings der Verfasser der Mühe unterzogen, seine seinerzeitigen Ausführungen von Grund auf zu überarbeiten und die wichtigen, in der Zwischenzeit von der Forschung erzielten Ergebnisse in sein Werk einzubeziehen. Das verdient den besonderen Dank der Benutzer, die sich aber andererseits auch darüber freuen werden, dass sich an der Gesamtanlage des Buches kaum etwas geändert hat. Vieles von dem ursprünglichen Wortlaut konnte beibehalten werden oder bedurfte nur der zusätzlichen Hinweise auf die seither

gewonnenen Erkenntnisse, und so konnte auch die alte Paragrapheneinteilung erhalten bleiben; so bleibt dem Benutzer ein umständliches Umgewöhnen erspart und er findet sich in dem neuen Buch sofort ebenso gut zurecht wie in seinem alten „Risch“. Es gibt eigentlich nur eine wesentliche Änderung hinsichtlich der Gesamtanlage: Der Vf. hat die Indices der 1. Auflage, die ob ihrer eigenwilligen Gestaltung dem Benutzer oft genug beträchtliche Kopfschmerzen verursacht haben — es war in der Tat nicht leicht, sich in ihnen zurechtzufinden —, ersetzt durch schlichte alphabetische Indices, unter denen der Index „Griechisch“ und der Index „Mykenisch“ den grössten Raum einnehmen (S. 373-459 und 460-463) und die nun das Werk erst richtig erschliessen.

Der Vf. hat in seinem Vorwort selbst in kurzen Worten dargelegt, in welchen Bereichen und in welcher Hinsicht eine Erweiterung und Ergänzung des seinerzeit Gesagten notwendig erschien. In die Zeit nach 1937 fällt, um nur wirklich Wesentliches zu nennen, das Erscheinen der *Griechischen Grammatik* von E. Schwyzer und A. Debrunner, der *Homerischen Grammatik* von P. Chantraine, des *Traité* von M. Lejeune, der etymologischen Wörterbücher von H. Frisk und P. Chantraine (M. Leumanns *Homerische Wörter* waren schon zu nennen), deren Ergebnisse nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben konnten. Vor allem aber hat die Entzifferung von Linear B durch M. Ventris und J. Chadwick 1952 der Erforschung der Geschichte des Griechischen völlig neue Dimensionen erschlossen; auch in dieser Hinsicht bedurfte der alte Text der Einbeziehung der neuen Erkenntnisse. Dass diese Berücksichtigung des Mykenischen in so mustergültiger Weise erfolgt ist, kann nicht verwundern; gehört doch E. Risch zu der relativ kleinen Gruppe derjenigen Forscher, die sich schon von Anfang an mit grosser Intensität der Arbeit an den Tafeln zugewendet haben. Seine Arbeiten sind aus der mykenologischen Forschung nicht wegzudenken.

Die kaum zu bewältigende Fülle der zwischen 1937 und 1970 (Zeitpunkt des Manuskriptabschlusses) erschienenen Arbeiten zur griechischen Sprache, zur homerischen Diktion und dabei vor allem auch zur *oral poetry*, zur Homerfrage überhaupt und zur Mykenologie liess grosse Zurückhaltung in der Nennung dieser Literatur sowie in der Vorführung ihrer Ergebnisse geboten erscheinen; es wäre ein Leichtes gewesen, die Arbeit auf ein Mehrfaches ihres jetzigen Umfangs anschwellen zu lassen und sie damit für den einzelnen gar völlig unerschwinglich zu machen. Das Auswahlverfahren war bestimmt einmal durch den Gedanken, weitgehend all das auszusparen, was in den etymologischen Wörterbüchern von Frisk und Chantraine ohne Schwierigkeit nachzuschlagen ist, nicht zuletzt aber auch durch die schon erwähnte grosse Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung des Vf.s gegenüber weitreichenden Spekulationen.

Es ist ganz natürlich, dass die verschiedenen Leser und Benutzer des Buches auf Grund abweichender Vorstellungen, Voraussetzungen und Intentionen im Detail sicherlich immer wieder das eine oder andere sich etwas anders gewünscht hätten; auch der Rez. hätte hier oder dort die Nennung eines ihm plausibel erscheinenden Vorschlags für sinnvoll gehalten und dafür vielleicht anderes lieber weggelassen gesehen oder auch einer anderen Deutung als der von R. gegebenen den Vorzug gegeben. All diese von der subjektiven Einzelbeurteilung bestimmten Einwände schränken aber, das sei nachdrücklich betont, keineswegs das positive Ge-

samturteil über die Zuverlässigkeit des Werkes ein, das keine wesentliche Frage, die irgendwie mit der Wortbildung des homerischen Griechisch zusammenhängt, unbeantwortet lässt.

Wenigstens einige Einzelbemerkungen seien gestattet, und zwar zuerst zur Einbeziehung des Mykenischen. Es erscheint nicht besonders glücklich, „im Interesse der nicht speziell mykenologisch geschulten Benutzer“ (S. VI) gegenüber dem üblichen Modus die Transliterationen *ha* (statt *a₂*), *ai* (statt *a₃*), *phu* (statt *pu₂*), *rjo* (statt *ro₂*), *rja* (statt *ra₂*), *rai* (statt *ra₃*) einzuführen; denn da *pu₂* wohl auch /bu/ und andererseits *pu* auch /phu/ bezeichnen kann, da *a* ebenfalls /ha/ meinen kann, da für *ro₂* und *ra₂* die Lautwerte *rjo* und *rja*, wenn überhaupt (was höchst fraglich ist), dann sicher nicht ausschliesslich gelten, und da *ra₃* auch /lai/ wiedergeben kann, ist dem weniger geschulten Leser wenig genützt. Besser wäre es vielleicht doch, sooft als nötig, neben die 'Transliteration' die 'Interpretation' zu setzen, wie R. selbst oft genug getan hat (z.B. *ksenwijos* S. 115, *pedijewes* S. 158 A. 143, *phoinikphi* S. 162 A. 147); also etwa S. 17: *e-ma-a₂/Hermahā-/*, S. 70: *ze-pu₂-ro/Dzephuros/*, S. 75: *-o-pu₂-ru/-ophrus/*, S. 92: *a₂-te-ro/hateros/*, S. 98: *we-a₂-no/wehano-/*, S. 109: *si-a₂-ro/sihalons/* (Akk. Plur.), *a₃-ki-a₂-ri-jo/Aigihalijo-/*, S. 108: *pi-a₂-ra/phihalā, -ai/*, *pi-je-ra₃/phijelai/* (Plur.), S. 151: *pi-ti-ro₂-we-sa/ptilowessa/* usw. — Eine gewisse Uneinheitlichkeit ist in der Wiedergabe des intervokalischen Hauchlautes festzustellen; am besten sollte wohl in allen Fällen *h* geschrieben werden wie S. 79: *pa-we-a₂/pharweha/*; dementsprechend auch S. 192 A. 12 *ne-e-ra-wo/Nehelāwos/* (nicht *Nehe*), S. 345: *te-tu-ko-wo-a₂/tetukhwoha/* und *a-ra-ru-wo-a/ararwoha/* (nicht *-woha*), S. 16 A. 10: *do-e-ra/dohelā/* (nicht *doelā*), S. 158 A. 143: *e-re-e-u/Heleheus/* (nicht *Heleus*). — Bedenken hat der Rez. auch gegen 'Interpretationen' wie S. 89 *mezōs (me-zōs)*; besser *medzōs*; S. 90 *kakjoes (ka-zo-e)*; besser *katsohes (< *kakjohes)*; S. 132 *ka-kja (ka-za)*; besser *khaltsa*; S. 133 *su-kja (su-za)*; besser *sutsai*; S. 137 *torpedja (to-pe-za)*; besser *torpedza* oder *trp-* (< **trpedjā₂*). In Fällen wie *tu-ro₂* (S. 71), *a-ro₂-a* (S. 90), *ku-pa-ro/-ro₂* (S. 167) wäre im Hinblick auf die Bedenklichkeit eines myk. Lautwertes *rjo* des Zeichens *ro₂* eher zu sagen, dass diese Wörter in vormykenischer Zeit vermutlich **turjos*, *arjoha*, *kuparjos* gelaute haben.

Wie angedeutet, hat R. sich bei der Anführung des Mykenischen auf die sicheren Beispiele beschränkt; wo die Grenze zu ziehen ist, muss natürlich subjektiver Entscheidung überlassen bleiben. Hier einige Wörter (in alph. Reihenfolge) in Auswahl, die vielleicht eine Nennung verdient hätten: *a-se-e/Alsehē(?)* (Abl.?) zu *ἄλσος* (S. 80; vgl. *Kadmos* 1, 1962, 60); *au-te/austēr/* (S. 30e; L. Baumbach, *Glotta* 49, 1971, 160); *i-jo/hijos/* neben *i-65*, vermutlich *i-ju/hijos/* (S. 76; vgl. *SMEA* 13, 1971, 147-155); *ka-ta-wo/Katarwos/* (S. 169); *me-ki-to-, -ta/megisto-, -a/* (S. 90); *o-pi-ra₃-te-re/opir(r)haistēres/* (S. 30e; *Documents*² 504); *o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo/opilimnijos/* (S. 187-189); *o-pi-tu-ra-jo/opithurajōi/* (S. 126, 187-189); *pa-ke-te-re/pak-tēres/* (S. 30e; L. Baumbach a.O. 178; zuletzt O. Panagl, *ŽA* 22, 1972, 72-84); *pu-ra-u-to-ro/puraustro/* (S. 42); *pu-wa-ne/Purwānēs/* (S. 81; vgl. *BzN* 11, 1960, 4); *qa-ra-to-ro/sqwalat(h)ron/* (S. 42f); *si-mi-t-u/Zmintheus/* (S. 158); *te-qi-ri-jo-ne/Theqwhriōnei/*, Ablt.

zu *τέφρα* (S. 56f, 70); *za-ku-si-ja/Dzakunsija/*, zu *Ζάκυνθος* (S. 124, 174).

Einige Bemerkungen anderer Art seien noch kurz angefügt. S. 50 hätte der plausible Vorschlag von H. Koller, *Glotta* 37 (1958) 276-281 (*σῶμα* eigentlich „Gegenstand des *σίνεσθαι*“), Erwähnung verdient. S. 52: *μεν- in *-μεν-μων* hat der Rez. nicht auf *μένος*, sondern auf (allein mögliches) *μένω* bezogen. S. 57 A. 50: Dass *Ποσειδάων* eine „Zusammenrückung aus *Vok. πόσει...* und einem vermutlich genet. Attribut“ darstelle, wäre m.W. morphologisch ohne Parallele; und *Ποσειδῆος* ist wohl auch nicht als Ableitungskompositum (S. 189) zu verstehen. S. 78: Zu den schwierigen Problemen, die sich mit *τέλος* usw. verbinden, vgl. Ph. Ambrose, *Glotta* 43 (1965) 38-62; Rez., *ŽA* 19 (1969) 8-10; auf alle Fälle ist eine Verbindung von *τέλος* mit **telā₂/tleā₂* aus lautlichen Gründen kaum möglich. S. 82 A. 68: Zu *νηλέης* abweichend (und überzeugend) W. Burkert, *Zum altgriech. Mitleidsbegriff*, Diss. Erlangen 1955, 22-27; B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (1966) 142f. S. 35: Zur anderen Beurteilung von *di-wi-ja, di-u-ja* durch den Rez. vgl. *SMEA* 11 (1970) 63-70. S. 144: Zu *χωρηίς* anders (und überzeugend) H. Dürbeck, *MSS* 24 (1968) 9-33. S. 150: Zu *ἄνδροπῆτα* (so die ursprüngliche Lesart) klärend J. Latacz, *Glotta* 44 (1967) 62-76. S. 151: Zu *γηθόσυνος* mit ausführlicher Diskussion ders., *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers* (1966) 151-153. S. 156: Dass der Typus der Nomina auf *-εύς* „fremden Ursprungs ist und sich von entlehnten Vorbildern ausgebreitet hat“, ist aus mehreren Gründen, auch im Hinblick auf das Myk., kaum wahrscheinlich; zuletzt R. S. P. Beekes, *Glotta* 51 (1973) 230-233; O. Szemerényi, *Kratylos* 18 (1972/1974) 43-53. S. 165: Zu *ῥοσσε* klärend B. Forssman, *MSS* 25 (1969) 39-50. S. 215f: B. Forssman, *Sprache Pindars* 145-149, und (unabhängig von F.) R. S. P. Beekes, *The Development of the Proto-IE. Laryngeals in Greek* (1969) 106-113, haben die Entwicklung der Privativbildungen (*n* ist ursprünglich die einzige Form des Präfixes) und damit die auffallenden Unterschiede dieser Bildungen in hom. Zeit geklärt. S. 230 (u. 16 A. 11): *Ναυσικάα* ist keine Kurzform, sondern zweigliedriger Vollname *Nausi-kahā*: *BzN* 8 (1957) 276f. S. 290: *ἰαίνω* bedeutet nicht 'erfreue, erwärme', wie meist angenommen wird; klärend J. Latacz, *Freude* 220-231.

Dass diese kurzen Bemerkungen nicht von kleinlichem Besser-wissen-wollen diktiert sind, braucht nach dem vorab Gesagten nicht mehr betont zu werden; sie schmälern den Wert des Buches, das den Dank aller verdient, nicht im geringsten.

Nürnberg, Oktober 1974

ALFRED HEUBECK

Helmut van THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L, her- und übersetzt von Helmut van Thiel. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftl. Buchgesellschaft, 1974 (8vo, XLVIII + 252 S., Karte) = Texte der Forschung, Band 13. Preis: DM 67.—

Der sogenannte „Alexanderroman“ ist neben der Bibel „das weitest verbreitete Buch der Weltliteratur“ und

„das Buch mit den wechselvollsten Schicksalen“. Seine ursprüngliche Fassung ist uns nicht mehr erhalten und nur noch ungefähr zu erschliessen. Er muss in späterer ptolemäischer Zeit in Ägypten entstanden sein und ist sicher von einem Alexandriner geschrieben. Der Autor legte seinem Werk verschiedene Quellen zugrunde, einerseits eine Biographie Alexanders, die im wesentlichen zu der sogenannten „kleitarchischen Version“ gehörte, die wir sonst vor allem bei Diodor, Curtius, Justin und Plutarch haben, dazu einen „Briefroman“, wie sie in späthellenistischer Zeit beliebt waren, der den Alexanderzug auflöste in eine Folge von zumeist erfundenen Briefen und Antwortbriefen, und schliesslich Einzelquellen und Erzählungen, die ursprünglich selbständig waren und die wir zum Teil noch unabhängig vom „Roman“ auf Papyri oder literarisch überliefert haben, wie ein gleich nach Alexanders Tod entstandenes Pamphlet, das den Tod Alexanders in Babylon durch Vergiftung erklärte, eine „Erklärung“, die sicher damals sofort entstand und in Heer und Volk verbreitet war, das sich den frühen Tod des jungen Königs nicht anders als durch Vergiftung erklären konnte, eine Lokalgeschichte Alexandrias, eine ägyptische Novelle vom „Trug des Nektanebos“, die Alexander als Sohn des letzten Königs des selbständigen Ägypten beanspruchte und daher erzählte, wie Nektanebos nach Makedonien reiste und die Königin Olympias durch schamlosen Lug und Trug betörte, der er sich als Gott Ammon ausgab, eine wohl ebenfalls ägyptische Erzählung von der Fahrt Alexanders zur Königin van Athiopien Kandake und einzeln umlaufende Wundererzählungen von den Abenteuern Alexanders am Ende der Welt, in der Tiefe der Meeres und in den Lüften, wobei ihm nur das letzte versagt blieb, die Unsterblichkeit.

Aus diesen verschiedenartigen Quellen dichtete der Verfasser auch mit eigenen freien Erfindungen eine Erzählung zusammen, die mit dem Material gänzlich frei und willkürlich umging und in der der wirkliche Ablauf des Alexanderzuges überhaupt nicht mehr zu erkennen war und sowohl die Einzelereignisse des Zuges wie die Personen und vor allem die Geographie wild durcheinandergewirbelt und zum Teil auch frei erfunden waren und es von Anachronismen nur so wimmelte. Absicht des Autors war auch nicht, eine Geschichte Alexanders zu schreiben, sondern eine spannende Erzählung, wie sie dem Geschmack der Masse der städtischen Bevölkerung entsprach mit möglichst vielen Abenteuern und phantastischen Erzählungen von fernen Ländern mit ihren Fabelvölkern und -tieren und einem Helden, der sich gern auch als gerissener Schläuling zeigte, ein „Volksbuch“. Der Autor war offenbar von Anfang an nicht genannt, und deshalb scheuten sich auch spätere Generationen nicht, mit diesem herrenlosen Gut in freier Weise zu schalten und zu walten, es zu verkürzen, umzudichten, umzustellen, mit anderen Erzählungen zu erweitern und dabei auch den Helden des Romans, der längst aufgehört hatte, eine historische Persönlichkeit zu sein, ganz nach eigenem Geschmack und Bedürfnis umzuformen. Bei allen abstrusen Sonderbarkeiten des Romans bringt es aber die ursprüngliche Quellenlage mit sich, dass trotzdem einzelne wertvolle Angaben darin stehen, die wir sonst nicht haben, wie vor allem über die Geschichte und Topographie von Alexandria und das Verzeichnis der Teilnehmer an dem letzten Gastmahl bei Medios, bei dem die tödliche Krankheit zum Ausbruch kam. Von der ausserordentlichen Beliebtheit des Romans zeugt es, dass er in nahezu alle orientalischen und europäischen

Literatursprachen übersetzt, nachgedichtet oder sonst benutzt wurde, von Innerasien und Hinterindien bis Skandinavien und England. So entstanden nicht nur eine grosse Anzahl von Übersetzungen und Neufassungen, sondern alle diese Texte geben ebenso viele verschiedene Versionen, von denen nicht zwei genau gleich sind. In äusserster Vereinfachung des Sachverhalts ist es so, dass es vor allem zwei Hauptversionen gibt, von denen man die eine als *α* bezeichnet. Diese Version ist vor allem vertreten einerseits durch die griechische Handschrift Parisin. gr. 1811 (A) und andererseits durch die syrische und armenische Übersetzung und die lateinischen Übersetzungen des Julius Valerius aus dem frühen 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. und des Archipresbyters Leo aus dem 10. Jahrh. n. Chr. Auf diese lateinischen Übersetzungen gehen die vielen Übersetzungen, Neufassungen, Umformungen und sonstigen Benutzungen des Romans in den europäischen Sprachen im Mittelalter zurück und zwar im Falle des Valerius zumeist auf eine verkürzte Epitome daraus und bei Leo Presbyter auf die erweiterte Fassung der „Historia de preliis“. Daneben gibt es die zweite Hauptversion *β*, ihrerseits wieder in mehrere Zweige zerfallend, die in der griechischen Welt verbreitet ist. Als neugriechisches Volksbuch ist diese Alexandergeschichte bis ins 19. Jahrhundert vielfach nachgedruckt worden. Auch die sonstigen griechischen Handschriften gehören dieser Version an.

Während nun die wichtigsten orientalischen Übersetzungen, die syrische, armenische und äthiopische und natürlich auch die lateinischen seit Jahrzehnten in guten Übersetzungen vorlagen, stand es um die Kenntnis der griechischen Handschriften bei dem geringen Interesse, das man dem Roman in der Neuzeit entgegenbrachte, schlecht. Nur die Handschriften A und B lagen seit 1846 in einer Ausgabe von C. Müller vor, die aber recht fehlerhaft war und ausserdem die beiden miteinander nicht verwandten Handschriften Leidensis Vulcan. 93 (L) ohne Kommentar heraus. A ist dann von W. Kroll 1926 neu herausgegeben mit deutscher Übersetzung, bis vor kurzem die einzige brauchbare Ausgabe einer der griechischen Handschriften. In den letzten Jahren sind nun eine Reihe weiterer Ausgaben anderer griechischer Handschriften herausgekommen und hier reiht sich nun die neue Edition von Thiels ein, die hier anzuzeigen ist. Sie gibt die Handschrift L wieder, die zur Version *β* gehört. Bei der oben skizzierten Überlieferungsgeschichte des Alexanderromans kann die Aufgabe des Herausgebers nicht wie bei einem normalen Text der antiken Literatur darin bestehen, so etwas wie die Urfassung des Textes zu ermitteln, die überhaupt nicht wieder zu gewinnen ist, aber auch nicht darin, nur den Text der betreffenden Handschrift wiederzugeben, sondern er ist bei den zahllosen Fehlern, Sinnlosigkeiten, Lücken und Schlimmbesserungen ihrer ungebildeten Schreiber, von denen gerade der Schreiber von L ein stark vulgäres, oft schwer verständliches Volksgriechisch schreibt, genötigt, stark zu emendieren und nach verwandten Handschriften zu ergänzen, weil sonst, wie van Thiel sich ausdrückt, „ganz schlicht und einfach unser Verständnis auf der Strecke bliebe“. Vorangestellt ist eine knappe vorzügliche und klare Einleitung über die Quellen, die komplizierte Überlieferungsgeschichte mit einer guten Charakterisierung vom Werk und seinem ursprünglichen Autor, das Fortleben im Mittelalter und schliesslich über die Textüberlieferung mit Angabe der massgebenden Ausgaben des Romans und der zugehörigen Nebentexte und ein kurzes Verzeichnis der

wichtigsten Literatur. Es folgt der Hauptteil, der griechische Text mit knappem kritischem Apparat und deutscher Übersetzung, und den gerade bei diesem Text dringend nötigen sachlichen Erläuterungen von Einzelheiten und schliesslich noch drei Anhänge, der lateinische Brief Alexanders an Aristoteles mit seiner Erzählung des Indienzuges und der Schilderung Indiens, das griechische Gespräch Alexanders mit den indischen Gymnosophisten und ein kurzer Auszug aus dem Buch des Pseudomethodios über Alexander und die unreinen Völker, einer im 7. Jahrh. n. Chr. geschriebenen Weltchronographie und Apokalyptik, die dem Bischof Methodios von Olympos (gest. 311 n. Chr.) zugeschrieben wurde, alles mit deutschen Übersetzungen und kurzen Erläuterungen.

Die umfangreichsten Bibliographien über den nachantiken Alexanderroman stehen bei George Cary *The medieval Alexander*, Cambridge 1956, und in den ungefähr 500 Anmerkungen bei D. J. A. Ross *Alexander historiatus*, London 1963 (umfassendste Übersicht der nachantiken Versionen). Es sei gestattet, hier einige Literatur nachzutragen, die bei Cary und Ross nicht oder noch nicht steht. Das Fragment einer stark verkürzten mongolischen Version des Alexanderromans etwa aus dem 14. Jahrhundert aus den Berliner Turfantexten veröffentlicht mit Anmerkungen und deutscher Übersetzung Nik. Poppe *Eine mongolische Fassung der Alexander-sage*, Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 107, 1957, 105ff. Hier auch S. 108 A. 3 nach E. E. Bertel *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na vostoke*, Moskau-Leningrad 1948, S. 93 (Der Alexanderroman und seine Hauptversionen im Orient) Hinweis auf das persische Gedicht aus den Chamsa des Amir Husrau, *A'ina i-Sikandari*, als unveröffentlicht, gedruckt 1917 oder 1918 in Aligarh. Zu dem indo-persischen Dichter Amir Husrau (1253-1325) s. C. A. Storey *Persian literature I*, 1 (Section II, 3), London 1939, 493ff. P. Hardy *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, nouv. éd. I, Leiden 1960, 457. Sehr ausführliche Behandlung dieses mongolischen Textes, der möglicherweise Übersetzung eines türkischen Textes ist, durch Francis Woodman Cleaves „An early Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance“, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic studies* 22, 1959, 1-99 (mit Tafel I-VIII, englische Übersetzung des Textes S. 56ff. S. 19f. kurzer Textauszug aus Amir Husrau nach Bertel a.O. 77ff. S. 98f. einige weitere abgelegene Literatur).

Unter den Papyri Erzherzog Rainer in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek befinden sich vier Blätter eines Buches aus Papier aus dem 13. Jahrh. mit dem arabischen Text der Erzählung von einem König, der sich nach Weg zu dem Lande Serendib erkundigt. Der nicht genannte König ist fraglos Alexander und Serendib ist Ceylon, Theodor Seif, *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Wien 1926, 245ff. Die Legende von Alexanders Fahrt nach Ceylon zum Besuch des Adamspiks mit der Fussspur des aus dem Paradies herabgestürzten Adam ist in der arabischen Literatur seit dem 10. Jahrh. bekannt und taucht auch in dem englischen Kyng Ali-saunders (Cary S. 37) auf. In einer türkischen Version ist daraus Java geworden. Seif macht in dem Aufsatz auf eine Reihe arabischer, persischer und türkischer Texte aufmerksam.

Vom äthiopischen Alexanderroman gibt es eine mir nicht zugängliche Ausgabe von Burkhard Frank *Zēnā*

Eskender, die äthiopische Alexander-Legende, eingeleitet, nach zwei Handschriften herausgegeben und übersetzt, Masch.schr. Diss. Prag 1942. Eine kurze moderne ägyptische Version gibt E. Ruoff auf deutsch wieder, Ein Beitrag zur orientalischen Alexandersage, *Orientalistische Studien Enno Littmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* her. v. R. Paret, Leiden 1935, 131ff.

In der Gräflich Schönbornschen Bibliothek im Schloss Pommersfelden befindet sich ein Exemplar der Historia de preliis, Irene Ott, Die Pommersfelder Handschrift des Alexanderromans, *Würzburger Jahrbücher* II 1947, 189ff. Der byzantinische Alexanderroman ist neu herausgegeben von J. Trumpf *Incerti auctoris Byzantini vita Alexandri Macedonum*, Bibl. Teubner, Stuttgart 1974. Eine Sammlung kurzer Auszüge aus dem Alexanderroman (griechisch) erst im 19. Jahrh. geschrieben, steht im Parisin. Suppl. gr. 689: J. Trumpf „Eine unbekannte Sammlung von Auszügen aus dem griechischen Alexanderroman“, *Classica et mediaevalia* 26, 1965, 83ff. Zu dieser Version 8, die mit α (A) nächstverwandt und auch bei Leo Presbyter zugrundeliegt, gehören auch einige Fragmente in der Handschrift Vatican. gr. 1700, G. Ballaira, Frammenti inediti della perduta recensione 8 del romanzo di Alessandro in un codice Vaticano“, *Accademia dei Lincei, Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della edizione Nazionale dei classici Greci e Latini*, N.S. XIII 1965, 27ff. Zu dieser Version weiter Ballaira a.O. XVI 1968, 1ff. In beiden Aufsätzen Übersicht über die Überlieferungsgeschichte mit Literatur.

Eine plattdeutsche Übersetzung des Alexanderromans „Von Alexandro deme grote koninge“ ist bereits um 1478 in Lübeck gedruckt, Conr. Borchling - Fr. Clausen *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, Neumünster 1931, I S. 10 nr. 22. Eine kurze plattdeutsche Prosafassung „Van Alexander“ gibt Paul Jakob Bruns *Romantische und andere Gedichte in Altplattdeutscher Sprache*, Nerlin-Stettin 1798, nr. IX S. 331ff. (Borchling-Clausen II nr. 4682). Klaus Groth lässt in seinem Gedicht „Unruh Hans, de letzte Zigeunerkönig“ im Quickborn diesen in seinem letzten Gebet Iskander anrufen, dessen Zepter vom Morgenland von Hand zu Hand gegangen sei und das er nun mit seinem Tode niederlege.

Eine völlig andere, in der reichen Tradition allein-stehende Version (griechisch) findet sich in den Handschriften Vatican. 1556 und Parisin., Suppl. 690, die in Icherzählung kurz von den Taten Alexanders erzählt, dann eine lange Liste der besiegten Völker gibt und schliesslich berichtet, Alexander sei von einem persischen *καμπίδοκτωρ* durch einen Schwerthieb auf den Kopf tödlich getroffen worden und habe vor seinem Tode noch ein Testament für Ptolemaios geschrieben, in dem er verlangt, an dem „zweigipfligen Berg“ bei Kaisareia in Kappadokien beigesetzt zu werden, J. Trumpf, „Alexanders kappadokisches Testament“, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 52, 1959, 253ff.

An allgemeiner Literatur zum Alexanderroman sei noch vermerkt, R. Merkelbach, „Pseudo-Kallisthenes und ein Briefroman über Alexander“, *Aegyptus* 27, 1947, 144ff. P. Treves, Il problema storiografico del romanzo di Alessandro“, *Riv. di filol.* 83 (N.S. 33) 1955, 250ff. A. Gonzato, „Il codice Marciano Greco 408 e la data del romanzo bizantino di Alessandro con una ipotesi sull'autore“, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 56, 1963, 239ff.

Zürich, Januar 1975

ERNST MEYER

Jean-Paul REY-COQUAIS, *Arados et sa pérée aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine*. Recueil des témoignages littéraires anciens suivi de recherches sur les sites, l'histoire, la civilisation. Paul Geuthner, éd. 1974 (XIII et 299 pages, XXIV planches photographiques et 2 cartes) = Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, tome XCVII.

Les témoignages littéraires anciens sont présentés sous forme de 104 textes qui vont de la Genèse et d'Ézéchiel au Livre des Merveilles de la Terre et de la Mer de Dimashqi. La plupart sont transcrits en grec ou en latin (aucun en langues orientales). L'auteur a raison d'en donner des traductions en français. Cela fera gagner du temps à plus d'un lecteur.

Ces textes sont utilisés dans le chapitre suivant sur la géographie, l'histoire et la civilisation de l'île d'Arados, l'île de Rouad, et sur son domaine continental, sa „pérée“. Ils posent des problèmes de localisation qui sont examinés dans deux *excursi* et un appendice. On étudie ensuite les habitants, les Aradiens, depuis l'origine de leur établissement. Comme à Tyr, ils trouvèrent dans l'île un refuge inexpugnable (d'où son nom). Ici encore des problèmes de géographie historique sont examinés dans deux *excursi*: la découverte de Simyra et la recherche de Sin. Les limites de la pérée, sa nature politique, son accroissement, puis sa disparition posent d'autres problèmes ensuite examinés, tels que la destruction de Marathos et la disparition de Simyra.

Arados, petite île, „ne pouvait vivre que de la mer“. Tout son succès lui vint de sa flotte, de ses relations internationales et de son commerce. En cela, elle a été servie par sa situation géographique entre la Grèce, Chypre et l'Asie, aussi bien que par les événements politiques: domination perse, conquête d'Alexandre, gestion du pays par les Séleucides, puis par Rome. De toutes ces mutations elle a su tirer partie. Elle a pu se maintenir jusqu'à la conquête musulmane: son importance ne disparaîtra qu'en 641.

Un tableau détaillé des relations internationales d'Arados et des directions de son commerce depuis l'origine nous entraîne vers Chypre, la Crète, Rhodes, Iasos, Délos, Byzance et aussi vers le proche et le lointain Orient: Arados se trouvait ainsi ouvert à l'hellénisation et à la romanisation. Nous le verrons dans les institutions, dans l'art, la langue et les cultes. Ces derniers nous sont surtout connus par la numismatique, par les inscriptions et aussi par l'ononastique: les noms de personnes contiennent fréquemment le nom d'une divinité à laquelle on a voulu consacrer un enfant. Ce dernier chapitre m'a particulièrement intéressé, et on me pardonnera de m'y attarder un peu.

Dans mon livre *Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire Romain*¹⁾, j'ai reconnu le haut lieu primitif d'Arados sur une monnaie de cette ville du début du III^e siècle après J.-C. On affectionnait dans la numismatique de ce temps les représentations d'objets culturels archaï-

ques. Dans ce haut lieu, on voit trois statues, trois *ἱερά* ou *sacra* (fig. 1). Un taureau, surmonté d'une enseigne

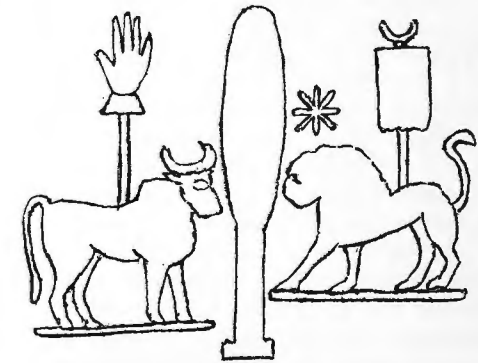


Fig. 1. La triade de Shor-Él, une Ashérat et le dieu-Lion, Ashtar-Réshéf, symbolisés par les statues d'un taureau, d'un cyprès et d'un lion, d'après une monnaie d'Arados à l'effigie d'Elagabale.

processionnelle en forme de main, représente le grand dieu Créateur, ÉL ou Shor-Él, „le Taureau-Él“. La main est le symbole de la puissance divine²⁾. Une statue de cyprès sur un petit socle est sa parèdre, l'Ashérat locale, dans sa forme primitive d'un tronc d'arbre³⁾. Enfin un lion surmonté d'une étoile figure la planète Vénus, c'est-à-dire le dieu Ashtar-Réshéf, sous son aspect le plus ancien⁴⁾. L'enseigne processionnelle qui l'accompagne est un *σημειον*, une bannière surmontée d'un croissant: c'est une image du ciel⁵⁾. Elle convient à Ashtar en sa qualité d'astre éclatant. La présence de ce dieu dans ce panthéon archaïque y entraîne nécessairement celle de sa parèdre, Ashtar.

Nous tenons donc, dès l'abord, les éléments d'une famille de dieux: deux couples divins primitifs⁶⁾. Les dieux père et mère y sont ÉL et l'Ashérat locale, et les dieux fils et fille, Ashtar-Réshéf et Ashtar. Leurs types nous sont connus par les tablettes de Ras Shamra du XIV^e siècle avant notre ère, mais celles-ci nous font connaître aussi d'autres dieux qui ne pouvaient être ignorés à Arados: le couple de Ba'al Saphon et d'Anat, les protecteurs d'Ugarit. A Rouad, ils étaient des dieux étrangers, mais néanmoins des dieux honorés dans tout le monde cananéen. Les grandes figures du dieu-Mer, Yam, et du dieu-Forgeron, Koushôr, étaient certainement aussi en honneur sur toute la côte phénicienne. On y adorait de même les huit „dieux gracieux“ devenus les Cabires phéniciens. Deux d'entre eux se nommaient „Aurore“ et „Crépuscule“, Shaḥar et Shalim; ils sont devenus Pollux et Castor, à l'époque grecque⁷⁾. Le huitième des Cabi-

²⁾ Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos*, p. 23, 33, 41-42, 95-99 et 145.

³⁾ *Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan*, p. 32-38 et Index, p. 252, „Ashérat“.

⁴⁾ *Persica*, 3, 1967-1968, p. 10-36; *Études sur les dieux phéniciens*, p. 6-30.

⁵⁾ *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre*, p. 424-430.

⁶⁾ *Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan*, p. XVIII.

⁷⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 104-110.

¹⁾ P. 125-126, fig. 32.

res phéniciens était Eshmoun-Adonis, dieu guérisseur⁸).

M. Rey-Coquais montre, sans intermédiaire, ce qu'est devenu ce panthéon après plus d'un millénaire. Naturellement, il y a bien des changements. Le grand dieu Créateur, le Taureau-Él qui habitait au-dessous de la Terre, à la Source des fleuves, est devenu le Très-Haut, le Maître des cieux y demeurant, Ba'al Shamîm. Il affecte la forme animale d'un aigle, et il manie l'éclair et la foudre, ce qui a conduit à l'identifier avec Zeus, et du coup son épouse, l'Ashérat locale, est devenue Héra. Ils sont restés père et mère de tous les autres dieux. Ashtar-Réshéf a pris les traits d'Apollon⁹). Son épouse, Ash-tart, a moins changé sous les noms d'Astarté et d'Aphrodite¹⁰), déesse nue ou Tyché. Le dieu-Mer, Yam, figure sur les monnaies hellénistiques d'Arados, sous l'aspect d'un monstre à queue de poisson. Il s'identifie à Poseidon. Ba'al Şaphon n'a pas jusqu'ici apparu à Arados, mais sa sœur et parèdre Anat y tient une grande place sous le nom et les traits d'Athéna, ceux de la chouette¹¹). C'était une inséparable compagne d'Ash-tart, Astarté, ailleurs à forme de colombe ou de poisson¹²).

Des dieux grecs et égyptiens sont venus s'ajouter aux vieux fonds sémitiques, en conservant leur personnalité étrangère. Tel apparemment Hermès, dieu grec du commerce et de la fortune, qui convenait si bien à ce peuple de marchands. La déesse de la fortune, Tyché, s'est au contraire assimilée aux Astartés locales. On le voit sur les monnaies des villes phéniciennes. Dans Héraclès, il est difficile, en pays cananéen et à l'époque gréco-romaine, de ne pas reconnaître Melqart, le si notoire dieu de Tyr.

Ba'al Shamîm-Zeus, issu mais si différent de Éli-Kronos, avait pour assesseurs le Soleil, Shams-Hélios, et la Lune, dieu-Yarh. Le premier n'est pas d'ancienne origine cananéenne, car à Ras Shamra le soleil est une déesse, Shapash. Quant au dieu-Lune, masculin, des anciennes religions sémitiques, il tend à être supplanté par la déesse grecque Sélénè. On le constate dans l'iconographie de ce temps.

Le livre se termine par des indices des plus utiles, vingt-quatre planches de photographies des sites étudiés, et deux cartes. Il se distingue par sa clarté et par sa bonne méthode. Il constitue un excellent instrument de travail.

A bord du Victoria, R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON
mars 1975

Heinrich B. SIEDENTOPF, Wolf RUDOLPH, Hartmut DÖHL, Ulrich WILLERDING, Walter VOIGTLÄNDER. *Tiryns VI*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philip von Zabern, 1973 (40, IV + 266 Seiten, 89 Tafeln) = Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Athen, Tiryns, *Forschungen und Berichte*, Band VI. Herausgegeben von Ulf Jantzen. Price: DM 148.—.

Eberhard SLENCZKA, *Figürliche bemalte mykenische Keramik aus Tiryns*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philip von Zabern, 1974 (40, IV + 172 Seiten, 48 Tafeln, 2 Beilagen) = Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Athen, Tiryns, *Forschungen und Berichte*, Band VII. Herausgegeben von Ulf Jantzen. Price: DM 148.—.

In the development of Aegean studies, Tiryns has played a part remarkably different from that of Mycenae. Although Schliemann dug a trench and twenty pits at Tiryns in August 1876, he did not recognize the palace until he returned with Dörpfeld in 1884. It was Mycenae, not Tiryns which gave its name to the Greek culture of the Bronze Age. Henceforth Mycenae evoked graves and glamour; Tiryns became the best known example of a Mycenaean castle and palace. G. Rodenwaldt's palace frescoes (*Tiryns II*, 1912), Kurt Müller's volume on architecture with H. Sulze's fine restorations (*Tiryns III*), and the publication of *Urfirnis* = Early Helladic pottery (K. Müller, *Tiryns IV*, 1938) were major scholarly studies, influential beyond their immediate site.

Work of restoration and excavation was resumed after the Second World War by the late N. Verdelis and the German Archaeological Institute, Athens, which in 1969 took the sensible decision to shift from the ambitious series of *Ergebnisse* (as *Tiryns I-IV* were titled) to the more flexible format of *Studien und Forschungen*, volumes which present individual studies of excavation materials, both recent and those undertaken long ago yet unpublished. This reform has rapidly born fruit. *Tiryns V* appeared in 1971, *Tiryns VI* in 1973, and *Tiryns VII* in 1974, all edited by U. Jantzen.

The first volume under review, *Tiryns VI* contains a variety of reports and studies. Where are the graves of the princes and commoners of Tiryns? This is a tantalizing question. The cemetery at Prophetis Elias, about a mile east of the citadel of Tiryns, had two tholoi and a number of chamber tombs. Some were excavated in 1927 by G. Karo and E. Kunze. Despite loss of records (only one architectural drawing survived) W. Rudolph is able in the first part of his study to reconstitute the contents of some twenty graves, with abstracts from fieldbooks, detailed descriptions of objects, and splendid photographs by H. Wagner. In the second part of the study, Rudolph presents a systematic chronological evaluation of pottery, terracotta figurines, which were found in four graves, (both Phi and Psi types occur) and other objects. Among the more remarkable are a poorly preserved fayence cylinder seal (pl. 52: 4-5) according to I. Pini an import from "Cypro-Mitannian" area (Grave XIX) allegedly with LH III A vases; a steatite lamp (p. 46: 4-5) like that from Dendra; and a bow fibula,

sure sign of lateness, similar to those from Perati (LH III C). There are grass beads, some amber, a piece of iron. According to a chart compiled by Rudolph (p. 124) the cemetery may have started as early as LH II and continued in use until late Submycenaean (LH III C 2).

H. Döhl's "Iria. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1939" and "Die prähistorische Besiedlung von Synoro" report excavations made by the late K. Gebauer in 1939 in an effort to explore regional settlement pattern in the Argolid of the Bronze Age. Here, too, the present author had to contend with loss of records, including fieldbooks. The sites, shown in sketchmap on p. 195, were mentioned in Gebauer's preliminary reports. Gebauer had dug two trenches into the coastal mound near the present village of Iria: R. Hope Simpson, *Gazetteer of Mycenaean Sites* (1965) p. 22, no. 28. Döhl agrees that the structure found at Iria by Gebauer was a Mycenaean house or houses; Döhl intimates, that the walls may be parts of two units (p. 136, sketch plan, fig. 4). He also sustains Gebauer's contention that the structure was burned and much ceramic material thrown into a bothros "in the earliest LH III C1". In addition to pottery — largely LH III C — which is the subject of a detailed discussion by types, the bothros contained burned remnants of plants. U. Willerding identifies figs, grass stalks, wheat (*emmer*, *triticum dicoccum*), barley (*hordeum vulgare*), and beans (*vicia faba*). Döhl rightly notes that "Iria" was apparently a small fishing village and that this material is valuable because it illustrates a "lower", more provincial social level of material culture. Döhl's "Prähistorische Siedlung von Synoro" is the report of one-day sounding made by W. Wrede in 1939. Cf. R. Hope Simpson, p. 22, no. 27; N. C. Scofield, *Mycenaean Citadels*, 1971, p. 57. The site is 14 km. east southeast of Nauplia. The sounding yielded no clear stratification but an Early Helladic II and an Early Mycenaean horizon may be inferred from the ceramic material, which is carefully published. Döhl suggests that the famous Early Helladic II-III series of destructions also finished the Early Helladic habitation at Synoro. The settlers may have moved to the neighboring coastal site of Kandia. Here Early Helladic III Middle Helladic I; and Late Helladic III are represented, exactly the periods missing at Synoro. A fascinating "footnote" is the imprint of a vineleaf on the bottom of a pithos. Apparently layers of vine leaves were used here (and at the Menelaion) like matts, on which the potter stood vases in leather-hard condition.

U. Willerding's study of "Bronzezeitliche Pflanzenreste aus Iria und Synoro" is useful beyond the immediate identification of the plant remnants listed above. Willerding surveys occurrences of culture plants reported from Bronze Age sites on the Greek mainland, Cyclades, and Crete and tabulates these occurrences by plants and sites (p. 233). He proffers some cautious conclusions on relative frequency of wheat (more common in Neolithic) and barley (more common in Bronze Age); and rounds out his study with an up-to-date bibliography for palaeobotany of Bronze Age Aegean.

H. B. Siedentopf's "Frühhelladische Keramik auf der Unterburg von Tiryns", treats of the beginnings, W. Voigtländer's "Zur Chronologie der spätmykenischen

Burgen bei Tiryns" of the palace period of Tiryns. Siedentopf publishes the Early Helladic pottery from an excavation made in 1965 in the northwestern part of the "Lower Castle" of Tiryns by the late N. Verdelis. Siedentopf who had checked the stratigraphy in a sounding made in 1968 ("Frühhelladische Siedlungsschichten auf der Unterburg von Tiryns", *Tiryns V*, p. 77), assigns a few pieces to the powerful burned stratum "Theta 1" which at Tiryns separates EH II (Lerna III) from EH III. An amphora came from "undisturbed EH III (Lerna IV) deposit" but otherwise the contexts are lost. After a well-illustrated typological study Siedentopf notes that EH I types are still missing. He concludes: "After several Neolithic phases Tiryns like Lerna was probably not inhabited during Early Helladic I"; but J. Rutter notes in his review that red-slipped EH I sherds (though no pure EH I levels) are known from Tiryns (*AJA* 78, 1974, p. 436).

If Siedentopf's study makes a modest but useful supplement to K. Müller's fundamental treatment of Early Helladic pottery from Tiryns (*Tiryns IV*, 1938), W. Voigtländer seeks to solve a number of major historical issues in relating the chronology of the three palaces of Tiryns not only to development of pottery and architecture but also to traditions of history and myth. A chart (p. 266) sums up the results of his "Chronologie der spätmykenischen Burgen in Tiryns". The first palace starts 1370/40 and lasts to 1320 B.C. (*Epichosis I*); Herakles arrives and the second palace is built ca. 1320-1290 B.C. (*Epichosis IIa*); Hyllos, Atreus, Adrastus and Seven Against Thebes are put between 1290/60 and 1270/40 (*Epichosis IIb*); the third palace begins ca. 1280, keeps on through the Trojan War (placed 1250/20-1230/1200, *Epichosis III*); and is destroyed, c. 1200? The final abandonment occurs during the twelfth century. The slender thread on which these and other speculations are hung, is Voigtländer's study of the *Epichosis* or *Westwall Terrace* debris, a deposit excavated by N. Verdelis and hitherto considered a stratified sequence of four levels. Voigtländer views it as a homogenous fill, re-used under a court terrace in the *Oberburg* of the latest palace. It spilled downhill to the west, when the retaining wall of the terrace was destroyed. The latest material in this fill, then, must antedate the destruction of the retaining wall of the terrace. Some scholars have suggested that this LH III B 2 (ca. 1200 B.C.) destruction may have occurred at Tiryns at the same time as Mycenae was burned.

Having demolished the four stratified levels of the *Epichosis*, Voigtländer labors mightily to construct three styles and four phases of pottery out of the ceramic material found in the fill; but the small selection (pls. 89-91), though welcome, fails to support the ambitious attempt intended to replace Furumark's chronological system.

In contrast to the mixed bag of *Tiryns VI*, Slenczka deals in *Tiryns VII* with just one celebrated problem: did the so-called "Pictorial Style" of Mycenaean vase painting have two branches, one on the Greek mainland (Argolid), the other on Cyprus and/or the Levant? Slenczka has new material to contribute. In his catalogue of 252 items, 183 come from Tiryns, often from ascertainable find areas; uncertainty about other fragments

⁸) *Op. cit.*, p. 162-165.

⁹) *Op. cit.*, p. 272, pl. IX; *Études sur les dieux phéniciens*, p. 140, pl. VI; *L'Éthnographie*, 1968-1969, p. 42, pl. II (bronze de Byblos). Sur Réshéf = Apollon à Chypre, Dussaud, *Syria*, 27, 1950, p. 77 (il y était "un dieu au taureau", parce qu'en qualité d'étoile du matin, il amène avec lui le taureau de la chaleur du jour).

¹⁰) Rey-Coquais, p. 27, T. 54b, "antique sanctuaire d'Aphrodite" = Ashtar, p. 9.

¹¹) *Nouvelles études*, p. 230, fig. 126; *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre*, p. 436-437.

¹²) *Nouvelles études*, p. 237-243; *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre*, p. 136, fig. 96, et p. 370, 437 et 613; *Bull. de la Soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 1944, p. 324-327.

now in the Nauplion Museum leads to the vague provenance of "Argolid" for the rest. Most of the fragments from Tiryns belong to LH III B. Slenczka establishes twelve stylistic groupings into which fragments from Tiryns may be fitted. He then expands his study to include relevant material from all Mycenaean and Cypriote-Levantine sites. He thus arrives at fourteen groups which, according to Slenczka, represent the stylistic development from ca. 1420-ca. 1160 B.C. It is his tenet that Furumark's Levanto-Mycenaean and Hellado-Mycenaean belonging largely to the Late Helladic III C phase. Slenczka's groups I-IX correspond to Levanto-Mycenaean, X-XIV to Hellado-Mycenaean (p. 148).

In a key chapter, "Beziehungen zwischen Hellado-Mykenischer und Levanto-Mykenischer Keramik" (p. 89-102), Slenczka examines stylistic groupings of workshops and painters attempted by F. H. Stubbings, S. A. Immerwahr, V. Karageorghis, and J. L. Benson (AJA 65, 1961, p. 337-348). In his "Groups A-E" he is able to add fragments from Tiryns to previously recognized oeuvres (Benson's Pierides, Enkomi-Bull, Protome A, Shield Bearers, and "C 372" painters). He then adds two stylistic groupings of his own (F, G). As these groups contain pieces found on the Greek mainland as well as on Cyprus, they greatly increase the probability that the pieces found on Cyprus came from the Argolid.

Slenczka then argues that Mycenaean vases were never in majority in Cypriote finds; that local Cypriote Bronze Age pottery is technically different from Mycenaean; that in contrast to this situation, Mycenaean figurative wares and other Mycenaean mainland pottery is technically similar. All well and good; but when he simply discards the chemical, physical, spectrographic and petrographic researches (E. Gjerstad and E. Sjöqvist; S. Immerwahr; H. Catling; I. Perlman) because archaeologists are not competent to judge the precision and the potential sources of error of these analyses, he is making things too easy for himself. It is true that throwing a smoke-screen of scientific tests around a problem does not advance it; it is also true that no advance will be made, unless a sufficient amount of such tests is attempted.

We cannot discuss here in detail Slenczka's reconstruction of the stylistic development of Mycenaean figure style. Suffice to say that he sees a trend to simplification which lasts until his group IX; then comes (in his groups X-XIV) a reversal toward greater "naturalism" (one can hardly call any of the figures of these paintings "naturalistic" without stretching the term to its breaking point). This trend reaches its culmination in Group XIV — headed by the famous "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae (dated 1180-1160 B.C.).

The chapter on "Absolute Chronology" recognizes as valid only the correlation with Tell Amarna (Group IV: 1360-1340); in good ancient Greek fashion Slenczka assumes an average of 20 years per stylistic "generation", thus obtaining 1420-1160 for fourteen stylistic groups.

In the chapter "Zur Chronologie der Burg von Tiryns", Slenczka wrestles with the same problems as Voigtländer in *Tiryns VI* (supra). He reviews K. Müller's architectural arguments and the *Epichosis* controversy; he is even more skeptical than Voigtländer about

the dating value of the "Westwall Terrace" debris. In his own chronological chart (p. 157) the Second Palace ranges from 1320-1270 B.C.; the Third Palace (construction) begins 1270-1250 B.C.; a destruction occurs before 1200; and the final abandonment comes around 1160 B.C.

A useful Appendix on shapes of the Tiryns pottery is followed by a note of two pages on that subject which to many scholars is the most important aspect of the whole Mycenaean pottery — are some of these boneless, stuffed puppets enacting the earliest representations of such famous Greek myths as the "Weighing of Souls" by Zeus? (esp. V. Karageorghis, "Myths and Epic in Mycenaean Vase Painting", AJA 62, 1958, 383-387, pl. 98: 2). Are the many chariot scenes representations of funerary processions or Homeric funerary games? 1). Slenczka poses the questions but his only contribution is a remark that warlike attributes seem to become more emphatic in his later groups (IX-XIV). "The change from a peaceful (sic) to a warlike picture occurs at a time when the third great defensive complex is built at Tiryns, a complex which shortly thereafter is violently destroyed together with other great Mycenaean centers such as Mycenae and Pylos" (p. 168).

Anything Mycenaean from Tiryns is central, but it is a pity that the fundamental work by Karageorghis and Vermeule, "Mycenaean Pictorial Vase-Painting" has not yet been published; for Slenczka's work, though very meritorious, is a distinctly tentative hypothesis.

Harvard University,
June 1975

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

* *

D. STRONG, *De oude Etrusken*. Zutphen. B.V. W. J. Thieme & Co. Ohne Jahreszahl (40, 143 S., 16 Tafeln und Abb. im Text. Übersetzung von: "The Early Etruscans", London 1967). Preis: Nfl. 19.50.

In neun Kapiteln über das Land, die Herkunft, die Staaten, Geschichte, die Regierung und das Volk, die Städte, Lebensweise, Kunst und Sprache behandelt Strong verschiedene Aspekte der etruskischen Kultur während einer bestimmten Periode, nämlich von ungefähr 750 bis 400 v. Chr. Das Werk ist populärwissenschaftlich, ohne Noten und mit einer äusserst knappen Bibliographie.

Die Übersetzung ins Holländische ist nur mässig. Ganze Teile von Sätzen sind weggelassen worden. Ungenauigkeiten sind z.B.: „in Bologna" statt „bij Bologna" (S. 18), „Trasimenemeer" statt „Trasymeense meer" (passim), „Caeritische" statt „Caeretaanse" (S.

1) 41-43, pl. 2c, Slenczka gives an interesting discussion on representation of horsemen versus chariots (confirming existence of riding). The first three-stringed lyre and the head and hand of the lyre player are represented on a fragment "from the Argolid", p. 69, no. 159, pl. 9: 1d; hitherto only six to eight-stringed lyres were represented in Minoan and Mycenaean arts. Cf. M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos II, The Frescoes*, Princeton, 1969, pp. 79-80, five to seven strings, pls. 27, 125, 126A, and pp. 50-51, 194. The famous "Bard at the Banquet" in the Throne Room of Pylos has been called Orpheus, Thamyris — or perhaps the kind of bard left by Agamemnon to look after Klytaimnestra, *Odyssey* III 267.

65), „schatkamer" statt „schathuisje" (S. 82), „banken" staat „aanligbedden" (S. 86), „Capitolinische" statt „Capitolijnse" (S. 117), „rioleringsstelsel" statt „drainage" (S. 75).

Das Werk ist reich bebildert mit schwarzweiss Fotos und Zeichnungen. Man beachte, dass der *cippus* von Perugia auf S. 137 in Spiegelbild gedruckt worden ist. Der Verfasser gibt mit diesem Buch unseren Kenntnissen der Etrusker keine neue Dimension. Im Gegenteil, viele Gegenstände sind oberflächlich und ungenau behandelt. Nennen wir einige Beispiele. Volsinii liegt möglicherweise bei Bolsena und nicht unter dem heutigen Orvieto (S. 31). Von welcher Stadt spricht S.? Von Volsinii Veteres oder V. Novae? Auf S. 41 wird gesprochen von „einem wichtigen Kampf um die Macht zwischen den drei grossen Mächten, den Etruskern, den Griechen und Karthagern". Dies erweckt den Eindruck, als hätte es auch zwischen Etruskern und Karthagern Rivalität gegeben. Im Gegenteil, man beachte die goldenen Blecher von Pyrgi und Aristoteles' *Politika* III. 9.

Ein *elogium* aus Tarquinia erzählt von einem etruskischen Magistrate, der ein Heer nach *Syrakus* brachte (S. 48). Diese lateinische Inschrift erwähnt aber nur Sizilien (siehe *SE* 21 (1950) 165). Strong datiert den Friedhof in Orvieto am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts (S. 56). Die ersten Gräber entstehen aber etwa 575 v. Chr. S. hat Vitruvius' Text über den etruskischen Tempel nicht verstanden (S. 68). Dass jedes Haus in Marzabotto einen Brunnen auf dem Hof gehabt hätte, ergibt sich nicht aus dem Bericht von Mansuelli (*RM* 70 (1963) 44-62). Ebensovienig kann S. beweisen, dass in Clusium (Chiusi) eine Maske über das Antlitz eines Toten gesetzt wurde, als er zum Scheiterhaufen gebracht wurde (S. 84). Die bronzenen Masken die in *ziri* gefunden sind, zeigen auf jeden Fall keine Spuren eines Feuers. Es ist unverständlich, dass S. den Maler des Grabes der Olympischen Spiele als sehr begabt bezeichnet (S. 91). De gustibus non est disputandum. *Puia* bedeutet nicht Tochter (S. 132) sondern Gattin! Usw. Es ist zu bedauern dass viele Bücher von diesem Gehalt auf den Markt kommen. Sie verursachen bei dem grossen Publikum viele Missverständnisse.

Leiden, November 1975

L. B. VAN DER MEER

* *

Luisa BANTI, *The Etruscan Cities and their Culture*. London, B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1973. Translation by E. Bizarri. (8vo, VI + 322 pp., 96 pl. and 13 maps in the text). Price: £ 5.50.

This book is a translation of the Italian edition „Il mondo degli Etruschi" (Rome 1968), which was a complete revision of the first edition in 1960. (See recension of E. Richardson in *AJA* 66 (1962), 217-218). The content concerns the boundaries of Etruria (Ch. 1), Etruscan art (Ch. 2), a description of the monuments in Southern, Central and Northern Etruria (Ch. 3-5), Etruscan religion (Ch. 6), writing and language (Ch. 7), the history and government of Etruscan cities and problems of the origins (Ch. 8).

The 96 plates are discussed in separate notes. Then a

select bibliography, glossary, and index of authors and a general index follow.

According to the title, the Etruscan cities are the subject treated in this book. As a matter of fact however, we know little about the cities, but much about their *necropoleis*. Consequently the culture of the cities has hitherto been analysed from the funeral and the literary point of view (except for Marzabotto and some other settlement).

Kernel of the book is the topographical section. Each centre is described in order of history, topography and the monuments, and these in a chronological sequence. The highly interesting relations between different places in Etruria are also discussed. Unfortunately, at least for non-specialists, hundreds of objects are mentioned without any illustrations or notes referring to illustrations in other books and reviews.

Moreover, many misprints and wrong translations do not make the reading easier. Still more disastrous is the fact that on the first fifty pages nearly all references to the plates are mistaken, so that the layman is misled.

Though it is very tiresome, I will give a small list of errors in printing and translation: Noa (p. 2), Romach (p. 14), Tuscolo (p. 14), convicting (p. 14), 454 B.C. (p. 15, in stead of 474 B.C.), Sepus (p. 18, in stead of Sepus), Tyrhennian (p. 23), Vpinas (p. 61), Zonara (p. 64 and passim), lebeti (p. 74), Zilagy (p. 81), Sostrates (p. 84), agrimensori (p. 180), 9th century (p. 219), dolio (p. 223), flabelli (p. 224), Ceryneian (p. 227), Oileo (p. 249), Marciano Capella (p. 301).

Because of the detailed character of the text, our criticism also has to be fragmentary. The author divides Etruria in three regions, as stated above. Her criteria seem a little bit obscure, for why should, for example, Chiusi and Perugia belong to Northern Etruria and not to the central part of it? (p. 37-). On p. 13 she speaks of a "central cella" of the Tomba François while she means the *tablinum* of the T-shaped antichambre. On p. 33 she calls the classical period of Etruria a time of "decline" and "drop in originality". Nevertheless, as studies of Hafner, Moretti and Sprenger show, objects of high quality have been made in this period. One only needs to remember the famous candelabrum of Cortona, the Mars of Todi and the Chimaere of Arezzo! The latter work of bronze is dated by her — though in an interrogative way (p. 34 and 272) — about 400 B.C. Since 1960 however we know that the Chimaere belongs to the 4th century B.C., and probably to the first half of it. (See W. L. Brown, *The Etruscan Lion*, Oxford 1960, 155-7).

On p. 57 the A. dates the Tomba Campana of Veii between 550 and 525 B.C. for "an early dating would make the tomb painting in Veii precede tomb painting in all the coastal cities", but on the same page she dates the Tomba delle Anatre at the same place about 600 B.C. ...

Wrong dates we meet on p. 60, 68, 69, 86, 146.

Lars Tolumnius did not die in 434 B.C. but probably in 428 B.C. Falerii Veteres is not destroyed in 214 B.C. but 241 B.C. Ovidius and Strabo did not live in the 1st century A.D. but also B.C. The Roman colony Cosa was not founded in 283 but 273 B.C.

On p. 70 prof. Banti says that Tages was a boy. The

ancient authors, Cicero and Laurentius Lydus, speak about an ambiguous being, a boy-old man.

On p. 77, she thinks the athletic games existed in Etruria probably long before any Greek influence arrived. As far as I know, these games are painted for the first time in the 2nd half of the 6th century B.C. in Tarquinian tombs. Curiously enough, Herodotus (I 167.3) tells that the inhabitants of Caere established athletic games in honour of the dead, after the battle near Corsica, about 540 B.C.! I do not exclude a relation between both facts.

The Tomba Campanari of Vulci is dated in the 1st century B.C. (p. 95). This is highly improbable for one of the figured men in profile (see F. Messerschmidt-A. von Gerkan, *Die Nekropolen von Vulci* (1930), p. 48 fig. 42) resembles the standing Trojans, painted in the Tomba François at the same place, a tomb painting dated today about 300 B.C. Moreover, the shape of the capital of the central column does not plead for such a late date either.

The friezes of the two "Doric tombs" at Norchia are not decorated with human heads (p. 104). Probably the A. intends the heads of Gorgo on the corners of the pediments.

The impasto vase, found in the necropolis Olmo Bello near Bisenzio, has no cover schematically shaped as a human head (p. 104). The face is plastically rendered on the upper part of the vase itself. (See W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öff. Samml. in Rom III* (1969) 518 nr. 2545). The A. explains this strange canopic phenomenon through contacts of Bisenzio with Chiusi. A strange fact remains however that the vase precedes the production of canopi at Chiusi and its environments (see M. Cristofani, in *AC* 23 (1971) 25).

Very interesting is the A.'s idea about the bronze model of a liver, found in 1878 near Piacenza (Gossolengo) (p. 181-). Miss Banti thinks the model was used by a Roman haruspex, for Piacenza had already been abandoned by the Etruscans since about 400 B.C. or earlier. The shape of the letters on the front and back of the liver has to be dated after 150 B.C. For these two reasons, she thinks, the so called Etruscan pantheon inscribed on the model had been influenced by the Roman one. Against this theory is the fact that the Romans used Etruscan haruspices until the 4th century A.D., that we do not know whether the liver was really used at Piacenza, and thirdly that models like these — with a very ingenuous system of divine relations — could be very conservative. Finally of course the Etruscan pantheon must have been influenced by Italic gods and demons from the very first time.

On p. 185 is stated that no archaic representation of Tinia exists. The A. contradicts herself, for on p. 274 (pl. 87a) she dates a repoussé bronze panel from Castel S. Mariano, representing Zeus killing a giant, in 510 B.C. Zeus is identified by the Etruscan with Tinia, as is clearly shown by incised mirrors.

According to the A. the marble female figure from the Cannicella necropolis, south of Orvieto, had nothing to do with the necropolis (p. 188). But very probably the whole sanctuary in the cemetery was devoted to this Venus! Moreover, we know a Greek Aphrodite "epitym-

bia", thus a funerary Venus. Finally the phallic emblems found in the sanctuary point to a goddess of life, death and fertility (see A. Andrén, in *Antike Plastik* VII (1967) 18-).

On p. 261 follows a description of the Tomba Inghirami I, discovered in 1861 north of Volterra. According to prof. Banti all urns are in alabaster and they are arranged around the central pillar as they were found. Both matters are not true. There are some urns of tufa and at least two urns are exposed in the closed part of the Museo Archeologico at Florence. The arrangement in the reconstructed tomb is probably not the original, for nobody knows, and nowhere is written what the original situation was. During the reconstruction of the tomb in 1900-1901 all urns stood in the museum, so that it is not even certain that the lids belong to the chests.

Unfortunately this list of inaccuracies is not complete. Other drawbacks of the book are the incompletely cited ancient authors and the rejecting of theories of other scholars without an exact exposure of their content. Moreover, some very important books have been left out of consideration in the large bibliography, e.g. G. A. Mansuelli, *Etruria and early Rome* (London 1966), still one of the best books concerning Etruscan art. Finally must be remarked that important discoveries and new theories from the period between 1968 and 1973 have not been worked up, so that already this book is not completely up-to-date.

Prof. Banti's book needs a very thorough revision. In the meantime it remains one of the most important books concerning Etruria because of the wealth of information which cannot easily be found elsewhere!

Leiden, Arch. Inst.,
September 1974

L. B. VAN DER MEER

* *

W. V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971 (8vo, VIII + 370 pp.). Price: £ 6.50.

The purpose of this study is to describe and explain Roman policies in two adjacent areas, Etruria and Umbria, in the period of conquest and throughout the period when the Etruscans and Umbrians remained politically and culturally distinct from other Italians. Thus, implicitly, it comprises a history of the Etruscan area from the 4th century (311 B.C. to be exact) into the Augustan era. This book takes the place of R. A. L. Fell, *Etruria and Rome*, now out of date, and together with E. T. Salmon's *Samnium and the Samnites* it means a considerable progress in the study of Roman early imperialistic policies.

The specific difficulties of this sort of study are obvious: sources are extremely lacunous, and the quality of the existing testimonia is uneven. In his first chapter Harris deals with these problems and emerges as mildly sceptical as to supposed Etruscan sources for Roman-Etruscan relations: few signs of Etruscan historiography seem to exist (against the more optimistic views of Heurgon). Volnius *qui tragoedias Tuscas scripsit* does not help either. No reason to assume Etruscan sources for

Livy's description of the fall of Veii (against Bayet and others). Early Greek historians had not any knowledge of the Etruscans that was at all esoteric etc. etc.

Vegoia's prophecy, on the other hand, does show marked Etruscan elements. H. hesitatingly dates this document to the period of the agrarian reforms, perhaps the time of Livius Drusus, though the ultimate origin should be placed in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. H. rightly accentuates the reference to *domini* and *servi* in this text. It should be noted, though, that the phrasing of the prophecy does not unequivocally imply class-struggles, as H. seems to think (p. 39: "slaves contending with masters for the possession of land"). *Servi* appear to "possess" landholdings, in some kind of tenure, which they might try to expand by illegitimate means, either with or without the knowledge of their personal *domini*. That is the obvious interpretation of *dominica conscientia*. I cannot see how one can conclude from this text: "it looks as if the conflict that is envisaged is a conflict of classes", even if we know of similar conflicts in the 3rd and 2nd century. In an aside it may be pointed out that it is not generally true that "verbal oddities" or "peculiarities of the language are strong evidence against any suggestion of forgery" (p. 39). There is — to mention only one instance — the very odd and peculiar phrasing of the inscription with the "consecratio of Carthage", an absolute fake, to illustrate this (CRAI 1966, 61-76).

After a sound and thorough account of Roman infiltration and conquest till 264 B.C. (Ch. II) H. makes out a case for the view that Rome settled matters in Etruria by way of *foedera*. As regards the nature of these *foedera* H. opposes Badian in contending that they were *iniqua*. Although attractive, his arguments are not conclusive, no arguments (including Badian's) can be in the circumstances. Of course H. is right in stating that the *foedus* with Camerinum, being "aequissimum" (Cicero, *pro Balbo* 46), should not be used for argument. Nor is it, of course, counter-evidence. Apparently some *foedera* were more equal than others, and one can conceive a scale of *foedera aequa* with a steadily decreasing content of *aequitas*, at the end of which a *foedus* emerges which can definitely be labelled as *iniquum*. From what date was the term *foedus aequum* used in the narrow sense in which it was used generally in later times, for instance to characterize the *foedus Cassianum* and why is this *foedus* not called *aequissimum*? Cf. in this connection Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* I, 262: "It is, indeed, probably a mistake to assume that there were two standardised forms of treaty".

The circumstance that Rome made her treaties, not with total populations, but with the upper-classes brings in the eternal problem of Etruscan social structures. There is a discussion of the "slave"-revolutions of Volturni and elsewhere (On the Volturni - *Οὐναρέα* - Venaria question add: J. Heurgon, *Oinarea - Volsinii*, in: *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*. Festschrift F. Altheim I, 1969, 273-279). For the *servi* the best term seems to be *Πένεσται* as Dionysius Hal. suggested. Both categories were *μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων* and could reach considerable influence in the state. These Etruscan "serfs" are perhaps to be identified with the

lautni of the grave-inscriptions. In a paper published shortly after Harris' book J. Heurgon returns to these problems and argues strongly against a mere identification of *lautni* and *libertus*. According to Heurgon *lautni* means at least originally, *familiaris*, a meaning denied by Harris. (Classes et ordres chez les Étrusques in: *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité classique*. Colloques nationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique. Caen 1969, Paris 1970, 29-41).

However this may be, it was with the *principes* that Rome made her alliances and the relatively firm loyalty to Rome throughout the periods of war proves that "Rome had established a stable understanding with the ruling classes of the Etruscan towns" (131). H. is somewhat eager to minimize Etruscan rebellious movements, but generally his arguments are convincing, especially when Pfiffig is attacked.

Nevertheless, there are some clear cases of rebellion during the 2nd Punic war and nobles were involved. H. mentions the suggestion of D. W. L. van Son (Mnem. XVI (1963) 267 ff.) that there was a connection with the approaching end of a *saeculum* and not unjustly calls it speculative but fails to give an explanation of his own. Elsewhere, too, there is a manifest aversion from mingling religious data with political history. E.g. on p. 117 n. 8 the reader is informed that "The removal of Vertumnus must also be indicative of Roman Policy", but that is all he learns. No further questions or answers are given.

There is a chapter on the Romanization of Etruria, in which, of course colonization played a part, though apparently on a considerably smaller scale than elsewhere in Italy. As to the spread of the Latin language: the Etruscan people became truly bilingual only in the 1st century. All bilingual inscriptions but one belong to this period. After the social war few traces of Etruscan language remain, Latin being clearly the dominant language by now. A thorough study of J. Kaimio, *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria* 3. The ousting of Etruscan by Latin in Etruria (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae V, Rome 1972) largely confirms this view. Neither Harris nor Kaimio knew the intriguing discovery of Heurgon, CRAI 1969, 526-551, that three *cippi* with identical texts found in Tunesia between 1907 and 1915 were indeed Etruscan as A. Merlin suggested long ago. The text reads: M. UNATA. ZUTAS. TUL. DARDANIUM. TINŠ., which is Etruscan for what in Latin would read: *Marce Unata Zutaš (name?). Fines Dardanium. Iovis.* 1000.

It is evidently a border-cippus fit up by an Etruscan colonist, to indicate the territory of a clan or tribe or village with the name *Dardanii*. All Etruscan *termini* are under the protection of Juppiter. The number indicates the size of the territory.

Now, the interesting things are that there is Latin influence (*Dardanii*!), that the date is with a fair degree of probability 82 B.C. but, before all things, that the text is drafted in Etruscan and only in that language.

To continue following closely the general line of Harris' book would exceed the *termini* of this review. Let me, by way of conclusion, assure that the later chapters on Etruria in the Social War, the Tribal Allocations, Sullan and Marian actions, Catilina and Augustus (Cf.

now: E. Gabba, "The Perusine War and Triumviral Italy, *HSCP* 75, 1971, 139-160) bear witness of the same qualities that manifest themselves in the part discussed above: sound scholarship, exhaustive discussions of the source-material and sane judgement whenever a choice between two possibilities is called for. This study is an important contribution to our understanding of Roman colonization in general, and of Etruscan circumstances in particular.

Leiden, September 1974

H. S. VERSNEL

* *

OPUSCULA ROMANA voll. VIII und IX, ed. Institutum Romanum Regni Sueciae. Stockholm, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1973 und 1974 (4to, 70 u. 220 S.) = Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, series XXXI u. XXXIII. Preis: Sw. Crs. 80.— u. 200.—.

Die Bände VIII (1973) und IX (1974) der von dem königlichen schwedischen *Institutum Romanum* ins Licht gegebenen *Opuscula Romana* sind sowohl inhaltlich wie auch was Ausstattung anbetrifft ebensogut wie die vorhergehenden.

Band VIII enthält fünf Beiträge, während der neunte Band, der dem Bekannten schwedischen Archäologen Erik Sjöqvist angeeignet ist, vierundzwanzig Beiträge zählt nebst einem Verzeichnis der bedeutendsten Schriften dieses Gelehrten.

In der ersten Abhandlung des achten Bandes, *Osservazioni sulle terrecotte architettoniche Etrusco-Italiche* von Arvid Andrén werden nach einer ausführlichen Einleitung über die Verkleidung mit Terrakotta zum Schutz von Gebäuden, die aus schwachem Material gebaut worden waren, die von der etruskischen Architektur zur Anwendung gebrachten Terrakottaverkleidungen behandelt. Ein Schatz von Abbildungen verdeutlicht die Auseinandersetzung. Mich trafen besonders die vielen „internationalen“ Züge der Funde (*horror vacui*, Pferde mit Adlerflügeln/Bellerophon).

Der „preliminary report“ von Örjan Wikander über *Etruscan Roofing-Tiles from Aquarossa* ist sehr instruktiv. Verschiedene Gattungen werden beschrieben, derer eine heute noch üblich ist.

Un'urna Etrusca con iscrizione dipinta e con scena in rilievo raffigurante la lotta tra Eteocle e Polinice ist der Titel eines Aufsatzes von Paul Åström. Es handelt sich hier um eine viereckige mutmasslich zwischen 200 und 150 hergestellte, jetzt in Lund befindliche Urne aus Terrakotta. Ausser den beiden Hauptpersonen sind auch Antigone und Ismene dargestellt worden. Vgl. auch eine Urne im archäologischen Museum in Florenz, Saal XV (Agostino, *Museum of Florence*, 1968, S. 93). Mich traf die diagonale Komposition, während das Ganze mich an die viel spätere Athenagruppe des Pergamonaltars erinnert.

Drei kurze Beiträge von Helge Lyngby, Mario Polia und Giuseppina Pisani Sartorio über die immer noch nicht genau bekannte Lage der römischen Porta Flumentana behandeln u.m. die antiken Quellen und die verschiedenen Theorien. Doktor Polia berichtet über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zwischen 19-5-1969 und 6-6-

1969, während Frau Pisani Sartoria sich der geologischen Seite annähert. Sehr lehrreich ist Tavolo V.

Eine schöne Kombination archäologischer und historischer Kenntnisse zeigt die Abhandlung von J. J. Jully, *Une factorerie celte et ligure en Languedoc méditerranéen: La Monédière dans le delta antique de l'Hérault*. La Monédière ist die Jahrhunderte hindurch infolge ihrer günstigen Lage ein blühendes Handelszentrum gewesen. Erst kamen die phönikischen „merchant-adventurers“, später die etruskischen Händler und nach ihnen entfalteten die Griechen aus dem Orient und aus Europa ihre Aktivitäten, dabei, wie die Funde zeigen, die örtliche Kultur beeinflussend.

Der neunte Band fängt mit einem wertvollen Aufsatz *Il „Germanico“ del Museo del Louvre. Proposta di identificazione e di interpretazione* von Gösta Säfllund an. Das Bild, das im Jahre 1590 in einer der Villen des Papstes Sixtus V gefunden und 1648 dem Ludwig XIV verkauft wurde, heisst im Volksmund „Germanicus“. Jedoch, wie der Autor auf Grund neuerer Funde feststellt, stellt es sehr wahrscheinlich Marcellus, den Enkel und Schwiegersohn Augusts, heroisiert in die Form des Hermes Chthonios, dar. Es ist nicht unmöglich, dass es von einem Vers Vergils (*Aen.* VI, 862) inspiriert wurde.

Eine spezielle Art von Topferwaren behandelt Paul Åström in *A New Ware: Light-and-Red-on-Black-Ware*. Im Nicholson Museum in Sydney befindet sich eine solche Vase, die den Autor zu Betrachtungen über die Mittel- und Spätzypriotische Zeit, als den Töpfern die traditionellen Dekorationskombinationen leid geworden waren, begeisterte.

In einem interessanten Aufsatz *Veiovis - a Pre-European God in Rome?* untersucht Einar Gjerstad den Unterschied zwischen Juppiter und „den andern“ (verschiedenen) Juppiter (Veiovis) und kommt zu der Schlussfolgerung: „He seems to be a pale survival of the Mediterranean pantheon“. Ausserhalb Roms hatte er Verbindungen mit Fruchtbarkeitsgöttinnen. In Rom selbst verwandelte er sich in einen chthonischen Gott.

Ein Zeuskopf im Museo Chiaramonti? von Marie-Louise Säfllund macht annehmlich, dass dieser Kopf eine Kopie des verloren gegangenen Kopfes von Zeus aus dem Ostgiebel des Olympiatempels ist.

In *Some Notes on Roman Houses* geht Birgitta Tamm, um zu einer besseren Einsicht in den römischen Häuserbau zu kommen, nicht von den pompejanischen Wohnungen aus, sondern von denen in Ostia und in den *coloniae* in Gallien und Spanien, sich dabei kritisch dem Vitruv gegenüber aufstellend.

Senatum militia vetuit et adire exercitum von Hilding Thylander behandelt Aur. Victor XXXIII, 34: ... *quia ipse (sc. Gallienus), metu socordiae suae, ne imperium ad optimos nobilium transferretur, senatum militia vetuit et adire exercitum*. Dieses Edikt wird von Inschriften bestätigt, und darum ist, wie auch der Autor bemerkt, Symes Behauptung: „Viktor is the victim of a delusion“ bestimmt unrichtig. Trotz dieses Ediktes sind nicht alle Senatoren aus den höchsten Stellen verschwunden. Ausserdem wissen wir, dass es sich um eine lange Entwicklung handelt (vgl. auch L. de Blois, *De politiek van keizer Gallienus*, 1974, Engl. Ausg. wird vorbereitet). Darum könnte man m.E. es vielleicht in diese Richtung su-

chen: Manchmal hat man Entwicklungen, die noch nicht legalisiert waren, aber beim Volke lebten, erst dann, wenn sie faktisch beendet waren, legalisiert. In unserem Lande das Lyzeum, die Änderung des alten Gesetzes betrifft der Sonntagsruhe, die Kremation. Im römischen Reiche die *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Diese Legalisierung findet statt, wenn die Zeiten reif sind, aber es passiert, dass das neue oder das geänderte Gesetz noch nicht völlig befolgt wird.

Die realistische Wiedergabe bestimmter körperlicher Fehler auf Grabmonumenten in der Form von kleinen Tempeln (*naiskoi*), die man in der Nekropolis von Tarent ausgegraben hat, ist Gegenstand eines interessanten Beitrags von J. Coleman Carter (*The Figure in the Naiskos-Marble Sculptures from the Nekropolis of Tarento*). Diese Abbildungen zeigen eine exakte Beobachtung der Natur und noch nicht „the exaggerated emotionfilled realism of later Hellenistic sculpture“.

Das berühmte Nereidenmonument von Xanthos begeisterte William Childs zu einem Datierungsversuch. Wichtig sind die Vergleiche mit Friesen des Mausoleums, mit Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels und dem Sarkophag der weinenden Frauen. Schlussfolgerung ist, dieses Monument stamme aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts und zeige klar lykisch-anatolischen Einfluss.

Mark Davies widersetzt sich m.E. mit Recht in seinem Aufsatz *The Death of Aigisthos: A Fragmentary Stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter* kraft neuerer Funde der Theorie Clairmonts, die Figuren auf dem Boston Oresteia Krater seien von links nach rechts Elektra, Orestes, Aigisthos und Klytaimnestra — und nicht Klyt., Or., Aig., El. —, sodass Elektra die Beihilfe des Orestes sei.

Unter den wenigen Überresten der hellenistischen Malerei nehmen die polychromatischen Vasen von Centuripa eine bedeutende Stelle ein. Paul Deussen untersucht in seinem *The Nuptial Theme on Centuripa Vases* das Hochzeitszeremoniell in dieser Stadt. Die Übersetzung von *Numpheutria* mit „bridesmaid“ scheint mir nicht richtig. Sie war eine Dame, die im Auftrage der Eltern die Braut in dem Hochzeitszug begleitete, den Gang des Hochzeits regelte und das Brautzimmer herrichtete (Vgl. die Definition von Suidas, Hesychios und Pollux). Vielleicht damit die Mutter ruhig das Fest mitmachen könnte?

Die Beschreibung des Centuripekraters 15.11.5 von dem Metropolitan Museum (S. 128 flg.) scheint mir ein wenig oberflächlich: „Central is the bride ..., beckoned along by the *numpheutria* ..., and followed by a wreathed tympanist and a fourth accompanist“. Auf den meisten Hochzeitsvasen, z.B. Arnold-Blümner-Baumeister, Denkm. I, 695, hält ein von dem Bräutigam geschickter Brautführer die linker Hand der Braut umfasst, und kann man ihn vielleicht mit dem Hermes Psychopompos des Orpheusreliefs vergleichen. Er führt die Jungfrau „zum Tode“ — die Jungfrau „stirbt“, die Frau die Kinder gebären wird, wird „geboren“. Das Leben aus dem Tode —. Hat man in Centuripa die ursprüngliche religiöse Bedeutung des Brautführers vergessen und hat die *numpheutria* (oder ist es die *promnestria* und steht die *numpheutria* hinter der Musikantin?) seine Aufgabe übernommen? Hier ist noch viel zu untersuchen.

In *A Portrait Statue of Domitian from Aphrodisias* behandelt Kenan Erim eine vor kurzem in der karischen Hauptstadt gefundene Domitianstatue und ihre Basis, die der *damnatio memoriae* entwischt sind. Mittels Vergleiche mit anderen Abbildungen und mit Daten antiker Schriftsteller stellt der Autor fest, dass diese Statue im Anfang der Regierung hergestellt worden ist.

John Fawcett Kenfield III setzt in *The Sculptural Significance of Early Greek Armour* auseinander, dass die Einführung der Brustharnische für Hopliten im 7. Jahrh. einer naturalistischen Wiedergabe des nackten männlichen Torsos geraume Zeit im Wege stand.

Ein schon lange bekanntes, aber nur wenig studiertes Relief im Volosmuseum (Thessalien) stellt einen Vater, zwei Söhne, eine Mutter und eine Tochter vor zwei grossen Figuren dar. Nach der Inschrift war es der Hestia und dem Symmachos gewidmet von Thrasydaeos. Wer war Symmachos? Ein weiter unbekannter Heros von Pharsalos, wie Stephen Miller in seinem Aufsatz *Hestia and Symmachos* meint? Mag es sein, dass es sich hier um eine Familie, die ihren gestorbenen als Heros abgebildeten Sohn und Bruder Symmachos ehrt? Die Hestiafigur bedeutet dann, dass er noch als zum elterlichen Hause gehörend betrachtet wird. Es ist ein uralter Gebrauch Tote, wenn sie sich den Lebenden zeigten, grösser als zur Zeit ihres Lebens darzustellen. Aber auch dies bleibt nur eine unsichere Hypothese.

Im Jahre 1971 wurde auf der athenischen Agora ein mutmasslich von Christen beschädigtes Votivrelief gefunden. Es wurde von Neoptolemos von Milet, dessen religiöse Aktivitäten auch anders bekannt sind (Dem. XXI, 215) gewidmet und stellt eine ruhige Gruppe von Göttern und Nymphen vor einer Grotte dar. Das Ganze bringt den homerischen Hymnus auf Hermes in Erinnerung (Vs. 121-129). Interessant sind die Bemerkungen von Leslie Shear (*A Votive Relief from the Athenian Agora*) über die Identifikation der verschiedenen Götter.

Über die *Alexandria University Excavations on the Cricket Playgrounds in Alexandria* berichtet Samy Shenouda. Man hat reiche Funde gemacht, das Theater jedoch, das man aufzuspüren versuchte, ist noch nicht gefunden worden.

Sehr subtil sind Donald White's Betrachtungen über *Two Girls from Cyrene (Recent Discoveries from the Sanctuary of Demeter)*, die einen wertvollen Beitrag zu unseren Kenntnissen des noch wenig bekannten Demeterkults in Cyrene liefern.

Ich bin mich bewusst, dass ich manchen von mir nicht erwähnten Autoren Unrecht getan habe. Darum möchte ich hier das hohe Niveau der Beiträge betonen. Man hätte dem Profesor Sjöqvist kein würdigeres Denkmal errichten können.

Velp (G.), September 1974

E. J. JONKERS

* *

Ramsay MacMULLEN, *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*. London, Yale University Press, 1974 (4to, IX + 212 S.). Preis: £ 3.75.

Der Titel dieses Buches wird S. 122 näher erklärt: „The reality behind a whole dictionary of special terms — clientage, vicinitas, ordo, gens, and patria potestas,

vicinitas, amicitia, fides, gratia — in which contemporaries conceived what we could call Roman Social Relations".

Es ist keine leichte Aufgabe diese „relations“ bei dem einfachen Mann aufzuspüren. Die Autoren im römischen Altertum gehörten meistens zu einer anderen sozial-wirtschaftlichen Klasse als der einfache Mann, dessen soziale Gesinnungen und Beziehungen ihnen nicht oder kaum interessierten. Und so müssen wir uns zufrieden stellen mit leicht hingeworfenen Bemerkungen in ihren Schriften, mit Inschriften und mit *papyri*.

Im ersten Kapitel „Rural“ machen wir sofort Bekanntschaft mit einigen einsamen Hirten in einer verlassenem Gegend, Menschen nahezu ohne „social relations“, in Angst vor den zahlreichen Strauchdieben und vor den ihnen Schlingen legenden Beamten lebend. Instrukтив auch ist das Vorgehen der Grossgrundbesitzer wider die kleinen Bauern um deren Grundstücken zu bemächtigen, wobei Mord und Totschlag keine Ausnahmen bildeten. Allein der Autor betont m.E. zusehr die Verhältnisse in Ägypten, das ja nicht repräsentativ für das ganze Reich war. An sich sind jedoch die von ihm verwerteten Angaben sehr wichtig.

Im zweiten Kapitel „Rural and Urban“ wird das Verhältnis Stadt-Land beschrieben. Oft wird der Städter auf den Landbewohner mit seinem Dialekt und seinen oft weniger verfeinerten Sitten hinabgeblickt haben, was sich m.E. in vielen Gemeinschaften zeigt. Auch in unserem Lande zeigt diese Geringschätzung sich in manchem Schimpfwort. Aber für das Römische Reich darf man nicht generalisieren. Es hat aus vielen gegenseitig oft sehr verschiedenen Gebieten bestanden. In Griechenland z.B. kam es in klassischer Zeit und auch nachher häufig vor, dass die Stadtbewohner selbst täglich ihre Äcker ausserhalb der Stadt bearbeiteten, um dann abends wieder nach Hause zurückzukehren. Derartige kommt auch heute noch in kleinen Städtchen Siziliens vor (H. Bolkestein, *Economic Life in Greece's Golden Age*, 1958, S. 20). Hier wird aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dieser Gegensatz nicht bestanden haben oder bestehen.

Anlässlich der Aussage (S. 46): „Small wonder that marriages between the Greco-Roman ruling class and the despised Copts or Egyptians were frowned on by the law“ möchte ich daraufhinweisen, dass das römische Recht ähnliche Ehehindernisse gekannt hat. Nach der Gesetzgebung des Augustus z.B. gab es Ehehindernisse zwischen Personen aus dem Senatorenstand und *libertinae*, und zwischen *ingenui* und bestimmten geringhaltigen Personen, wie Bühnenspielern. Gleichfalls war eine Ehe eines Provinzgouverneurs mit einer Frau aus seinem Machtbereich nicht gültig.

Auf derselben Seite lesen wir: „So far as concerned the punishment of criminals (in Alexandria) a cruel and invidious distinction was enforced“. Jedoch das römische Strafrecht kannte gleichfalls eine ähnliche Diskrimination.

Das dritte Kapitel „Urban“ vermittelt eine gute Einsicht in die Wohnverhältnisse des einfachen Mannes (S. 63), die m.E. auch aus klimatologischen Umständen erklärt werden sollen: Wie man in nördlicheren Städten in der Regel den Tag im Hause verbringt, das man für seine Geschäfte verlässt, so spielt im ganzen Mittelmeer-

gebiete das Leben, nicht nur das private sondern auch das öffentliche, sich unter freiem Himmel ab und sucht man das Haus nur auf, wenn es unumgänglich ist. Die hohe Temperatur und das dadurch hervorgerufene Freiluftleben sind sehr wichtig für die Beschaffenheit und den Umfang der Lebensbedürfnisse gewesen. So wurden von den einfachen Menschen nur geringfügige Ansprüche an die Wohnung und ihre Einrichtung gestellt. Noch heutzutage können wir in vielen Städten des Mittelmeergebietes ähnliche Verhältnisse konstatieren.

Der Autor bemerkt (S. 61): „The aristocracy gave not in the form of unavoidable tax payments, but through perfectly free donations of time, unsalaried magistracies, or embassies, or court duty, or more directly through sums of money quite out of proportion to their means ... To explain this willingness carries us into the realm of speculation; but speculations need not carry us beyond common sense and common feeling“. Er sieht zwei Ursachen (S. 62): „exclusiveness“ and „status“, „status“ against the patriots of neighbouring cities ... and competition for status, exclusively asserted through an honorific title“. Ohne dies für diese Zeit abzulehnen weise ich dennoch darauf hin, dass wir hier mit etwas historisch Gewachsenem zu schaffen haben. In den kleinen demokratischen griechischen Staaten waren die Ämter unbezahlt. Sie wurden bekleidet von Bürgern, die mit einander abwechselnd durch das Los angewiesen waren. Das Bekleiden war eine Pflicht und eine Ehre. Es hat sogar kleine Staaten gegeben, in denen manche Ämter nur einen Monat bekleidet wurden, damit auch die nicht-Besitzenden in Betracht kommen konnten und nicht zu lange ihrem Beruf entzogen würden. Im Laufe der Jahre entstand die Tendenz, dass die Besitzenden, die andere für sich arbeiten lassen konnten, immer mehr diese Ämter übernahmen. Betreffs der Steuern fehlten alle allgemeinen regelmässigen direkten Erhebungen. Das Bezahlen von regelmässigen direkten Steuern von allen Bürgern galt als ein Kennzeichen von Untertänigkeit. Der Staat (die Volksversammlung) liess sie von den Vermögenden bezahlen, für die es eine Ehre war. Die Vermögenden bekamen spezielle Aufträge: Sie sollten die zahlreichen jährlichen Feste, die Theateraufführungen, die Fackelwettkämpfe bezahlen. Niemals wurden sie mehr als einmal in den zwei Jahren zu diesen Diensten „eingeladen“. Auch für ausserordentliche Ausgaben, grösstenteils für Kriege, wurde ein Beitrag von den Vermögenden verlangt, wovon die nicht-Besitzenden enthoben waren. In Notfällen versuchte der Staat auch mittels Aufrufe zu freiwilligen Beiträgen zu Geld zu kommen. In einem Volksbeschluss wurden dann allerlei Ehrentitel als Belohnung verliehen. Diese sind für die antiken Bürger zweifelsohne ein Sporn zu freiwilligen Schenkungen gewesen, wobei man „freiwillig“ mit einem Salzkörnchen nehmen soll, weil die Einladung von der souveränen Volksversammlung ausging. Die römische Staatsform zeigte teilweise eine Parallele mit der griechischen, aber auch Unterschiede. Es würde zu vielen Raum kosten dies alles hier zu erörtern.

In dem vierten Kapitel „Class“ wird die „connection between money and standing“ ausführlich besprochen. Hier traf mich die Aussage (S. 92): „*Servi Caesaris* sometimes owned their own slaves“. Jedoch der Besitz von *sgn. servi vicarii* war in fast der ganzen Antike, so-

gar schon in der Zeit Homers, bekannt. Man lese darüber H. Erman, *Servus vicarius, l'esclave de l'esclave*. Wir begegnen sogar einem *vicarius* von einem *vicarius* (*Dig. XXXIII, 8, 25; 8, 6, 3*)!

Als Ganzes betrachtet ist dies ein unterhaltendes Buch, das sich leider mit manchen Problemen nicht genügend befasst, aber den Verdienst hat unsere schon bestehenden Kenntnisse über vielerlei soziale Verhältnisse zu befestigen und zu bestätigen.

Velp (G.), September 1974

E. J. JONKERS

* *

H. KÄHLER, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1973 (4to, 56 pp., 56 pls.) = *Monumenta Artis Romanae XII*. Price: DM 65.—.

Since the entire complex of the enormous villa at Piazza Armerina (Sicily) came to light in the fifties, a lively discussion has been carried on as to date, ownership, etc. Widely different dates have been proposed, ranging from about A.D. 300 up to the beginning of the 5th century. Ownership has been attributed severally to the emperor Maximianus Herculus, his son Maxentius, one of the Anicii, one of the Symmachi, the praetorian prefect Claudianus Mamertinus a.o.

The discussion was started with L'Orange's thesis, set forth as early as 1952 and reinforced later on, that the striking figure with Pannonian cap and rich garment, evidently homaged, in one of the mosaics represents the emperor Maximianus Herculus and that the frequent occurrence of Hercules in other mosaics also points to the Herculan branch of the imperial family. He believes the villa to have been the refuge of the aged emperor.

This theory is based on the mosaics, as are most of the other attributions. Prof. Kähler, however, argues from the remarkable architectural aspects. In contrast to Lugli, who did the same, he rightly considers the villa as one simultaneous entity, though he distinguishes four subsequent building phases within a brief period. He bases his dating — to the first years of the 4th century A.D. — on the evidence of the capitals, which come from the same Proconnesan workshop as those of the tetrarchical palaces at Salaniki and at Split, though more cursorily worked. He agrees with L'Orange in recognizing the emperor Maximianus Herculus, but considers as protagonist and owner the central figure of a hunting-scene, who can be no other than Maxentius. A porphyry disc in one of the floors would also point to imperial ownership. His conclusion is that the villa was the summer residence of Maxentius, built between A.D. 306 and 312.

His arguments, however, are not entirely convincing. The Pannonian cap is not an imperial prerogative. Not an official *adventus* is represented but the respectful welcome due to the lord and landowner. Nor is the cult of Hercules confined to the Herculan emperors. We can gratefully accept as a fact that the capitals come from the same Proconnesan workshop as those at Salaniki

and Split. But that does not need to mean that they are strictly contemporary. Workshop tradition is long-lived; their cursory execution could point to a later date. The basic difference between the Split palace and the villa is more important than the resemblance of certain details. The close character and rigorous symmetrical planning of the first form a strong contrast to the deliberate avoidance of symmetry and axiality and the subtle assemblages of contrasting axes of the latter. This seemingly haphazard planning can also be seen in the late houses of Ostia, which are dated throughout the 4th century A.D.; there, as in the villa, North African influence can be detected. This contrast cannot be explained by the different situation: the palace on the exposed coast, the villa in a secluded valley.

As to its sumptuous extension, we need only remember the enormous villas in North Africa, privately owned, and both the „Houses of Dionysos“ at Cologne and at Paphos (Cyprus), probably the residence of highly placed Roman officials.

Thus the villa's imperial character is far from proven. As to the date, in view of both the architecture and the mosaics, the dating to the second quarter or the middle of the 4th century A.D. seems the most probable hypothesis.

Though Kähler's theory is not convincing, it is nevertheless an important step toward the solution of the manifold problems posed by the fascinating villa at Piazza Armerina.

Groningen, July 1975 A. N. ZADOKS-JOSEPHUS JITTA

* *

Giulia Sfameni GASPARRO, *I Culti Orientali in Sicilia*, con un frontispizio, 122 tavole e 2 carte. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (8vo, IX + 338 pp., frontispiece, 122 pls., 2 maps). Price: f 180.—.

Each reader of this study will undoubtedly be impressed by the high degree of accuracy with which the author has described the oriental cults on Sicily. She not only refers in the notes to the sources of knowledge and to the literature in regard to the objects which she discusses, but she has also added to the 164 pages of her treatise an equally long part of 174 pages which contains, first a „catalogo“ with an „appendix“ of 136 pages, offering a painstaking description of the 381 remains of „culti egizi“, „culti dell'Asia Minore“, „culti di Mithra“ and „culto della Dea Syria“, which are the subjects of description and of religio-historical analysis in the text, second a bibliography, third two „Indice“, namely „I, Indice geografica“, „II, Indice delle cose notevoli“, and last an „Elenco delle tavole“. The subtitle of the book tells that Mrs Sfameni Gasparro managed to add 122 „tavole“ and 2 maps, one with the location of the „Monumenti egizi“ and the other with that of the „Monumenti degli altri culti orientali“ to her study. This is in itself an achievement.

In the „Prefazione“ the author prudently circumscribes the field of research. She states that Sicily underwent

both Greek and Punic religious influences. She excludes the testimonies of the latter nature, as being ethnic, and concentrates her attention on the cults which have transcended national borders.

Of these cults "i culti egizi" prove to have been wide-spread on Sicily. Next comes the worship of Cybele and Attis, and of Sabazius, while there are few testimonies of the cult of Mithras and of the Dea Syria.

As the manner in which Mrs Sfameni Gasparro treats the pieces of evidence is rather matter-of-fact, it is impossible to review the content of her study. The reviewer can only try to indicate the tendency of her research. This goes clearly forth from the broad description of the Egyptian cults. It appears that the author is intent upon tracing the development of certain cults, f.i. the cult of Bes (p. 17 sq.) and upon the historical dating of the material. Thus she quotes on p. 3 sq. the ideas of a series of scholars on the time of introduction of the Egyptian cults on Sicily and their spreading on the island. Finally she chooses her own standpoint towards these conceptions by stating that there have been three periods of dissemination of these cults, namely the archaic age (VII-VI century B.C.), the hellenistic period (III-I century B.C.) and the imperial roman phase (I-III century A.D.) (p. 101). Second, though the author does not dispose her material according to a strictly geographical order (p. 6), she has arranged her data under the headings of the names of different cities and sites. In this connection the reviewer may draw the special attention of the reader to the excellent way in which the author has dealt with the interesting monument of the worship of Cybele at Acrae ("Catalogo" Nr 316-329 and "Tavole" LXVI-CLV) and of the cult of Mithras at Syracuse ("Catalogo" Nr 341-342 bis). From the survey of the Egyptian cults it appears that several well-known gods were worshipped on Sicily, namely Amon, Re, Anubis, Apis, Bes, Hathor, Horus, Isis, Mut, Osiris, Serapis.

The author several times underlines that she tries to give a religio-historical explanation of the cultic facts. It is well-known that conceptions differ on the question what forms the ultimate aim of the history of religions. In the opinion of the reviewer this science should have the ambition to clarify the religious meaning of the pieces of evidence in question. Tested to this principle the research of Mrs Sfameni Gasparro, how meritorious it may be, reaches not farther than an historical and archaeological treatment of the oriental cults on Sicily. Let me give an example in order to illustrate my meaning. In her discussion of the monument of Cybele at Acrae the author records that the deity is accompanied by two male figures which can be identified as the Dioscuri. The interested reader spontaneously puts the religio-historical question: why do the Dioscuri appear in this connection and which is their function in regard to Cybele? The author apparently did not envisage such a question which to the taste of the reviewer is the religio-historical cardo questionis.

Amsterdam, September 1974

C. J. BLEEKER

VROEG CHRISTENDOM

Robert MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1975 (8vo, XV + 394 pp.). Price: £ 8.75.

This scholarly volume has the merits of a thoroughly descriptive and analytical appraisal of early Syriac Christianity up to the 5th century, providing the student of the Holy Scriptures, early Christian worship, poetry and art with some indispensable tools for a more complete understanding of this much neglected field of Christian history. As stated in the introduction, the scope of this book is limited to the period prior to the 5th century schisms, and the writers with whom Fr. Murray is primarily concerned are Aphrahat and Ephrem. Both authors are typically Semitic in methodology, arrangement and argumentation, and the subject of the Church, though central in the presentations of these fathers, is approached in an atypical manner, at least for the occidental reader. "Aphrahat starts with the house of faith as the foundation of all he has to say; but it is only by comparison that we can see that our subject, the Church, is implicit in his figure of the house on the rock".

The book is divided into two parts. Part one, "Themes of Christ and the Church" deals with such Biblical themes as the "Nation and the Nations", the Body of Christ, the Vineyard, the Grape and the Tree of Life, the Church-Bride and Mother, titles which are shared by Christ and the Apostles or Bishops, the Rock and the House on the Rock, and the Pilgrim Church and its Fulfilment. Throughout this presentation, the author inquires and investigates the origin, similarities and prototypes of the thought patterns and forms expressed by these early fathers. Part two, entitled "In Search of the Sources", is an attempt to relate the Syriac Fathers to earlier Christian, Gnostic and Jewish literature as well as to earlier Mesopotamian traditions.

We may be justified to mention a few introductory points to the understanding of the text. When Fr. Murray employs the geographical term "Syriac" he refers to the region of northern Mesopotamia and the adjoining frontier province on the east, Adiabene. Linguistically, Syriac is an Aramaic dialect limited to the region of Edessa and its province Osrhoene. This type of Syriac Christianity had its origin in the Judaeo-Christian rather than in the Hellenic-Hellenistic-Roman Christian tradition.

The intense anti-Jewish polemic which underlies a great deal of the early Syriac literature is sufficient reason to postulate its emergence in a Jewish environment and its original dependence upon Jewish forms. This is clearly stated when the author proposes that "the Christianity of Aphrahat and Ephrem is best accountable for us as a breakaway movement among the Jewish community in Adiabene". This is also substantiated by the fact that Adiabene had a flourishing Jewish community, which spread to the point of even converting the royal house. Moreover, the Peshitta, the Syriac Old Testament, a Jewish production, can be traced to Adiabene. Also the sexual asceticism, which was so wide-

spread in the Syriac world, can be traced to the ascetic ideal common in the Jewish ethos of that region. Whereas the Syriac Church soon developed its own structures apart from those of the Jews, in some respects it still remained very close to the synagogue. Thus, for example, the early Syriac Fathers continued the use of midrashic traditions which they shared with the Jewish world. The threat and the danger for the Christian community to revert to Judaism led the fathers to a polemic against the Jews, which in the general cultural and religious context is easily understandable. This threat continued as long as the Jewish communities enjoyed status and privileges in the Roman and Persian empires which the Christians envied. "The stronger social position of the big Jewish communities in Mesopotamia will certainly have been reflected in economic domination of the Christians, as well as in cultural relations, and nothing typifies this more dramatically than the contrast at Dura-Europos between the magnificent synagogue with its splendid frescoes and the very modest Christian house-church with its little chapel".

Noteworthy is the early Syriac canon, which included among other writings, the Diatessaron, the Acts and the writings of St. Paul with Hebrews as well as the fictitious 3 Corinthians, yet the First Ep. of Peter and the Apocalypse are omitted. Liturgically, the Syriac fathers spoke of rites of initiation, an anointing of the whole body, symbolizing the unction of the Holy Spirit, followed by Baptism, and immediately afterwards the reception of the Eucharist. All the sacraments were effected by the power of the Holy Spirit. In the strict sense of the term, marriage was not regarded a sacrament, which Fr. Murray explains by saying that "a literature which was produced almost entirely by devotees of celibacy was not likely to develop the theme of marriage as a sacrament".

As for the main sections of the book, the chapter "The Nation and the Nations" spells out God's plan for the salvation of all nations and the role of Israel in God's plan. The discussion about the rejection of Israel in favour of the Gentiles leads to the concept of the Church, which is the one and only true reality and the ultimate fulfilment of God's intent. In his presentation of "The Body of Christ", the reader is introduced to the early Syriac theology and ecclesiology of the incarnate and eucharistic body. The ideas of the corporate personality of the Second Adam and the Mystical Body are illustrated by hymns and odes of this period. The imagery of the Vineyard, the Grape and the Tree of Life are traced again from the writings of the Old Testament to the New Testament. Whereas Israel, God's vineyard is rejected, the True Vine is the corporate Christ. He is the Grape and the Tree of Life, that feeds the Church in the Eucharist. The picture of the Church as Bride and Mother eventually points to the hierarchy in which the bishop is seen as the sponsor of his Church. This chapter concludes with a discussion on virginity and marriage in the Syriac Church. A rather intriguing way of presenting early Syriac ecclesiology is shown in his fifth chapter in which he lists and explains the numerous titles shared by Christ and the Apostles or Bishops. Thus we are introduced to such Biblical and symbolic terms as Apostle, Ambassador, Herald, Fisherman, Pontiff,

Priest, Shepherd and Flock, Steward and Treasurer, Farmer and Labourer, and Physician. This wealth of titles provides a wealth of images related to Christ and the apostolic ministry and the Church. The Rock and the House on the Rock is perhaps the most interesting title applicable to Christ and the Apostles, and, therefore, Fr. Murray devotes a whole chapter to the use of this symbol, discussing first Christ as the Rock, then Simon Kepha the Rock, and the Temple, which is erected on the Rock. The eschatological vocation of the Church is expressed in the Pilgrim Church, and the final destination of the Church is the Kingdom of God. The Church is visible, but also hidden and heavenly, ideas which find their expression in the *Liber Graduum*, of which we find a full text in this volume.

Part two presents the Sources, which have their roots in distinctly Jewish traditions, some can be compared with other sources also found in the Graeco-Latin world, and lastly there are the Judaeo-Christian writings. In general, the second part is addressed to the specialist, the literary and form critic, and, therefore, may not have the same appeal as the first part, which has enough material to stimulate priest and pastor in his thinking and preaching! In this context it is impossible to discuss in detail the great amount of material which Fr. Murray has accumulated, unless one is prepared to devote a lengthy survey for each chapter. Sufficient to say that for the Old and New Testament scholar and the early church historian Fr. Murray has made available an often neglected field of research, a theological terra incognita, for which we are deeply grateful. In a Christian world, which still argues and discusses its relation to the Jews, their role in Christian theology and soteriology, a reading of the early Syriac fathers can be highly elucidating.

This book claims to be and is a study of theological symbols which express eternal truth. After all, it is in pictures and through symbols that truth is passed from generation to generation. In one of his final paragraphs the author summarizes the overall theme of his presentation when he states: "As one studies a theology which is mainly symbolic and stops at symbols, one cannot but ponder deeply on what theology is and what it ought to do. The Bible, at least all of it that reflects a semitic culture, does not go far beyond symbolic and figurative expression of theological truths. But the Church, led by the same Holy Spirit as inspired the biblical writers, began almost immediately to reflect on the symbolism and to seek the right language to formulate its reflections. The litanies of names of Jesus inevitably led to Christology, or Christology was simply the exercise of human understanding, illuminated by grace, applied to the names. There is a moment of optimum equilibrium when, without violating the veils of divine mystery, religious symbols are intelligently presented in such a way as to evoke a heuristic response leading to valid conviction and action - valid, even though the believer could not give a full rational account of what he understands. When that equilibrium is lost the way is open to iconoclasm, demythologization, rationalism and the other mental troubles more characteristic of the west than of the east".

Fr. Murray is to be congratulated for this excellent, thought-provoking and informative study. The nature of

the material is not easy reading, and yet the author succeeded in presenting the subject matter in a stimulating manner from which the interested student can only profit.

Koblentz, Oktober 1975

OTTO F. A. MEINARDUS

VARIA

A. C. C. BRODRIBB, A. R. HANDS, D. R. WALKER, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire. Part II, Sites B and H.* Oxford, privately printed, 1971 (8vo, 127 pp. verillith offset litho, 53 fig.). Prix £ 1 (\$ 3).

Le rapport de fouilles *Shakenoak I*, publié en 1968, était consacré aux données géologiques et à la description de la villa A qui fut bâtie au début du II^e siècle, fut rebâtie deux fois avant d'atteindre sa plus grande extension au milieu du III^e siècle et subsista jusque vers les années 420-430.

Shakenoak II traite de la construction B, située à une cinquantaine de mètres au nord de A. Les fouilles, exécutées entre les années 1965 et 1969, ont permis de déterminer une huitaine de phases et d'en déduire l'évolution du plan terrier. Grâce à des méthodes de fouille minutieuses, il fut possible de repérer les traces d'une petite hutte de plan circulaire, à l'emplacement où, probablement sous les Flaviens, fut érigé un bâtiment du type, fort répandu sur le Continent, à pièces d'angle en saillie; à cette construction fut ajouté, dans la première moitié du II^e siècle (Période 2b), un portique qui en orna trois faces. Probablement peu après les années 160, la villa connut sa plus grande extension (période 3a) lorsque, au-dessus des caves construites avec soin au courant de la période précédente et comblées dans la suite, le portique fut prolongé entre deux nouvelles pièces d'angle. La partie occidentale de la nouvelle construction fut pourvue, à la période subséquente, d'un hypocauste à canal, aménagé sous le corridor: ce fut la seule installation de chauffage de toute la villa, prévue à une époque où la bâtisse était utilisée principalement à des fins agricoles. Lorsque ce bâtiment reçut une nouvelle destination et fit office de logement, une partie importante de la construction fut démolie, probablement peu après les années 250, de telle sorte que seules les pièces d'angle occidentales et le local y adossé subsistèrent. Il n'y a pas de preuves du fait que la villa fut encore habitée durant la première moitié du IV^e siècle, mais dès les années 380 une petite bâtisse, érigée dans le prolongement du couloir nord, resta sans doute en usage jusque peu avant les années 420-430. Les restes des bâtiments A et B sont peut-être à mettre en relation avec la refonte générale du *fundus* qui a dû être absorbé par celui de North Leigh: à cette occasion le propriétaire de *Shakenoak* aurait cédé la place à une famille de colons.

Les fouilles de *Shakenoak* ont enrichi l'archéologie provinciale romaine de façon substantielle par l'interprétation subtile des données enregistrées qui ont permis non seulement de distinguer un grand nombre de phases de construction, mais aussi ont fait déduire de la succession des différents plans terriers l'évolution économique de la région.

Le matériel recueilli comporte, à côté de nombreux outils de fer, une série de monnaies, des éléments de parure, de menus objets de jais, d'or, de bronze et de verre. Parmi les verreries, décrites par D. B. Harden, des fragments de coupe côtelée sont à attribuer à la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle, au II^e s. appartiennent des fragments de balsamaires à fond marqué, en verre bleu verdâtre; typiques du II^e et du III^e s. sont des fragments à décor taillé et des débris de tasses de type Airle, en verre incolore.

A côté de pièces de céramique à paroi rugueuse, principalement des gobelets ornés d'un motif losangé, des bols à couvercle conique et des mortiers, les trouvailles de terre sigillée sont suffisamment abondantes pour fournir quelques données chronologiques: à la période flavienne appartiennent des tessons du style de Fronto, de la Graufesenque, plus récents sont ceux de style Drusus I de Martres-de-Veyre, tandis que les fragments de Lezoux, du style de Cerialis-Cinnamus et un exemplaire estampillé d'Albucius sont d'époque antonine.

On ne peut omettre de souligner l'excellente qualité des plans et des coupes qui illustrent ce rapport de fouilles.

Bruxelles, juillet 1974

M. E. MARIEN

* *

Jean BUXTON, *Religion and Healing in Mandari.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1973 (8vo, XIV + 441 pp., 6 pls.). £ 6.00.

The late Dr. J. C. Buxton, whose death occurred suddenly as the proofs of this book were going through the press, was an exceptionally gifted field worker. During a stay of many years with the Mandari in Sudan she assembled a wealth of information about the conceptions and the practices of this tribe, not only in regard to the theme "Religion and Healing", but also concerning the characteristics of the thinking and the structure of the society of the Mandari. Thus the book offers much more than the title promises. Moreover Dr. Buxton proves to be a sensitive interpreter of the information which she gathered, so that she, unhampered by popular religio-historical or cultural-anthropological theories, managed to penetrate into the meaning of the ideas and the rites which she describes. Therefore the content of the book is so rich that a faithful rendering of what its 443 pages contain, is fully excluded. The reviewer will confine himself to sketching the composition of the book and to drawing the headlines of the argument.

The "Introduction" offers some general informations about the Mandari, from which it goes forth that cattle possesses paramount significance in this society. Two maps at the end of the book indicate the position of the Mandari among their neighbours.

Part I deals with "Cosmology and Cults". It is divided into the following paragraphs: 1. "Cosmology", 2. "Spirit-of-the Above and the Pathology of the Upper Part of the Body", 3. "Jok: a Foreign Possession Cult", 4. "Death and Burial Rites", 5. "Dead Kin Rituals",

6. "Dedication, Blessing, and Ritual Media". The essence of Mandari cosmology is the concept of *hun*, which Dr. Buxton translates as Creator. The Mandari consider that Creator explains the fact of the universe and its continuity and the existence of the natural world, man, and society. Essential aspects of Creator are present in the complementary divisions of the Universe, i.e. *ki* and *kak*, which can be translated as "Spirit-of-the-Above" and "Spirit-of-the-Below". This division is reflected in man's physical and spiritual being and it forms a guiding principle in healing practices. For, nervous disorders and mental sickness are considered by the Mandari to be a sign of "Spirit-of-the-Above". Moreover they claim that during the last few decades forces effecting health and well-being have penetrated into their country. They are called "Jok", a word which can be rendered by the concept "Powers". This is what the author calls "a Foreign Possession Cult". She mentions the names of seven Powers for which pole shrines are planted. It may be added that as a consequence of different rituals shrines are erected both for spiritual powers and for the ancestors. Here the author inserts two stories about the treatment of sick people by the doctor, together with her comment. Naturally a death makes a deep impression on this people and therefore the burial rites are celebrated with great care. After the funeral the dead kin are worshipped, however only during three generations, because the memory of these people does not reach further. The dead are honoured because they can inflict illness in case of some neglect, of which striking instances are given. Lastly this Part offers a few pages on the significance of "Dedication, Blessing and Ritual Media".

The second Part deals with "Personal Identity", in regard to the following subjects: 7. "Creators and Destroyers", 8. "Homicide and Verbal Killing", 9. "The Monthly Rite of Elimination", 10. "Birth Variants and Birth Abnormalities", 11. "Psychic Force in the Man-Animal Involvement". The starting-point of this section is the Mandari conception of sin. In their opinion the results of sin are typically revealed in the sickness or accident which often manifests itself in persons other than the one committing the offence. Sins are not primarily faults of character, nor acts which are socially wrong, but actions destroying creativity in man and nature. Therefore cleansing is imperative in all these cases. In this connection the author digresses on sexual taboos and the relations of respect between the members of a family. Next comes a description of the rites to be enacted in the case of "Homicide" and of "Verbal Killing", i.e. death caused by cursing. As most sins and omissions never come to light, a "Monthly Rite of Elimination" is celebrated, in order to ensure "peaceful sleep". It is evident that "Birth Variants and Birth Abnormalities" attract the attention, rouse fear and require special treatment. An interesting paragraph is devoted to the aesthetic and emotional responses of the Mandari to the animals which they daily encounter. Table 2 on page 260 shows the categories of animals which possess psychic force or are devoid thereof.

The third Part is entitled: "Medico-Religious Practice". The title refers to the following items:

12. "The Religious Call and its Relevance to Healing", 12. "Possession", 14. "Medico-Religious Practice", 15. "The theory of Symptoms", 16. "The System: Open or Closed?" Certain persons can act as doctors by virtue of a medical-religious vocation. Instances of such a call are given. In some cases the power of healing is hereditary. During the call a disturbance syndrome may happen which is interpreted as possession, but which is only considered to be sincere with a special type of personality. The next paragraph on "Medico-Religious Practice" deals with the code of ethics of the doctors and the specialisation in their profession. A short paragraph on "The Theory of Symptoms" deals with the diseases of domestic animals and with the classification of sickness symptoms. Lastly the question arises: is the system of the Mandari beliefs and practices regarding sickness open or closed? The answer must be that the Mandari are aware that some of their practices involve deceptions, that they are ready to accept new evidence, but that they believe that their particular type of medicine is justified by their situation as Mandari and that they therefore maintain its central categories.

The fourth Part deals with "Rituals of the Community", to wit 17. "Chiefly Office and the Ritual of Installation", 18. "Rain Ritual: Its Theory and Practice", 19. "Rites for Pools and Rivers", 20. "Woodland Ritual". The landowning chief has the capacity to pray and sacrifice for the community. Therefore his installation and his death are accompanied by certain rites. In this country "Rain Rituals" play an important part. A distinction should be made between the "rain-expert" and the rain-chief, and also between "owned rain" and universal rain. The Mandari do never anticipate rain by performing rites before the time of the wet season. Failure of the rain rites is accepted with the saying: "they (the elders) have done their best, the rest is up to Creator". There are furthermore special rites for pools and rivers and also for the woodland.

The last Part offers reflections on "Visual and Sensory Perception: Symbolic Statement". This means that the author inquires into the symbolic value of the colours of which the Mandari make use, i.e. red, white and black. Due to her extensive knowledge she can put her observations in the context of older and newer theories about the function of colours.

The learned exposition is closed by a short "Concluding Note" in which the author gives her assessment of the Mandari theory and practice in regard to illness in a critical and appreciative way.

The "Appendices" offer excursions on I "Ritual Meat", II "Shrines for Powers", III "Herbs and Roots used in Treatment of Illness", IV "Delegation of Shea trees in Mijiki", V "Kouwer's Appendices on Colour Testing". The book is closed by a Bibliography and an Index. It contains 4 Tables, 7 Plates and 14 Figures.

Finally a remark may be made about the significance of this book. In the opinion of the reviewer it should not only be read by students of the culture and religion of the so called illiterate people, but also by the students of the other parts of the study of the history of religions. Because Dr. Burton cherished no preconceived theories, for instance on totemism, magic, shamanism, the rela-

tion of the sexes, the classificatory system of primitive tribes, etc. Her informations shed new light on such much debated questions and in stead of theorizing offer factual statements and sensitive explanations of the presented facts.

Amsterdam, September 1974

C. J. BLEEKER

* *

Romila THAPAR, *Aśoka and the decline of the Mauryas*. Delhi, Oxford University Press, second edition, 1973 (8vo, XII + 285 pages, 6 plates, 4 maps). Price: £ 1.20.

This second edition of Romila Thapar's excellent monograph on Aśoka (see *BiOr*, XX, 1963, p. 301-303) represents the full and unabridged reprint of the original book brought up-to-date by a survey of recent archaeological discoveries and literature regarding the Mauryan period (*Appendix VII*, p. 271-272).

Notwithstanding the serious defects in the discussion of the chronology, I should like to recommend this book, notably on account of the interesting view developed in chapter V (*The policy of Dhamma*) and besides, because the many supplements and numerous details offer a good starting-point to studies on the Mauryan period.

Rijswijk (ZH), october 1974

P. H. L. EGGERMONT

ONTVANGEN BOEKEN IV

ALGEMEEN

E. J. W. Barber, *Archaeological Decipherment*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974 (8vo, X + 276 pp., 8 pls.). \$ 15.00.

C. M. Edsman, *Die Hauptreligionen des heutigen Asiens*. Tübingen, Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, 1975 (8vo, IX + 214 S., 1 Karte) = Uni Taschenbücher 448. DM 19.80 - ISBN 3 16 136491 0.

William E. Hazen, *Muhammed Mughisuddin, Middle Eastern Subcultures. A Regional Approach*. Farnborough, Lexington Books, 1975 (8vo, XIV + 221 pp.). £ 6.75 - ISBN 0 669 00198 8.

Herbert Kühn, *Geschichte der Vorgeschichtsforschung*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1976 (8vo, XIX + 1048 S.). DM 280.— - ISBN 3 11 005918 5.

Bruno Mühletahler, *Kleines Handbuch der Konservierungstechnik*. Bern, Verlag Paul Haupt, 1973 (8vo, 154 S., 7 Tafeln). SFr. 28.80.

Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Heft 34. München, 1976 (8vo, 186 S.). DM 19.80.

O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*. Parts 1, 2, 3. Heidelberg, Springer Verlag, 1975 (8vo, XXIII + VII + V + 1456 pp., 619 figs., 1 foldout, 9 pls.) = *Studies in the History of*

Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1. DM 290.— - ISBN 3 540 06995 X.

Geoffrey Parrinder, *Mysticism in the World's Religions*. London, Sheldon Press, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 210 pp.). £ 4.95 - ISBN 0 85969 085 7.

André Parrot, *Clefs pour l'archéologie*. Paris, Editions Seghers, 1976 (in-8, 176 pp., 26 photo's).

Religionen, mit Beiträgen von J. Gonda, A. Mukti Ali, Peter G. Gowing, H. Kähler, Th. Müller-Krüger. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, 172 S.) = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, III, 2, 1. f 80.— - ISBN 90 04 04330 6.

Ilse Seibert, *Die Frau im alten Orient*. Leipzig, Edition Leipzig, 1973 (4to, 76 S., 112 Abb., 12 Fig. im Text).

Donald Eugene Smith, *Religion and Political Modernization*. London, Yale University Press, 1974 (8vo, X + 340 p.). £ 7.50.

Chester G. Starr, *Early Man. Prehistory and the Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. London, Oxford University Press, 1973 (8vo, 206 pp., illustrated). £ 4.00.

Johann Gustav Stickel, *Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde*. Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1975 (8vo, 234 S., 2 Tafeln). M. 100.—.

Studia Orientalia, Volume 46, edited by The Finnish Oriental Society. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975 (8vo, 369 pp., 5 pls., 1 photograph). f 150.— - ISBN 0 7204 8146 5.

EGYPTOLOGIE - GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE - CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

A. J. Arkell, *The Prehistory of the Nile Valley*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VI + 55 pp., 1 map, 25 ills.) = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VII, 1. Band, 2. Abschnitt A, Lief. 1. f 36.— - ISBN 90 04 04397 7.

Jan Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ewigkeit*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1975 (8vo, 71 S.) = *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1975, 1. DM 36.— - ISBN 3 533 02406 7.

John B. Callender, *Middle Egyptian*. Malibu, Calif., Undena Publications, 1975 (4to, VI + 143 pp.) = *Afroasiatic Dialects*, Vol. 2. \$ 10.00 - ISBN 0 89003 006 5.

J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XXIV + 384 pp.) £ 30.00 - ISBN 0 521 07228 X.

Jaroslav Černý & Sarah Israelit Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*. Roma, Biblical Institute Press, 1975 (4to, XLIV + 592 pp.) = *Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 4. \$ 25.00.

René-Georges Coquin, *Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*. Introduction, édition, traduction et annotations. Le Caire, Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1975 (in-4, XIV + 216 pp.) = *Bibliothèque d'études coptes*, T. XIII.

Enchoria, Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie, Band V, 1975. Würzburg, Institut für Ägyptologie der Universität Würzburg, 1975 (4to, IV + 199 pp., 37 pls.) - ISBN 3 447 01741 4.

Richard Fazzini, *Images for Eternity. Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn*. Brooklyn, N.Y., The Brooklyn Museum, 1975 (4to, XXXII + 139 pp., 117 pp.) \$ 12.00 - ISBN 0 91396 27 7.

Beate George, *Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten. Die dekorierte Negade II Keramik im Medelhavsmuseet*. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, 1975 (8vo, 104 pp., 190 pls.) = *Bulletin Medelhavsmuseet* 10, 1975. £ 10.00 - ISBN 91 7192 273 3.

Paul Ghalioungui, *The House of Life (Per Ankh). Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt*. Amsterdam, B.M. Israël, 1973 (8vo, 198 pp., 26 pls.) - ISBN 90 6078 062 0.

Michel Gitton, *L'épouse du Dieu Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie en son culte posthume*. Besançon, Centre de Recherches d'Histoire ancienne. Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Besançon, 1975 (8vo, VI + 108 pp., 1 frt.) = *Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, Vol. 15.

J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, XVIII + 440 pp.) = *EPRO* 39. f 140.— - ISBN 90 04 04270 9.

Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten*. München, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976 (8vo, X + 223 S., 8 Tafeln, 45 Abb.) = *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* Heft 33 - ISBN 3 422 00826 8.

Wolfgang Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reiches. Register*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, 41 S.) = *Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Band IIIA. f 28.— - ISBN 90 04 04362 4.

Wolfgang Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 307 S.) = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 1. 5. f 120.— - ISBN 90 04 04269 5.

Eric Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975 (4to, 94 pp.). £ 8.00 - ISBN 0 85668 047 8.

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes & M. J. Vermaseren, *APIS I, The Monuments of the Hellenistic-Roman Period from Egypt*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, L + 65 pp., 1 frt., 134 pls., 2 maps) = *EPRO* 48. f 160.— - ISBN 90 04 04290 3 / 90 04 04291 1.

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes & M. J. Vermaseren, *APIS II, Monuments from outside Egypt*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, X + 107 pp., 1 frt., 11 figs., 211 pls., 1 map) = *EPRO* 48. f 228.— - ISBN 90 04 04290 3 / 90 04 04293 8.

Oswald Hugh Ewart KHS-Burmester, *Koptische Handschriften I. Die Handschriftenfragmente der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Teil 1*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975 (4to, 327 S.) = *VOHD* Band XXI, 1. DM 298.— - ISBN 3 515 01854 9.

Dieter Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Die „Tw3 pt“-Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*. Bruxelles, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975 (8vo, X + 161 S., 5 Tafeln, 15 Abb.) = *Rites Égyptiens*. FB 470.—.

Günter Mayer, *Index Philoneus*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, X + 312 pp.). DM 158.—.

Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote, Edited by P. Naster, H. de Meulenaere, J. Quaegebeur. Leuven, Departement Oriëntalistik, 1976 (4to, 635 pp., XX pl.) = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7, 1975/1976. BF 900.—.

Anthea Page, *Egyptian Sculpture. Archaic to Saite from the Petrie Collection*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976 (4to, XX + 124 pp., 1 drawing, 175 pls.). £ 12.50 - ISBN 0 85668 025 7.

Jan Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*. Leuven, Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1975 (8vo, 350 pp., 1 pl.) = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 2. BF 950.— - ISBN 90 6186 020 2.

Hans Quecke, *Die Briefe Pachoms. Griechischer Text der Handschrift W. 145 der Chester Beatty Library. Anhang: Die koptischen Fragmente und Zitate*. Regensburg, Institutum Liturgicum Ratisbonense, 1975 (8vo, 118 pp.) = *Textus Patristici et Liturgici*, Fasc. 11 - ISBN 3 7917 0454 0.

S. Ratié, *La collection égyptienne du Musée d'Annecy*. Annecy, Suzanne Ratié, 1974 (8vo, 20 pp., 12 pls.) = *Extrait de la Revue Savoisienne*, 1974.

Peter H. Schulze, *Herrin beider Länder, Hatschepsut. Frau, Gott und Pharao*. Bergisch Gladbach, Gustav Lübbe Verlag, 1976 (4to, 255 S., 49 Tafeln, 8 Farbtafeln, 22 Zeichnungen, 3 Karten, 1 Plan). DM 48.— - ISBN 3 7857 0181 0.

H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae. Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, Part 1. The New Kingdom*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1976 (4to, X + 72 pp., 53 pls.). £ 10.00 - ISBN 0 85668 026 5.

Michel Valloggia, *Recherche sur les „Messagers“ (WPWTYW) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1976 (in-8, XXIX + 316 pp.) = *Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. II Hautes Etudes Orientales* 6.

Claude Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*. Berlin, Verlag Ullstein, 1975 (4to, 82 S. Haupttext und 661 Abb. auf 500 Tafelseiten, davon 75 farbig, und 331 Seiten Dokumentationsteil mit 79 Strichzeichnungen, mit Dynastien-Übersicht, Literaturverzeichnis und Register im Anhang) = *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Band 15. DM 200.—.

L. V. Zabkar, *Apedemak. Lion God of Meroe. A Study in Egyptian-Nubian Syncretism*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1975 (8vo, XIII + 217 pp., 33 pls.). £ 4.95 - ISBN 0 85668 045 1.

SUMEROLOGIE - ASSYRIOLOGIE - HETTITOLOGIE

R. D. Barnett & A. Lorenzini, Assyrische Skulpturen im British Museum, Recklinghausen, Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1975 (4to, 256 pp., 200 pls.). DM 98.— - ISBN 3 7647 0274 5.

Dominique Collon, The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1975 (4to, XXII + 217 pp., 75 pls., 1 frontispiece) = AOAT 27. DM 130.— - ISBN 3 7887 0469 1.

Hatice Gonnet, Catalogue des documents royaux hittites du IIe millénaire avant J.C. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975 (8vo, 24 pp., 23 pls., 1 carte). F. 20.— - ISBN 2 222 01769 6.

A. K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles. Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1975 (4to, XVI + 300 pp., 26 pls.) = Texts from Cuneiform Sources, V. \$ 35.00 - LCCCN 66 25697.

Liane Jakob-Rost, Hethitische Rituale und Festbeschreibungen. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1976 (4to, X + 50 S.) = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Heft XLVI. M. 48.—.

Mogens Trolle Larsen, The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies. København, Akademisk Forlag, 1976 (8vo, 404 pp., 2 maps). Dkr. 160.000 - ISBN 87 500 1640 7.

Raphael Kutscher, Oh Angry Sea (a-ab-ba hu-luh-ha). The History of a Sumerian Congregational Lament. London, Yale University Press, 1975 (8vo, XVI + 178 pp., 9 pls.) = Yale Near Eastern Researches 6. £ 9.00 - ISBN 0 300 01579 8.

René Lebrun, Samuha, Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite. Louvain, U.C.L., Institut Orientaliste, 1976 (in-8, XIV + 252 pp., 1 carte) = Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 11 - ISBN 2 8017 0022 3.

André Parrot, Mari. Capitale fabuleuse. Paris, Payot, 1974 (in-8, 217 pp., 93 figs., 32 pls.) = Bibliothèque historique.

Gerhard Ries, Die neubabylonischen Bodenpachtformulare. Berlin, Verlag J. Schweitzer, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 168 S.) = Münchener Universitätsschriften - Juristische Fakultät. Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, Band 16. DM 75.— - ISBN 3 8059 0361 8.

Armas Salonen, Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. Helsinki, Prof. Dr Yrjö Blomstedt, 1976 (8vo, 313 pp.) = Suomalaisen Tiedekatemian Toimituksia SARJA-SER B Nide Tom 196. Fm. 150.— - ISBN 951 41 0248 7.

Marie-Joseph Seux, Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Paris, Les éditions du CERF, 1976 (8vo, 558 pp.) = Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient. F. 144.—.

Elizabeth C. Stone, Old Babylonian Contracts from Nippur I. Selected Texts from the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. Chicago, The University of

Chicago Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 6 pp., 49 pls. on 1 microfiche card) = Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Microfiche Archives, Vol. 1. \$ 3.35 - ISBN 0 226 77551 8.

Markus Wäfler, Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1975 (4to, XIV + 394 S., 175 Abb., 30 Tafeln, 4 Pläne) = AOAT 26. DM 245.— - ISBN 3 7887 0468 3.

CYPRUS

Vassos Karageorghis & Jan des Cagniers, La céramique chypriote de style figuré. Age du fer (1050-500 av. J.C.). Roma, Istituto per gli Studi Mecenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, 1974 (4to, Vol. 1: Illustrations et descriptions des vases: VI + 517 pp., 1 carte, Vol. 2: texte: XII + 158 pp., 6 pls.) = Biblioteca di antichità cipriote 2.

Vassos Karageorghis, Alaas. A proto-geometric Necropolis in Cyprus. Nicosia, Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Communications and Work, Dept. of Antiquities, 1975 (4to, X + 79 pp., 85 pls., 9 figs., 1 frontispiece).

Marguerite Yon, Manuel de Céramique Chypriote I. Problèmes historiques, vocabulaire, méthode. Lyon, Institut F. Courby, 1976 (in-8, VIII + 250 pp., 84 figs.) = Collections de la Maison de L'Orient Méditerranéen Ancien I.

SYRIA - PALESTINA

Rudolf Fellmann & Christiane Dunant, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre. Vol. VI. Kleinfunde, Objets divers. Berne, Institut suisse de Rome, 1975 (in-4, 132 pp., 6 + 4 + 9 pls., 3 + 3 figs., 1 plan) = Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana XVI.

C. T. Fritsch (Editor), The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Volume 1. Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima. Missoula, Scholars Press, University of Montana, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 122 pp.) = BASOR, Suppl. Studies, no 19 - ISBN 0 89130 034 1.

Michal Gawlikowski, Le temple palmyrénien. Etude d'épigraphie et de topographie historique. Warszawa, Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1973 (in-4, 125 pp., 12 figs., 5 plans) = Palmyre VI.

Hans Georg Niemeyer & Hermanfrid Schubart, Trayamar. Die phönizischen Kammergräber und die Niederlassung an der Algarrobo-Mündung. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1975 (4to, VI + 178 S., 1 Frontispiz, 58 Tafeln, 24 Beilagen) = Madrider Beiträge, 4. DM 135.—.

Stanislav Segert, A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1976 (8vo, 330 pp.). DM 116.— - ISBN 3 406 00724 4.

François Raymond Valla, Le Natoufien, une culture préhistorique en Palestine. Paris, J. Gabalda & Cie., 1975 (in-8, 136 pp., 2 pls., 33 figs.) = Cahiers de la Revue Biblique no 15.

OUDE TESTAMENT - JUDAICA

C. Abramsky, War, Revolution and the Jewish Dilemma. London, H. K. Lewis & Co (26 x 16 cm., 33 pp.). £ 0.65.

Robert Attal, A Bibliography of the Writings of Prof. Shelomo Dov Goitein. Jerusalem, Israel Oriental Society, 1975 (8vo, XXXII + 70 pp., 2 photos). IL 25.

Michael Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol. I. London, Oxford University Press, 1975 (4to, 8 + 341 pp., many pls.). £ 8.50 - ISBN 0 19 647923 1.

Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. XVI: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion (1200-1650). Poland-Lithuania 1500-1650. New York, Columbia University Press, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 460 pp.). \$ 21.90 - ISBN 0 231 08853 1.

M. A. Beek, Wegwijzers en wegbereiders. Een halve eeuw oudtestamentische wetenschap. Baarn, Uitgever-groep COMBO, 1975 (8vo, 111 pp.). f 8.90 - ISBN 90 246 3081 9.

Stephan Bitter, Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea. Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 251 S.) = Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten, Band 3. DM 32.— - ISBN 3 525 87352 2.

Ludwig Blau, Das altjüdische Zauberwesen. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974 (8vo, VIII + 167 S.). öS 160.—.

U. Cassuto, Biblical and Oriental Studies, Vol. II. Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts. Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1975 (8vo, XII + 286 pp.) = Publications of the Perry Foundation. \$ 15.00.

R. J. Coggins, The First and Second Book of Chronicles. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 314 pp.) = The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible. £ 2.25 - ISBN 0 521 09758 4.

R. J. Coggins, The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XII + 150 pp.) = The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible. £ 2.25 - ISBN 0 521 09759 2.

Joseph Coppens, De oud- en intertestamentaire verwachting van een eschatologische Heilsmiddelaar. Haar realisatie in het wordende Christendom. Brussel, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1975 (4to, 56 pp.) = Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang XXXVII, Nr. 3.

Alan Crown, Biblical Studies Today. Kensington, Australia, Chevalier Press, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 165 pp., 3 pls.).

Robert C. Culley, Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Narrative. Philadelphia, Penn., Fortress Press, 1976 (8vo, VI + 122 pp.). \$ 3.95 - ISBN 0 8006 1504 2.

Jitschak Dasberg, De Pentateuch met Haftaroth, Deel II, Vajikrah, Bemidbar, Dewariem. Amsterdam, Uitgeverij van Gennep, 1971 (8vo, 293 pp.).

C. H. J. de Geus, The Tribes of Israel. An Investigation into some of the presuppositions of Martin Noth's Amphictyony Hypothesis. Assen, Koninklijke van Gorcum & Comp., 1976 (8vo, XII + 258 pp.) = Studia Semitica Neerlandica, No. 18. f 68.— - ISBN 90 232 1337 8.

Robert Chazan, Medieval Jewish Life. New York, KTAV Publishing House, 1976 (4to, 463 pp., XIV pp. Introduction). \$ 25.00 - ISBN 0 87068 253 9.

Moshe Gil, Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 611 pp.) = Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute, Vol. 12. f 120.— - ISBN 90 04 04480 9.

Heinrich Graetz (translation, editing & introduction by Ismar Schorsch, The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays. New York, KTAV Publishing House, 1975) = Vol. 3 in the Moreshet Series. Studies in Jewish History, Literature and Thought - ISBN 0 87068 466 3.

Hammershaimb, 1904-1974. Essays in honor of Erling Hammershaimb. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (4to, pp. 129-249) = Reprinted from Vetus Testamentum, 24, 1974. f 28.—.

Martin Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1973 (8vo, XI + 693 S.) = Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 10. DM 98.—.

Joseph Henninger, Les fêtes de printemps chez les Sémites et la Pâque Israélite. Paris, J. Gabalda et Cie, 1975 (in-8, XII + 241 pp.) = Etudes Bibliques.

Siegfried Herrmann, Ursprung und Funktion der Prophetie im alten Israel. Wiesbaden, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 63 S.) = Vorträge - G 208. DM 19.— - ISBN 3 531 07208 0.

E. Hoade, Guide to the Holy Land. Jerusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, 1973 (8vo, XII + 993 pp., illustrated). IL 17.00.

Friedrich Huber, Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, 252 S.) = Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 137. DM 98.— - ISBN 3 11 005729 8.

B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, A. S. van der Woode, Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Volume I. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, X + 131 pp.) = Semitic Studies Series no. IV. f 28.— - ISBN 90 04 04452 3.

E. Y. Kutscher, Studies in Galilean Aramaic. Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University, 1976 (8vo, X + 114 pp.) = Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture.

Yehuda Levi Nahum (Introduction by Shelomo Morag), *The Mishnah: Order Mo'ed. A Yemenite Manuscript*. Holon, Mif'al Hasifat Ginzey Teyman be-Yisrael, 1975 (4to, XXVIII + 328 pp., 328 pls.).

Eckart Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal*. Stuttgart, Kohlhammer Verlag, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 420 pp.) = *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament* 107 - ISBN 3 17 002482 2.

Shalom M. Paul & William G. Dever, *Biblical Archaeology*. Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1973 (8vo, XIV + 290 pp., 102 pls.) = *Library of Jewish Knowledge* - SBN 7065 1357 6.

J. R. Porter, *Leviticus*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 232 pp.) = *The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible*. £ 2.95 - ISBN 0 521 09773 8.

Svi Rin, *Biblical Aramaic*. Narberth, Pa., Israel Society for Biblical Research, 1972 (8vo, VII + 89 pp.). \$ 4.50.

Martin Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes*. Stuttgart, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1975 (8vo, X + 298 S.) = *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament* 106 - ISBN 3 17 002490 6.

John F. A. Sawyer, *A Modern Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. London, Oriel Press Production, 1976 (8vo, IV + 216 pp.). £ 4.00 - ISBN 0 85362 159 4.

Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, 170 pp.) = *Studies in Judaism in late Antiquity*, Volume 16. f 64. - ISBN 90 04 04348.

William R. Watters, *Formula Criticism and the Poetry of the Old Testament*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1976 (8vo, XVI + 227 pp.) = *BZAW* 138. DM 92. - ISBN 3 11 005730 1.

Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-50*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975 (8vo, XXVIII + 126 S.) = *Erträge der Forschung*, Band 48. DM 27. - ISBN 3 534 06042 3.

Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax. An Outline* (Second Edition). Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 122 pp.) - ISBN 0 8020 2218 9.

D. J. Wiseman (Editor), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973 (8vo, XXII + 402 pp., 8 pls., 6 figs.) = *Published for the Society of Old Testament Studies*. £ 5.50.

ARABICA - ISLAM

E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*. London, Collins Publishers, 1976 (8vo, 384 pp., 7 maps, 3 graphs). £ 10.10 - ISBN 0 00 216744 01.

M. M. Badawi, *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1975 (8vo, XII + 289 pp.). £ 4.00 - ISBN 0 521 29023 6.

H. M. Balyuzi, *Muhammad and the Course of Islam*. Oxford, George Ronald, 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 457 pp., 1 frontispiece, 16 pls.). £ 5.75 - ISBN 0 85398 060 8.

Michel Baumer, *Noms vernaculaires soudanais utiles à l'écologiste*. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975 (in-8, 127 pp., 3 cartes). F. 65. - ISBN 2 222 01721 1.

Wilfrid Blunt, *Splendours of Islam*. London, Angus & Robertson, 1976 (4to, 152 pp., 32 colour illustration and 56 in black and white). £ 4.80 - ISBN 0 207 95682 0.

Titus Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*. Wellingborough, Thorsons Publ. Ltd., 1976 (8vo, 126 pp.) - ISBN 0 7225 0333 4.

Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, *Asir before World War I*. Cambridge, The Oleander Press, 1976 (8vo, 155 pp., 1 map) = *Arabia Past and Present*. £ 4.00 - ISBN 0 902675 57 5.

Richard Gramlich, *Ahmad Ghazzali, Gedanken über die Liebe*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 80 S.) = *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 1976/2. DM 20. - ISBN 3 515 02126 4.

Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Islam and Medieval Hellenism: Social and Cultural Perspectives*. London, Variorum, Revised Editions and Reprints (8vo, 420 pp., 1 photograph) - ISBN 0 9020089 92 7.

Joseph Henninger, *Al-Bahit. Festschrift Joseph Henninger*. St. Augustin, Anthropos Redaktion, 1976 (8vo, 324 S., 1 Frontispiz) = *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Volumen 28 - ISBN 3 921389 40 2.

George F. Hourani, *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 261 pp.) = *Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science*. \$ 30.00 - ISBN 0 87395 224 3.

Muhyi-d-din Ibn 'Arabi, *The Wisdom of the Prophets (Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam)*. London, Beshara Publications, 1975 (8vo, XII + 156 pp.). £ 2.00 - ISBN 0 904975 00 2.

Endré von Ivánka, *Die Einnahme Thessalonikes durch die Araber, im Jahre 904*. Graz, Verlag Styria, 1975 (8vo, 141 S., 2 Karten) = *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, Band XII. DM 21. - ISBN 3-222 01290 2.

Stanley E. Kerr, *The Lions of Marash. Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1912-1922*. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1973 (8vo, XXVI + 318 pp., 26 pls.). \$ 15.00.

Paul Kunitzsch, *Ibn as-Salah. Zur Kritik der Koordinatenüberlieferung im Sternkatalog des Almagest*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 160 S.) = *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen 94. DM 88. - ISBN 3 525 82370 3.

Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in al-Ghazzali*. Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1975 (4to, 542 pp.). \$ 20.00.

Herbert J. Liebesny, *The Law of the Near & Middle East. Readings, Cases & Materials*. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1975 (8vo, XII + 316 pp.). \$ 22.00 - ISBN 0 87395 256 1.

Oscar Lofgren & Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Vol. 1. Antico Fondo & Medio Fondo. Vicenza, Neri Pozza Editore, Milan, Banca Commerciale Italiana, 1975 (4to, XXX + 253 pp., 16 colour plates) = *Fontes Ambrosiani* LI.

Maurice Lombard (Translated by Joan Spencer), *The Golden Age of Islam*. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975 (8vo, 259 pp., 30 maps) = *North-Holland Medieval Translations* 2. f 35. - ISBN 0 7204 9003 0.

R. C. Ostle, *Studies in Modern Arabic Literature*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975 (8vo, VI + 202 pp.). £ 4.95 - ISBN 0 85668 030 3.

J. D. Pearson & Ann Walsh, *Index Islamicus. Forth Supplement (Part IV), 1974-1975. A Catalogue of Articles on Islamic subjects in periodical and other collective publications*. London, Mansell Publications Ltd., 1976 (8vo, XVI + 109 pp.). £ 4.00 - ISBN 0 7201 0288 X.

Heinz Pohl, *Kitāb al-Mirāt. Das Buch der Erbschaft des Samaritaners Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm*. Kritische Edition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, XVI & 324 S.) = *Studia Samaritana*. Band 2. DM 94. -

Fazlur Rahman, *The Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā (Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī)*. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 277 pp.) = *Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science*. \$ 20.00 - ISBN 0 87395 300 2.

Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277*. Basingstoke, MacMillan, 1973 (8vo, XIV + 351 pp., 2 pls.). £ 5.95.

G. T. Rivoira (Translated from the Italian by G. McN. Rushforth), *Moslem Architecture. Its Origins and Development*. New York, Hacker Art Books, 1975 (4to, 383 pp., 340 pls.). \$ 35.00 - ISBN 0 87817 136 3.

Franz Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, 192 pp.). f 60. - ISBN 90 04 04314 4.

R. M. Savory (Editor), *Introduction to Islamic Civilisation*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (4to, VIII + 204 pp., many pls.). £ 3.30 - ISBN 0 521 09948 X.

Annemarie Schimmel, *Zwei Abhandlungen zur Mystik und Magie des Islams von Josef Hammer-Purgstall. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben. Festgabe der Akademie zum 200. Geburtstag Hammer-Purgstall*. Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974 (8vo, 216 S., 4 Farbtafeln) = *Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 293. Band, 4. Abh. DM 45. -

R. B. Serjeant, *South Arabian Hunt*. London, Luzac & Co., 1976 (8vo, X + 143 pp., 18 ills., 2 maps, 1 frontispiece). £ 8.50 - SBN 1789 0172 X.

Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Band II. Poesie bis ca. 430 H. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, X + 807 S.). f 225. -

M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History. A New Interpretation 2. A.D. 750-1055 (A.H. 132-448)*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 221 pp.). £ 7.50 - ISBN 0 521 21198 0.

Jane I. Smith, *An Historical and Semantic Study of the Term Islam as seen in a sequence of Quran Commentaries*. Missoula, Scholars Press, University of Montana, 1975 (8vo, XIV + 247 pp.) = *Harvard Dissertations in Religion* I - ISBN 0 89130 020 1.

Henri Stern, *Les mosaïques de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1976 (4to, 55 pp., 70 pls.) = *Madrid Forschungen*, Band 11. DM 160. - ISBN 3 11 002126 9.

William Stoddart, *Sufism. The Mystical Doctrines and Methods of Islam*. Wellingborough, Thorsons Publ. Ltd., 1976 (8vo, 91 pp., 8 pls.). £ 3.25 - ISBN 0 7225 0305 9 (UK), 0 87728 357 5 (USA).

Gérard Troupeau, *Lexique - Index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*. Paris, Klincksieck, 1976 (8vo, 268 pp.) = *Etudes Arabes et Islamiques, Série 3, Etudes et Documents* VII. F. 64. - ISBN 2 252 01862 3.

Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Third Edition. Ithaca, N.Y., Spoken Language Services Inc., 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 1110 pp.). \$ 7.50 - ISBN 0 87950 001 8.

TURKIJE

Baedekers *Autoreiseführer, Türkei*. Kemnat bei Stuttgart, Baedekers Autoführer Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 480 S., 57 Zeichnungen, 40 Karten und Pläne).

George E. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander. An Archaeological Guide*. Tonbridge, Kent, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1971 (8vo, 267 pp., 78 pls., 47 illustrations in the text, 1 map). £ 5.00 - ISBN 0 510 03211 7.

George E. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander. An Archaeological Guide*. Tonbridge, Kent, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1972 (8vo, 288 pp., 75 pls., 53 illustrations, 1 general map). £ 5.00 - ISBN 0 510 03201 X.

Robert Boulanger, *Turquie*. Paris, Hachette, 1974 (in-12, 544 pp., 21 plans, 20 cartes itinéraires, 5 cartes) = *Les Guides Bleues*. F. 66. -

Horst Wilfrid Brands, *Studien zum Wortbestand der Türkischen Sprachen. Lexikalische Differenzierung, Semasiologie, Sprachgeschichte*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (8vo, XII + 149 S.). f 48. -

Barbara Flemming, *Fahris Hüseyin u. Şirin. Eine türkische Dichtung von 1367*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1974 (8vo, XI + 486 S., 150 S. Faksimiles) = *VOHD Supplementband* 15. DM 128. - ISBN 3 515 01829 8.

William M. Hale, *Aspects of Modern Turkey*. Epping, Bowker Publishing Company Ltd., 1976 (8vo, 132 pp., maps). £ 1.00 - ISBN 0 85935 044 4.

G. Hazai, Das osmanisch-türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von J. Nagy de Harsány. Den Haag, Mouton, 1973 (8vo, 498 pp.) = Language Monuments of the Ottomans in Non-Turkish Scripts Vol. 1, Near and Middle East Monographs 15/1. f 148.—

Majeed R. Jafar, Under-Underdevelopment. A Regional Case Study of the Kurdish Area in Turkey. Helsinki, Social Policy Association, 1976 (8vo, 153 pp., 7 maps) = Studies of the Social Policy Association in Finland, no. 24. Fm. 20.— ISBN 951 99075 2 1.

Kemal H. Karpat a.o., Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition 1950-1974. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VI + 233 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East 17. f 84.— ISBN 90 04 04323 3.

Werner Kündig-Steiner, Die Türkei. Raum und Mensch, Kultur und Wirtschaft in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit. Tübingen, Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1974 (8vo, 672 S., mit 56 Fotos, 72 Karten und Graphiken, sowie 2 Karten-Beilagen). DM 48.— ISBN 3 7711 0164 6.

Georges Pillement, Trl. B. Whelpton, Unknown Turkey, Volume 1. Istanbul, The Bosphorus, the Coast of Asia Minor. London, Johnson Publ. Ltd., 1973 (8vo, 228 pp., 32 pls.). £ 2.90.

A. Adnan Saygun (translated by Samira B. Byron), Béla Bartók's Folk Music Research in Turkey. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1976 (8vo, 431 pp., 28 pls., 1 map). \$ 36.00 - ISBN 963 05 0377 8.

R. L. Shukla, Britain and the Turkish Empire, 1853-1882. New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1973 (8vo, XVI + 262 pp., 5 pls.). Rs 30.00.

IRAN

Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Neue Folge, Band 8. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1975 (8vo, 307 pp., 65 Kunstdrucktafeln). DM 110.—

Mary Boyce, A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume I. The Early Period. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, XVI + 347 pp.) = Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 8. Band, 1. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2, Heft 2A. f 98.— ISBN 90 04 04319 5.

Mary Boyce, A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, X + 196 pp.) = Acta Iranica 9, troisième Série, Textes et Mémoires, Vol. II - ISBN 90 04 04394 2.

I. M. Diakonoff & V. A. Livshits, Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa, Plates I. London, Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd., 1976 (4to, X + 8 pp., 132 pls.) = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II, Vol. II. £ 32.00 - ISBN 8 5331 369 5.

Wilhelm Eilers & Ulrich Schapka, Die Mundart

von Chunsar. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XV + 396 pp., 6 Tafeln, 3 Karten) = Westiranische Mundarten aus der Sammlung W. Eilers, Band 1. DM 176.— ISBN 3 515 02351 8.

Jean Hureau, Iran today. Paris, Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975 (8vo, 255 pp., 121 colour plates, 18 maps & circuits) - ISBN 2 85258 020 9.

S. Insler, The Gathas of Zarathustra. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 387 pp.) = Acta Iranica. Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes. Troisième Série, Textes et Mémoires, Volumen I - ISBN 90 04 04399 3.

Monumentum H. S. Nyberg III. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VI + 358 pp., 36 pls.) = Acta Iranica 6. Deuxième Série, Hommages et Opera Minora, Volume III - ISBN 90 04 04398 5.

Monumentum H. S. Nyberg IV. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 519 pp.) = Acta Iranica 7. Deuxième Série, Hommages et Opera Minora, Volume IV - ISBN 90 04 04393 4.

Kurt Würfel, Isfahan. Nisf-i-dschahan - das ist die Hälfte der Welt. Künast, Raggi Verlag, 1974 (4to, 200 S., 132 Tafeln). DM 72.—

ETHIOPIA

The Autobiography of Emperor Haile Sellassie I, 'My Life and Ethiopia's Progress' 1892-1937. Translated and Annotated by Edward Ullendorff. Oxford University Press, 1976 (8vo, XXXII + 337 pp., 8 pls., 1 map, 1 frontispiece). £ 6.00 - ISBN 0 19 713589 7.

HISTORIA RELIGIONUM

Albert Dietrich, Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 177 S.) = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr 96. DM 46.— ISBN 3 525 82374 6.

Methodios G. Fouyas, The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Council. A historical and doctrinal study with the relevant documents referring to the Christological relations. Addis Ababa, Central Printing Press, 1976 (8vo, 301 pp.).

M. de Jonge, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Study of their Text Composition and Origin. Assen, Royal van Gorcum, 1975 (8vo, 184 pp.) = Van Gorcum's Theologische Bibliotheek Nr. XXV. f 43.—

J. Martin Plumley, The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos. Two Documents from Medieval Nubia. London, The Egypt Exploration Society, 1975 (4to, VIII + 44 pp., 24 pls.) = Texts from Excavations. First Memoir.

VARIA

S. Adler-Rudel, Jüdische Selbsthilfe unter dem Naziregime 1933-1939. Im Spiegel der Berichte der Juden in Deutschland. Mit einem Vorwort von Robert Weltsch. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr Verlag, 1974 (8vo, XVI + 224 S.) = Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, 29. DM 55.—

Géza Alföldi, Die römischen Inschriften von Taraco. Text-band und Tafelband. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1975 (4to, XXVIII + 515 S., 171 Tafeln, 3 Ausklapptafeln) = Madrider Forschungen, Band 10. DM 320.—

Maria Luisa Ambrosini, Die geheimen Archive des Vatikans. München, Kösel Verlag, 1974 (8vo, 300 S.).

Antiquités Africaines, Tome 7 - 1973. Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1973 (4to, 294 pp., 41 + 19 + 25 + 2 + 11 + 7 figs.). F. 150.—

The Archaeologists' Year Book 1973. Christchurch, The Dolphin Press, 1973 (8vo, 229 pp.). £ 4.00.

Avraham Avi-Hai, Ben Gurion, State-BUILDER. Principles and Pragmatism 1948-1963. New York-Toronto, John Wiley & Sons, 1974 (8vo, XII + 354 pp.). £ 4.80.

Derek Baker (Editor), Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages. Edinburgh, University Press, 1973 (8vo, XII + 156 pp.). £ 3.00.

R. D. Barnett (Editor), Catalogue of the Permanent and Loan Collections of the Jewish Museum, London. London, Harvey Miller & New York, Graphic Society, 1974 (4to, 184 pp., 207 pls., 19 colour plates). £ 15.00.

Vernon Bartlett, Northern Italy. London, B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1973 (8vo, 230 pp., 1 frontispiece, 24 photographs, 1 map). £ 2.30.

George F. Bass, Geschiedenis van de Scheepvaart, weerspiegeld in de scheepsarcheologie. Bussum, Unieboek, 1973 (4to, 324 pp., 324 Figs.). f 65.—

Hanno Beck, Geographie. Europäische Entwicklung in Texten und Erläuterungen. Freiburg-München, Verlag Karl Alber, 1973 (8vo, 510 S.) = Orbis Academicus, Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen. DM 65.—

Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli & Antonio Giuliano, Etrusker und Italiker, vor der römischen Herrschaft. Die Kunst Italiens von der Frühgeschichte bis zum Bundesgenossenkrieg. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1974 (4to, VIII + 443 S., 446 Abb., davon 75 in Farben, 6 Pläne, 5 Karten) = Universum der Kunst. DM 125.—

Robert Bloch, Die französischen Colons im Protektorat Tunesien 1923-1929. Zürich, Robert Bloch, 1975 (8vo, 288 S.).

István Bóna, Die Mittlere Bronzezeit Ungarns und ihre südöstlichen Beziehungen. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975 (4to, 317 S., 281 Tafeln, 26 Abb., 31 Pläne und 11 Verbreitungskarten) = Archaeologia Hungarica, Series Nova IL. \$ 48.00 - ISBN 963 05 0250 X.

Zbigniew Borkowski, Une description topographique des immeubles à Panopolis. Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 1975 (8vo, 92 pp., 2 pls.).

Karl Bosl (Herausgeber), Die 'Burg'. Einflussreiche Kräfte um Masaryk und Benes. I. Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiessee am Tegernsee. 23.-26. November 1972. München-Wien, R. Oldenbourg-Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 176 S.). DM 32.—

L. Bossle, K. Hornung, G. Mergl, Blick vom Olymp. Griechenland heute: Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Staat, Gesellschaft. Stuttgart-Degerloch, Seewald Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 304 S.). DM 26.—

Juliet du Boulay, Portrait of a Greek Mountain Village. London, Clarendon Press, OUP, 1974 (8vo, XII + 296 pp.) = Oxford Monographs on Social Anthropology. £ 6.00.

Brian Bracegirdle, The Archaeology of the Industrial Revolution. London, Heinemann Books, 1973 (4to, VIII + 208 pp., 48 colour plates, figures and maps). £ 6.50.

René A. Bravmann, Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa. Cambridge, University Press, 1974 (8vo, XIV + 190 pp., 83 ills.) = African Studies Series, 11. £ 5.00.

Michael Brett (Editor), Northern Africa: Islam and Modernization. London, Frank Cass, 1973 (8vo, XXVII + 177 pp.). £ 3.50.

Jean Briggs, The Flame of the Borgias. London, Collins, 1974 (8vo, 336 pp.). £ 2.95.

Philip Bristow, French Mediterranean Harbours. Lymington, Nautical Publishing Cy., 1974 (8vo, 174 pp., with figures and plans). £ 3.60.

Roger Bullen, Palmerston, Guizot and the Collapse of the Entente Cordiale. London, Athlone Press, 1974 (8vo, XII + 352 pp.). £ 6.80.

Cemam Reports. Volume I, Number 1: Tensions in the Middle East Society. Winter-Spring 1972-1973. Beirut, Center for the Study of the Modern Arab World, Saint Joseph's University, 1973 (4to, 197 pp.).

Derek F. Channon, The Strategy and Structure of British Empire. Boston, Division of Research, Harvard Business School, 1973 (8vo, XVIII + 257 pp.). £ 12.00.

Alan Clark (Editor), A Good Innings'. The Private Papers of Viscount Lee of Fareham. London, John Murray, 1974 (8vo, XII + 360 pp., 30 pls.). £ 3.75.

M. Confino and S. Shamir (Editors), The U.S.S.R. and the Middle East. Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1973 (8vo, XXII + 441 pp.) = The Russian and East European Research Center and the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies. £ 8.45.

Albert von le Coq & E. Waldschmidt, Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien, Band VII. Neue Bildwerke III. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975 (Folio, 80 S., 34 Tafeln, 50 Fig.) = Ergebnisse der Königlichen Preussischen Turfan Expeditionen - ISBN 3 201 00 842 7.

Martin L. van Creveld, *Hitler's Strategy 1940-1941. The Balkan Clue*. Cambridge, University Press, 1973 (8vo, XII + 248 pp.) = *International Studies*. £ 4.90.

Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*. Bern, Abegg-Stiftung, 1973 (8vo, 76 pp., 15 pls., 46 figs.) = *Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung*, 9.

G. D. Davary & H. Humbach, *Die baktrische Inschrift IDN 1 von Dasht-e Nawur (Afghanistan)*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 21 S., 7 Abb.) = *Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 1976, 1. DM 9.20 - ISBN 3 515 02142 6.

Sokratis Dimitriou & Gerhard Klammet, *Die griechischen Inseln*. München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1974 (4to, 248 S., 152 Bildtafeln, davon 24 farbig). DM 58.—

Algernon Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974 (8vo, XXXVI + XVI + 298 pp., a frontispiece, 33 ills., 3 maps) = *Quellen zur Entdeckungsgeschichte und Geographie Asiens* 5.

P. H. L. Eggermont, *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Maluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia*. Leuven, Universitaire Pers, 1975 (8vo, XXIV + 233 pp., 4 maps) = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, Vol. 3. Bfr. 850.— - ISBN 90 6186 037 7.

Hartmut Elsenhans (Hrsg.), *Erdöl für Europa*. Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1974 (8vo, 343 S.). DM 28.—

Josef Engemann, *Untersuchungen zur Sepulkral-symphologie der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit*. Münster, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973 (4to, 94 S., 59 Tafeln) = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* 2. DM 59.—

Yair Evron, *Nations. Super-Powers and Wars*. London, Paul Elek Ltd., 1973 (8vo, 248 pp.) = *International Relations Series*, Vol. 5. £ 3.00.

Jean-Jacques Fauvel, *Maroc*. Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1973 (12mo, 364 pp., 12 plans en couleurs, 28 plans en noir et blanc) = *Les Guides Bleus*. F. 43.—

Otto Folberth, *Gotik in Siebenbürgen. Der Meister des Mediascher Altars und seine Zeit*. Wien-München, Verlag Anton Schroll, 1973 (8vo, 147 S., 8 Farbtafeln, 8 Tafeln, 3 Abb.). öS. 300.—

Robert Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974 (8vo, XII + 266 pp., 24 pls.). £ 5.75.

Gabriel Fournier, *Châteaux, Villages et Villes d'Auvergne au XVe siècle d'après l'Armorial de Guillaume Revel*. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1973 (in-4, IV + 144 pp., 124 pls.) = *Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'archéologie*. F. 60.—

José L. García-Ramón, *Les Origines Postmycéniennes du Groupe Dialectal Éolien*. Salamanca, Uni-

versidad, 1975 (8vo, 118 pp.) = *Supplement a MINOS*, 6.

Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines. A History of the Roman Empire AD 14-192*. London, Methuen & Co, 1974 (8vo, XII + 861 pp.). £ 8.80.

Michael Glover, *The Peninsular War 1807-1814. A Concise Military History*. London, David & Charles, 1974 (8vo, 431 pp., 16 pls., 19 battle plans, 5 maps). £ 6.75.

Michael Glover (Editor), *An Assemblage of Indian Soldiers & Uniforms, from the original paintings by the late Chater Paul Chater, written and edited by Michael Glover*. Foreword by Anthony Brett-James. London, Perpetua Press, 1973 (8vo, XXVII + 103 pp., 41 pls., 1 map). £ 4.75.

Michael Grant, *Caesar*. Introduction by Elizabeth Longford. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974 (8vo, 232 pp., 219 ills.). £ 3.25.

Michael Grant, *The Army of the Caesars*. London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974 (8vo, XXXIV + 365 pp., 36 ills.). £ 6.50.

Louis Grodeck, Florentine Mutherich, Jean Taralon & Francis Wormald, *Die Zeit der Ottonen und Salier*. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1973 (4to, XII, 462 S., 451 Abb. davon 91 in Farben, 61 Pläne, 2 Karten) = *Universum der Kunst*, Band 20. DM 125.—

Gedenkschrift Hermann Güntert. Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur Indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker, herausgegeben von M. Mayrhofer, W. Meid, B. Schlerath & R. Schmitt. Innsbruck, Institut für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, 1974 (4to, 531 S., 1 Porträt) = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Band 12. öS. 920.—

Joan Haslip, *Maximilian, Kaiser von Mexico*. München, Biederstein-Verlag, 1971 (8vo, 526 S., 16 Tafeln). DM 25.—

Garry Hogg, *Corsica. The Fragment Isle*. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1973 (8vo, 240 pp., frontispiece, 32 pls., 2 maps). £ 5.25.

Christopher Howard, *Britain and the Casus Belli, 1822-1902. A Study of Britain's International Position from Canning to Salisbury*. London, The Athlone Press, 1974 (8vo, XIV + 204 pp.). £ 4.00.

Lansiné Kaba, *Wahabiyya. Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa*. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1974 (4to, XVI + 285 pp., 1 map) = *Studies in African Religion*. \$ 13.50 - ISBN 0 8101 0427 X.

James Kirkman, *Fort Jesus: A Portuguese Fortress on the East African Coast*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974 (4to, XVI + 328 pp., 44 pls., 86 texts figs.). £ 12.50.

Heinrich Kraft (Herausgeber), *Konstantin der Grosse*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974 (8vo, VI + 473 S., 4 Tafeln mit Münzabb.) = *Wege der Forschung*, 131. DM 74.—

Gertrud Krallert-Sattler (Redaktion), *Südost-europa-Bibliographie*, Band IV: 1961-1965, 2. Teil: Albanien, Bulgarien, Jugoslawien. München, R. Oldenbourg-Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 640 S.). DM 109.—

Gertrud Krallert-Sattler (Redaktion), *Südost-europa-Bibliographie*, Band V: 1966-1970, 2. Teil: Albanien, Bulgarien, Jugoslawien. München, R. Oldenbourg-Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 796 S.) - ISBN 3 486 44501 4.

Hans Kung & Pinchas Lapide, *Jesus im Widerstreit. Ein jüdisch-christlicher Dialog*. München, Calwer Verlag, Kösel Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 51 + 52 S.). DM 6.80.

Ernst Langlotz, *Griechische Kunst in heutiger Sicht*. Frankfurt/M., Vittorio Klostermann, 1973 (8vo, 92 S., 38 Tafeln) = *Das Abendland, Forschungen zur Geschichte europäischen Geisteslebens*. N.F. 3. DM 20.—

Pinchas Lapide, *Ist das nicht Josephs Sohn? Jesus im heutigen Judentum*. München, Calwer Verlag, Kösel Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 167 S.). DM 19.80 - ISBN 3 466 20080 6.

J. P. Lawford & Peter Young, *Wellington's Masterpiece, the Battle and Campaign of Salamanca*. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1973 (8vo, 335 pp., 54 ills.). £ 5.25.

Christopher Lloyd, *Nelson and Sea Power*. London, The English Universities Press, Ltd., 1973 (8vo, 156 pp., 9 pls., 4 battleplans) = *Men and their Times*. £ 1.75 - ISBN 0 340 12413 X.

Thuri Lorenz, *Leben und Regierung Trajans auf dem Bogen von Benevent*. Amsterdam, Castrum Peregrini Press, 1973 (8vo, 62 S., 12 Tafeln) = *Castrum Peregrini CVI*.

Emile Mâle, *La cathédrale d'Albi*. Genève, Weber S.A. d'Editions, 1974 (in-8, 197 pp., 80 pls., 3 pls. couleurs).

Josef Matuz, *Krimtartarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen. Mit historisch-diplomatischen und sprachlichen Untersuchungen*. Freiburg i. Br., Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976 (8vo, X + 348 S., 30 Tafeln) = *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, Band 37. DM 44.— - ISBN 3 87997 049 1.

Hans Eberhardt Mayer, *The Crusades*. Translated by John Gillingham. Oxford, University Press, 1972 (8vo, XII + 339 pp., 3 maps). £ 3.00.

Michael McGwire, *Soviet Naval Developments. Capability and Context*. New York, Praeger Publishers, 1973 (8vo, 576 pp.) = *Praeger Special Studies in International Politics and Government*. \$ 23.50.

Charles B. McLane, *Soviet-Middle East Relations*. London, Central Asian Research Centre, 1973 (4to, 126 pp.) = *Soviet-Third World Relations*, Vol. 1. £ 5.00.

Russel Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1973 (8vo, XX, 622 pp., 40 pls., 32 figs., 1 plan of Ostia). £ 8.50.

Gloria S. Merker, *The Hellenistic Sculpture of Rho-*

des. Göteborg, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, 1973 (4to, 34 pp., 34 pls., 84 figs.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. XL. 50.— Crs.

Karl Meyer, *The Plundered Past. The Traffic in Art Treasures*. Amsterdam, Meulenhoff Bruna, 1973 (8vo, XXV + 353 pp., 24 pls.). f 32.25.

Gyula Moravcsik, *Einführung in die Byzantinologie*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, 186 S., 11 Tafeln) - ISBN 3 534 05670 1.

James Morris, *Venice*. London, Faber & Faber, 1974 (8vo, 335 pp., frontispiece). £ 1.50.

Ernst Neumayr & Werner Pfister, *Jugoslawien*. Olten & Freiburg i. Br., Walter-Verlag, 1974 (12mo, 360 S., viele Illustrationen, Karte) = *Reihe Walter Reiseführer*.

H. T. Norris, *The Tuaregs. Their Islamic Legacy and its Diffusion in the Sahel*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975 (8vo, XV + 234 pp., 8 pls.). £ 7.50 - ISBN 0 85668 031 1.

Oikumene, *Studia ad Historiam Antiquam Classicam et Orientalem Spectantia*. Edited by I. Hahn, L. Kákósy, E. Maróti, J. Sarkady. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976 (8vo, 246 pp.) = *Yearbook of the Economic and Social History of the Ancient World*. \$ 15.00 - ISBN 963 05 0760 9.

Tito Orlandi, *Vite del Monaci Phife Longino*. Milano, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino - La Goliardica, 1975 (8vo, 110 pp., 4 pls.) = *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità, serie copta*. LI. L. 6.500.

R. F. Pagan, *Central Italy: An Archaeological Guide*. The prehistoric, Villanova, Etruscan, Samnite, Italic and Roman remains and the ancient road systems. London, Faber & Faber, 1973 (8vo, 256 pp., 35 ills. on plates, 17 figs., 13 plans, 6 maps) = *Series Archaeological Guides*. £ 4.85.

Hans-Joachim Paproth, *Studien über das Bärenzeremoniell*. I. Bärenjagdruten und Bärenfeste bei den tungusischen Völkern. München, Kommissionsverlag Klaus Renner, 1976 (8vo, 366 S., 12 Tafeln) - ISBN 91 506 0064 8.

Ambros Josef Pfiffig, *Etruskische Signaturen*. Verfertignamen und Töpferstempel. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976 (8vo, 48 S.) = *Sitzungsberichte*, 304. Band, 2. Abhandlung. DM 20.—

A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*. Eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974. 2. erweiterte Auflage (8vo, in drei Bänden. Band I: 557 S., Band II: 651 S. separater Tafelband: 361 Abb. auf 240 Tafeln). \$ 85.00.

Joshua Prawer, *Die Welt der Kreuzfahrer*. Wiesbaden, Verlag F. A. Brockhaus, 1974 (8vo, 160 S., 3 Karten, 8 Farabbildungen und 94 schwarzweiss Abbildungen). DM 29.—

Hans Quecke, Die Briefe Pachoms. Griechischer Text der Handschrift W. 145 der Chester Beatty Library. Anhang: Die koptischen Fragmente. Regensburg, Institutum Liturgicum Ratisbonense, 1975 (8vo, 118 S.) - ISBN 3 7917 0454 0.

Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIIIe au XVI siècle. Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1975 (in-8, XVIII + 490 pp., 7 cartes) = Sources d'Histoire Médiévale. F. 180. - ISBN 2 222 01718 1.

David Reifen, Das Jugendgericht in Israel. Mit einem Vorwort von Haim H. Cohn. Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, XVI + 420 S.). DM 112.—.

Jacques Revault, Palais et résidence d'été de la région de Tunis. XVI-XIXe siècles. Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1974 (in-4, 448 pp., 155 pls., 90 pls. dessinées, 5 planches en couleurs) = Etudes d'antiquités africaines. F. 260.—.

Revista Catalana de teologia I/1, 1976. Barcelona, Edicions de la Facultat de Teologia, 1975 (8vo, IV + 288 pp.). \$ 17.—.

Michael Ridley, The Megalithic Art of the Maltese Islands. Poole, Blandford Press, 1976 (8vo, 128 pp., 104 pls.). £ 1.50 - ISBN 0 85642 057 3. (Paperback).

Günter Ristow, Mithras im römischen Köln. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (8vo, VI + 33 S., 1 Frontispiz, 23 Tafeln, 7 Fig., 1 Übersichtskarte) = Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain, Tome 42. f 36.—.

Volkner Ritter, Kulturkontakte und soziales Lernen in Mittelalter. Kreuzzüge im Licht einer mittelalterliche Biographie. Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 1973 (8vo, VIII + II + 270 S.) = Kollektive Einstellung und sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter, Band 1. DM 34.—.

Joyce Roper, The Women of Nar. London, Faber & Faber, 1974 (8vo, 180 pp., 10 pls., 2 maps). £ 2.85.

John Rosselli, Lord William Bentinck, The Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774-1839. London, Chatto & Windus, 1974 (8vo, 384 pp., 1 frontispiece, 1 ill.). £ 6.00.

Abraham Schalit (Herausgeber), Zur Josephus-Forschung. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973 (8vo, XX + 420 S.) = Wege der Forschung, Bd. 84. DM 72.—.

Heinrich Schliemann, Ithaka. Der Peloponnes und Troja. Archäologische Forschungen 1869, mit einem Vorwort zur Neuauflage und einem Personen- und Sachverzeichnis von Ernst Meyer. 3. unveränderte Auflage. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973 (12mo, XXVIII + 218 S., 6 Abb.). DM 16.80.

Manfred K. Schretter, Alter Orient und Hellas. Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen. Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität, 1974 (8vo, 254 S.) = Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft der Universität, Sonderheft 33.

Willi Schulze, Liberia, Länderkundliche Dominanten und regionale Strukturen. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973 (8vo, L + 397 S., 31 Bilder, 38 Fig., 8 Karten, 37 Tabellen im Text, 17 Tabellen im Anhang) = Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden, Band 7. DM 81.—.

Friedrich Seck, Isokrates. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 379 S.) = Wege der Forschung CCCLI. DM 70.— - ISBN 3 543 05713 9.

Richard Seewald, Stupor Mundi. 13 Allegorien zum Leben des Staufers Friedrich II. Memmingen/Allgäu, Maximilian Dietrich Verlag, 1974 (folio oblong, 56 S., 13 Zeichnungen und Texte von Richard Seewald). DM 38.—.

Moses A. Shulvass, The Jews in the World of the Renaissance. Translated from the Hebrew by Elvin I. Kose. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (8vo, XVI + 367 pp.). f 58.—.

Georges Souville, Atlas Préhistorique du Maroc I. Le Maroc atlantique. Préface de Lionel Balout. Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1973 (in-4, 368 pp., 36 figs. au trait, 117 figures simili in-texte, 7 cartes sous pochette) = Etudes d'antiquités africaines. f 175.—.

Richard Speich, Kreta. Ein Kunst- und Reiseführer. Stuttgart-Berlin, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (12mo, 272 S. mit vielen Karten und Plänen, 1 dreifarbiges Ausschlagkarte). DM 24.—.

Niels Steensgaard, The Asian Trade Revolution of the 17th Century. The East Indian Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade. London, The University of Chicago Press, 1975 (8vo, 441 pp., 2 maps). £ 2.95 - ISBN 0 226 77139 3.

Conrad Streit & Hed Wimmer, Portugal. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973 (12mo, 327 S., illustriert) = Walter Reiseführer.

Sol Tax (Ed.), Fifth International Directory of Anthropologists. Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 1975 (4to, X + 496 pp.). £ 18.00.

Shabtai Teveth, Moshe Dayan. Politiker, Soldat, Legende. Deutsche Übersetzung von Philipp F. W. Fleck und Helmut Degner. Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe-Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 432 S., 16 Tafeln, 1 Karte). DM 29.50.

G. R. Thursby, Hindu-Muslim Relations in British India. A Study of Controversy, Conflict and Communal Movements in North-India 1923-28. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, XII + 194 pp.) = Studies in the History of Religions. Supplement to Numen XXXV. f 48.—.

Hazel Thurston, The Travellers' Guide to Tunisia. London, Jonathan Cape, 1973 (12mo, 412 pp., 16 pls., many plans and tables, endpaper-map). £ 3.50.

Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars II, De creatione hominis, Par III, De generibus tribus. (Codex Jong F. LIIv-F. LXXv, p. 104-140). Bern, Francke Verlag, 1975 (4to, 348 pp., 41 pls.). Sfr. 300.—.

Klaus Tuchelt, Vorarbeiten zu einer Topographie von Didyma. Eine Untersuchung der inschriftlichen und archäologischen Zeugnisse. Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1973 (4to, 138 S., 38 Tafeln, 8 Abb., 1 Plan) = Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 9. DM 48.—.

P. Voorhoeve, Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts, Part 1. Batak Manuscripts. Copenhagen, The Royal Library, 1975 (4to, 255 pp., 29 pls., 42 figs.) = Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs etc. in the Oriental Department.

Lise Vogel, The Column of Antoninus Pius. London, Harvard University Press, 1973 (4to, 220 pp., 99 pls.) = Loeb Classical Monographs. \$ 16.00.

Klaus Wessel und Maecell Restle, Reallexicon zur Byzantinischen Kunst. Lieferung 21 (Band III, Sp. 641-800). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 80 S., 16 Abbildungen). DM 36.— - ISBN 3 7772 7601 4 (Lieferung 21) - ISBN 3 7772 6340 0 (Werk).

Horst Widmann, Exil und Bildungshilfe. Die deutschsprachige akademische Emigration in die Türkei nach 1933. Mit einer Bio-Bibliographie der emigrierten Hochschullehrer im Anhang. Bern, Herbert Lang-Verlag, Frankfurt, Peter Lang Verlag, 1973 (8vo, 308 S.). Sfr. 58.—.

Ulrich Wilcken, Griechische Geschichte. München, Oldenbourg-Verlag, 10. Auflage, 1973, Unveränderter Nachdruck der 9. von Günther Klaffenbach durchgesehene Auflage (8vo, XII + 380 S., 32 Tafeln, 2 Karten). DM 38.—.

J. M. Winter, Socialism and the Challenge of War. Ideas and Politics in Britain 1912-1918. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974 (8vo, IX + 310 pp.). £ 5.50.

Theodore Zeldin, France 1848-1945. Volume 1: Ambition, Life and Politics. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973 (8vo, VIII + 823 pp.) = Oxford History of Modern Europe. £ 6.00.

Oskar Ziegenaus und Gioia de Luca, Das Asklepieion, 2. Teil. Der nördliche Temenosbezirk und angrenzende Anlagen in hellenistischer und frühromischer Zeit. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1975 (4to, 145 S., 120 Tafeln, 1 Farbtafel) = Altertümer von Pergamon, Band XI, 2. DM 280.— - ISBN 3 11 004873 6.

Hermann Zimmer, A Fraudulent Testament Devalues the Bahai Religion into Political Shogism. Waiblingen, World Union for Universal Religion and Universal Peace, 1973 (8vo, 132 pp.).



F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL
16.8.1882 — 16.11.1976

IN MEMORIAM
F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL

Am 16.11.1976 verschied in Nimwegen im Alter von 94 Jahren F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, der Nestor der niederländischen Orientalisten. Dankbar blicken wir zurück auf dieses lange Gelehrtenleben, wie es in solcher Erfüllung und Geschlossenheit heutzutage nur noch selten gefunden wird. Franz Marius Theodor Böhl wurde am 16.8.1882 in Wien als Sohn des Professors der evangelischen Dogmatik E. Böhl geboren. Seine wissenschaftliche Laufbahn führte ihn aber frühzeitig nach Holland, wo er als ordentlicher Professor, zunächst der semitischen Philologie in Groningen (1913-1927), dann der Assyriologie in Leiden (1927-1953) tätig gewesen ist. Seine Verbindung mit den Niederlanden stammte aus den Jugendjahren, als er die Sommerferien auf dem Landsitz der Grosseltern van Verschuer in Milsbeek zu verbringen pflegte. Noch in hohem Alter liebte er es, auf dem Gelände des ehemaligen Gutes auch mit Gästen längere Spaziergänge zu unternehmen. Mit regem Interesse hat er bis zuletzt in der von ihm selbst nach der Emeritierung gewählten Ruhe und Abgeschlossenheit im kleinen limburgischen Milsbeek das Schicksal seiner Schüler sowie neuere Entwicklungen innerhalb der Orientalistik verfolgt. Die eigene Arbeit, der er sich auch im Ruhestand unermüdlich widmete, wurde ihm aber dadurch, dass seine riesige Fachbibliothek in der kleinen Wohnung nur zum kleinsten Teile Aufnahme finden konnte und Reisen nach Leiden zur dortigen Wohnung ihm später immer beschwerlicher wurden, wesentlich erschwert.

Wenn ich nun im folgenden versuche, über Person und Werk Böhls in aller Kürze zu berichten, bin ich mir von vornherein darüber im klaren, dass ich der ungewöhnlich grossen Vielseitigkeit des Verstorbenen dabei nur sehr unvollkommen gerecht werden kann, zumal die Würdigung des aufs Alte Testament bezogenen Teils seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit sich meiner Kompetenz entzieht. Sehen wir uns die Wissensgebiete Böhls an, so springt eine Tatsache sofort ins Auge: er war Assyriologe und Alttestamentler und es lässt sich im Rückblick gar nicht leicht feststellen, welchem dieser Gebiete sein Hauptinteresse gegolten hat. Eine stärkere Verlagerung der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Böhls nach der Assyriologie macht sich anscheinend erst nach Antritt der Leidener Professur bemerkbar. Die Verbindung der beiden Fächer kam in früherer Zeit häufiger vor, ist aber heutzutage kaum noch anzutreffen, haben sich doch beide Wissensgebiete derart ausgedehnt, dass es uns Jüngeren kaum möglich ist, über eines der beiden Fächer auch nur einigermaßen umfassend Bescheid zu wissen, geschweige denn über beide. Böhl aber gehörte einer Generation an, die eine Entwicklung aus kleinen Anfängen mitgemacht und gefördert hat. Fragt man sich, wie die beiden heutzutage klar von einander getrennten Wissenschaftsbereiche in der Person Böhls zu einer harmonischen Verbindung zusammenfliessen konnten, so liesse sich darauf hinweisen, dass das Interesse des Verstorbenen vielleicht doch am meisten der Religions- und (Kultur)geschichte des Alten Orients gegolten haben dürfte, wie es auch seine umfangreiche Bibliographie (s. seine *Opera Minora*, Groningen; Djakarta 1953, 534-549; *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, Leiden 1973, 412-416, insgesamt 321 Nummern!) nahezulegen scheint.

Da es im Rahmen dieses kurzen Aufsatzes unmöglich erscheint, über das wissenschaftliche Werk Böhls auch nur einigermaßen vollständig zu berichten, sei hier nur auf das Wichtigste hingewiesen. Die in Klammern gesetzten Zahlen beziehen sich auf die Nummern seiner oben zitierten Bibliographie.

Wenden wir uns zunächst der Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament in ihrem weitesten Sinne zu, so liesse sich in erster Linie auf Böhls Kommentare (vgl. auch 62) zu den Büchern Genesis (15; 7), Exodus (14) und Psalmen 1-89 (319), sowie auf den von ihm verfassten alttestamentlichen Teil eines Bibellexikons (4) verweisen. Mit Problemen der Religion des Alten Israel (12; 79; 136) und des Prophetismus (auch in Mari) (149; 183; 211) sowie mit geschichtlichen Fragen hat sich Böhl mit Vorliebe beschäftigt. Für den letztgenannten Problemkreis sei an seine noch heute oft zitierte Arbeit „Kanaanäer und Hebräer“ (2; vgl. 3) erinnert sowie an Arbeiten zum Zeitalter Abrahams, in denen er später auch von neuerschlossenem Material aus dem Archiv von Mari Gebrauch machte (9; 16; 26; 78). Einen interessanten Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Babylons und Israels stellten seine Ausführungen zur Stellung der Frau (82; 98; 99) dar. Über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Palästina (17) und im Ostjordanland (44), besonders aber über die der Grabungen in Sichem durch E. Sellin, an denen sich auch Böhl beteiligt hat, hat er sich mehrfach geäussert (11; 13; 120; 176). Zum Schluss dürfen Böhls Beiträge zu Fragen der althebräischen Sprache (8; 121) und Literatur (137), namentlich zum Lexikon (32; 72; 77), nicht unerwähnt bleiben.

Fassen wir nun die Tätigkeit Böhls auf dem Gebiet der Assyriologie, im weitesten Sinne verstanden, ins Auge, so stellen wir zunächst dieselbe erstaunliche Vielseitigkeit fest, durch die sein alttestamentliches Schaffen gekennzeichnet ist. Grosses Interesse hat er Fragen der altesopotamischen Geschichte, Religionsformen und Kultur entgegengebracht. Es beschäftigten ihn Themen aus praktisch allen Perioden der Geschichte des Zweistromlandes. Besonders sei an seine Studien über Hammurapi von Babylon (26), zur älteren Geschichte Obermesopotamiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jhdt. v. Chr. (205; vgl. 280), über das Zeitalter der Sargoniden (214) und an einige rezentere Aufsätze zur Spätgeschichte Babyloniens (284; 306; 308; 317) und Assyriens (314) erinnert. Auch zum Problem der Historisierung des Mythos hat Böhl sich geäussert (212; vgl. 206). Vgl. weiter noch 39; 52; 109; 128; 157; 162; 193. Fragen der Kulturgeschichte Mesopotamiens hat Böhl mehrfach behandelt. Wir erwähnen hier seine Skizze der mesopotamischen Kulturgeschichte (267) sowie seine Beobachtungen zum Ursprung des Labyrinths (42) und zu Wein und Weinbau bei den alten Babyloniern und Assyriern (50). Religiöse Erscheinungen im alten Mesopotamien erregten ebenfalls sein lebhaftes Interesse. Dafür wäre auf zwei allgemeine Aufsätze zur Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier zu verweisen (56; 61). Weiter beschäftigten ihn einschlägige Fragen vieler Art. So behandelte Böhl die sumerische Weltanschauung (166), das Menschenbild in babylonischer Schau (288), Prophetismus und stellvertretendes Leiden in Assyrien und Israel (211; vgl. 214) und das durch die Woolley'schen Ausgrabungen in Ur aktuell gewordene Problem des Menschenopfers bei den alten Sumerern (127). Sehr bekannt wurde der Aufsatz, in dem Böhl die in der sechsten Tafel des Enūma eliš erwähnten fünfzig Namen Marduks erläuterte (174). Doch behandelte er auch Themen kultureller (das Neujahrsfest, 12; vgl. 105; 289), 'philosophischer' (Mummu, 73), geistesgeschichtlich/theologischer (Babel-Bibel-Problem, 312; 313; Paradies; Sündenfall; Sintflutgeschichte, 69; 74; 80) und mythologischer (Adapa's Weisheit, 301; Gilgameš, s. unten) Art. In die Archäologie des Zweistromlandes hatte sich Böhl ebenfalls eingearbeitet, wie eine stattliche Anzahl von Aufsätzen beweist, in denen er sich zu archäologischen Fragen äussert. Meistens handelt es sich um Veröffentlichungen und Bearbeitungen von Besitz oder Neuanschaffungen der assyriologischen Arbeitszimmer in Leiden oder Groningen (147; 152; 153; 160; 161; 172; 182 und 38) oder des Staatlichen Altertumsmuseum in Leiden (129; 151; 170; 180; 182). Vgl. weiter noch 169; 185 (49); 192.

Die eben genannten Sparten der Assyriologie und der vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde wusste Böhl aber auch für die Bearbeitung von altesopotamischen Texten fruchtbar zu machen, der er gewöhnlich wichtige Erläuterungen allgemeiner Art beigab. Wir erwähnen hier zuerst seine Aufsätze über den babylonischen Fürstenspiegel (22) und über die Tochter König Nabonids von Babylon (46) sowie die Bearbeitungen von altbabylonischen Mythen (168), von religiösen Texten aus Assur (24; 177; 181; 186) und von den Texten aus Sichem (122; 321; BagM 7, Berlin 1974, 21-30). Weiter niederländische Übersetzungen der grosse 'preceptive' Šamašhymne (190), der akkadischen

Fassung von „Istars Höllenfahrt“ (298) und vor allem der akkadischen Versionen des Gilgameš-epos (296: 31958). Zum sumerischen Gilgamešzyklus steuerte Böhl ebenfalls einen Aufsatz bei (54) und äusserte sich auch mehrfach zu Einzelfragen betreffs des Epos (58; 213; 299; 303; 318). Nicht vergessen dürfen wir auch Textbearbeitungen Böhls, in denen er sich zu wichtigen, eben neuveröffentlichten Texten, so denjenigen aus Märi (295) und der Gesetzessammlung aus Ešnunna (204), äusserte. Grosse Verdienste erwarb sich Böhl auch um die niederländische Assyriologie durch die grosse Sammlung von altesopotamischen Tontafeln, die er sich in unermüdlichem Sammelfleiss erwerben konnte und mit der sein Name auf immer verbunden bleiben wird (Sigel: LB). Eine Anzahl wichtiger Tafeln aus dieser Sammlung, welche später vom Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten in Leiden käuflich erworben werden konnte, hat Böhl im Laufe der Jahre selbst bearbeitet. Es handelt sich dabei um Beschwörungstexte (286), Königsinschriften (139; 207: bil.), eine Götterhymne (202), einen Brief Samsuilūnas van Babylon (208), juristische Texte (53; 55) und Texte mit unbekannter Schrift (146). Schon früher Böhl eine Anzahl Texte aus seiner Sammlung bearbeitet in drei Heften MKNW (19; 20; 21; vgl. 159). Zu Fragen der akkadischen und sumerischen Grammatik hat Böhl sich nur selten geäussert (vgl. etwa 68; 278 und zu Fragen der althebräischen und akkadischen Rhythmik 297; 303). Immerhin ist hier auf seine wichtige Leipziger Dissertation *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (1) zu verweisen, die noch immer ihren Wert behalten hat.

Um die Zeitschrift *Bibliotheca Orientalis* hat sich Böhl sehr verdient gemacht. Ihrem Redaktionsstab gehörte er von dem Gründungsjahr 1943 bis zu seinem Tode ununterbrochen an. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, der sonstigen theologischen und kirchlichen Tätigkeiten und Interessen Böhls zu gedenken, doch sei wenigstens sein unermüdlicher Einsatz für die Ökumene erwähnt, die er durch manche Veröffentlichungen und auch sonst nachhaltig gefördert hat (38; 40; 41; 135; 144; 145; 184; 200; 311). Als Lehrer bleibt Böhl uns, seinen Schülern, unvergessen. Er wusste seine Studenten zu begeistern und ihnen den altesopotamischen Menschen nahe zu bringen, wie er aus den Texten und Denkmälern an uns herantritt. Zu diesem Zwecke veröffentlichte er auch eine akkadische Chrestomathie (27), die vor allem dazu geeignet ist, fortgeschrittene kultur- und geistesgeschichtlich interessierte Studenten in den Reichtum des akkadischen Schrifttums einzuführen. Sie wird noch heutzutage gern benutzt. Wo Böhl Liebe zum Fache, Fleiss und Begabung spürte, scheute er keine Mühe zu fördern und zu helfen und brachte den Hörern, die ihm näher standen, immer auch ein warmes menschliches Interesse entgegen. In tiefer Dankbarkeit gedenken wir der vielen Privatissima in seiner Leidener Wohnung, sowie der ihm und seiner Frau zu verdankenden immer wieder genossenen Gastfreundschaft dort und, nach der Emeritierung, in Milsbeek.

Böhls wissenschaftliche Leistungen wurden durch viele Auszeichnungen anerkannt. Er war Mitglied der Königlichen Niederländischen sowie der Flämischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Ehren doktor der Universitäten Bonn und Löwen und Ehrenmitglied der Universitäten Rostock und Debreczen. Dreimal wurde er durch Festschriften geehrt, von denen zwei bereits oben erwähnt wurden; der Band *Opera Minora* (1953) enthält eine Anzahl wichtiger Aufsätze Böhls aus seinen beiden Wissensgebieten, welche er selbst alle auf den damals neuesten Stand der Forschung gebracht hatte. Ausserdem wurde ihm 1952-1953 aus Anlass seines siebzigsten Geburtstags *BiOr* IX, 3/4; 5/6; X, 1/2; 3/4 als Festgabe überreicht. Ehren auch wir das Andenken dieses echten Gelehrten alten Stiles, indem wir uns seine Konzentration, seine fast rücksichtslose Treue zu den selbstgewählten Aufgaben und seinen unablässigen Eifer, auch in mühseliger Kleinarbeit, zum Beispiel nehmen. Sein umfangreiches wissenschaftliches Werk wird sicher noch auf lange Zeit zu weiterer Forschung anregen.

Nimwegen, Dezember 1976

W. H. PH. RÖMER



Jaargang XXXIII
No. 3/4
Mei-Juli 1976

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

E. van DONZEL, hoofdredacteur, F. M. Th. de LIAGRE BÖHL,
H. J. A. DE MEULENAERE, M. J. MULDER, C. NIJLAND en M. STOL

Redactie en Administratie:
Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden (Nederland)

Tweemaandelijks recenserend en bibliografisch tijdschrift
op het gebied van het Nabije Oosten
Abonnementsprijs Hfl. 165.— per jaar

INHOUD

IN MEMORIAM F. M. TH. DE LIAGRE BÖHL
16 augustus 1882-16 november 1976 — W. H. Ph. Römer

HOOFDARTIKELEN:

- W. BARTA, Bemerkungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit 131—134
A. K. GRAYSON, Studies in Neo-Assyrian History ... 134—145
M. STOL, On Ancient Sippar 146—154
Alexandre POPOVIC, Sur quelques publications récentes concernant la littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves et ses prolongements 154—156

BOEKBESPREKINGEN:

- THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY*, Third Edition, Volume II, Part 2. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B. C. (Joseph Klima) 156—159
EILERS, Wilhelm, Die Vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik (L. O. Schuman) 159—162
ZACCAGNINI, C., Lo scambio dei doni nel vicino oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII (G. Kestemont) 162—164
GAMST, Frederick C., Peasants in Complex Society (C. Op 't Land) 165
AMAD, Gladys, Le baiser rituel, un geste méconu (E. M. J. M. Cornélis) 165—166
HILMY, Ibrahim, The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885 inclusive (Baudouin van de Walle) 166
PIANKOFF, Alexandre, The Wandering of the Soul Jean-Claude Goyon) 166—171
FECHT, Gerhard, Der Vorwurf an Gott in den „Mahnworten des Ipu-wer“ (M. Heerma van Voss) 171
HORNING, Erik und STAEHELIN, Elisabeth, Studien zum Sedfest (Dieter Mueller) 171—172
LECLANT, J. avec la collaboration de Gisèle CLERC, Inventaire Bibliographique des Isiacs (IBIS) (J. Gwyn Griffiths) 172—173
MARCINIAK, Marek, Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III (S. Allam) 173—176

- DAVID, A. Rosalie, The Egyptian Kingdoms (Günther Vittmann) 176
BIERBRIER, M. L., The Late New Kingdom of Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.) (J. von Beckerath) 176—178
DOWNES, Dorothy, The Excavations at Esna 1905-1906 (Michel Valloggia) 178—179
STRAUSS, Elisabeth-Christine, Die Nunschale — Eine Gefässgruppe des Neuen Reiches (Barbara S. Lesko) ... 179—180
SCHWARTZ, Jacques, Papyrus Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, nos 301-500 (Alan K. Bowman) 180—181
SMITH, H. S., A Visit to Ancient Egypt; Life at Memphis & Saqqara (c. 500-30 B.C.) (Janet H. Johnson) 181—182
KUBINSKA, Jadwiga, Faras IV. Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (Dieter Hagedorn) 182—185
ORLANDI, Tito, Papiri copti di contenuto teologico edizione e traduzione in italiano (K. H. Kuhn) 185—186
NAG HAMMADI CODICES, Facsimile Edition, Codices XI, XII and XIII (Robert Haardt) 186—188
REYMOND, E. A. E. and J. W. B. BARNES, Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices (A. I. Elanskaya) 188—191
GESELLSCHAFTSKLASSEN IM ALTEN ZWEISTROMLAND UND IN DEN ANGRENZENDEN GEBIETEN, XVIII (V. A. Jakobson) 191—195
BAUER, Josef, Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagash (Raphael Kutscher) 195—198
GRAYSON, Albert Kirk, Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts (W. Schramm) 198—199
CAPLICE, R. I., The Akkadian Namburbi texts: an introduction (W. H. Ph. Römer) 199—200
BATTO, B. F., Studies on Women at Mari (Stephanie Dalley) 200—201
HOMES-FREDERICQ, D., Les cachets mésopotamiens protohistoriques (Edith Porada) 201—202
ANATOLIAN STUDIES PRESENTED TO HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY, Edited by K. BITTEL, Ph. H. J. HOUWINK ten CATE and E. REINER (Hans Martin Kümel) 202—204

SCHUSTER, H.-S., Die hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen I. (Irina Dunajevskaja) 204—208

GIOVANNINI, Luciano (Herausgeber), Kunst in Kappadokien (A. A. Kampman) 208—210

BOESSNECK, J. und A. von den DRIESCH, Tierknochenfunde vom Kurucetepe bei Elazig in Ostanatolien, in: M. N. van LOON, Kurucetepe (J. Lepiskaar) 210—213

HINZ, Walter (et alii), Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen (R. Zadok) 213—219

KREFTER, Friedrich, Persepolis (Leo Trümpelmann) 219—220

SCHATZ, Werner, Genesis 14. Eine Untersuchung (Johan van Seters) 220—221

PLOEG, J. P. M. van der, Psalmen uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd, t. I-II (J. Coppens) 221—222

WHYBRAY, R. N., The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament (W. H. Gispen) 222—223

SCHMITT, Rainer, Exodus and Passah; ihr Zusammenhang im Alten Testament (Nic. J. Tromp) 223—224

BLINKINSOPP, Joseph, Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel (James F. Ross) 224

HUONDER, Vitus, Israel Sohn Gottes (Nic. J. Tromp) 225

TUSHINGHAM, A. D., The Excavations at Dibon (Dhiban) in Moab, 1952-53 (Vera I. Kerkhof) 225—226

LIPINSKI, Edward, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics (R. Zadok) 227—231

DION, Paul-Eugène, La langue de Ya'udi. Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest (E. Lipiński) 231—234

JACOBI, Heidi, Grammatik des thumischen Neuaramäisch (Nordostsyrien) (E. Lipiński) 234—236

SARA, Solomon I., A Description of Modern Chaldean (A. van den Branden) 236—237

NISSEN, Andreas, Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum (M. J. Mulder) 237—238

SILBERG, Moshe, Talmudic Law and the Modern State (Daniel Sperber) 238—239

EPPENSTEIN, S. (ed.), Perush Rabbi Joseph Kara Nevi'im Rishonim (Daniel Sperber) 239

PIRKE ABOTH, edited with Introduction and Notes by Benzion DINUR (Daniel Sperber) 239—240

LEXIKON DER ISLAMISCHEN WELT. Hrsg. K. KREISER, W. DIEM, H. G. MAJOR (Ernst Bannerth) ... 240

JANSEN, J. J. G., The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt (Rudi Paret) 240—241

SHERIF, Mohamed Ahmed, Ghazali's Theory of Virtue (M. van Damme) 241—244

NAGEL, Tilman, Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risalat Iftitah ad-Da'wa (W. Madelung) 244—246

FYZEE, Asaf A. A., Outlines of Muhammadan Law (Otto Spies) 246

KUNITZSCH, Paul, Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung (David Pingree) 246—247

OSTLE, R. C. (Editor), Studies in Modern Arabic Literature (C. Nijland) 247—249

ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGIONS XXII, 2. Muslim Architecture (Yolande Crowe) 249—250

DEKMEJIAN, R. Hrair, Pattern of Political Leadership: Egypt, Israel, Lebanon (C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze) 250—251

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL GAZETTEER OF AFGHANISTAN, Vol. 3: Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan. Edited by L. W. ADAMEC (C. Rathjens) 251

BERNARD, Paul avec le concours de Raymond DESPARMET, Jean-Claude GRADIN, Philippe GOUIN, Albert de LAPPARENT, Marc le BERRE, Georges LE RIDER, Louis ROBERT, Rolf STUCKI, Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers) 251—257

HEILMEYER, Wolf-Dieter, Frühe Olympische Tonfiguren (L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford) 257—258

LAMBRICK, H. T., Sind before the Muslim Conquest (Elisabeth C. L. During Caspers) 258—259

OLSCHAK, Blanche Christine in Zusammenarbeit mit Geshé Thupten WANGYAL, D. K. K., Mystik und Kunst Alt tibets (E. M. J. Cornélis) 259—260

SHARADSE, Guram, Theimuras Bagrationi (Lajos Tardy) 260—261

MEDEDELING:

The University of Chicago Projects 261—263

Ontvangen Boeken 263—270

HOOFDARTIKELN

Bemerkungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit

Beim Anstellen von Betrachtungen über die grosse Götterneunheit von Heliopolis muss stets von der Tatsache ausgegangen werden, dass es sich bei diesem Götterkreis um ein künstliches, spekulativ erdachtes Gebilde priesterlicher Kultpolitik handelt, dessen Konstruktion daher vornehmlich mit Hilfe rational-theoretischer Überlegungen verständlich wird. Das gilt nicht nur für das System als Ganzes, sondern auch für die einzelnen Mitglieder, die seinen Aufbau bilden und als Personifikationen zum grösseren Teil wohl ebenfalls erst in Heliopolis ersonnen und geformt worden sind. Sie fungieren dabei neben ihrer Eigenschaft als Ahnengötter vor allem als Glieder einer Kosmogonie, wobei sie innerhalb einer genealogisch geordneten Weltentstehung mit einzelnen Entwicklungsphasen identifiziert werden und als Begriffsgötter die Elemente des Kosmos verkörpern. Bei einer Untersuchung über die Götterneunheit von Heliopolis werden also nur diejenigen Eigenschaften und Funktionen ihrer Mitglieder im Vordergrund stehen können, die ihrem Wesen als Teile einer Weltentstehungslehre entsprechen. Die Akzente müssen sich daher zwangsläufig verschieben, so dass bei einzelnen zur Neunheit gehörigen Göttern ein Bild entstehen kann, das mit den gewohnten Vorstellungen nicht mehr vollständig übereinstimmt. Denn die Götter der grossen Neunheit von Heliopolis haben sich dank der beherrschenden kultischen Bedeutung ihrer Stadt im Laufe späterer Epochen aus den engen Fesseln ihrer heliopolitanischen Prägung befreit und sind mit einer Fülle neuer Wesenszüge ausgestattet worden.

Diesem Sachverhalt sollte Rechnung getragen werden, wenn im Vorwort der Arbeit über den Götterkreis der Neunheit davon gesprochen wurde¹⁾, dass die Charakterisierungen der einzelnen Götter der grossen Neunheit von Heliopolis nicht als kurzgefasste Götterbiographien verstanden werden dürften, sondern dem gestellten Thema entsprechend nur einen bestimmten Aspekt der betreffenden Gottheit wiedergeben könnten. Und eine weitere Einschränkung wurde im Vorwort deutlich gemacht, dass nämlich die mannigfachen Probleme, die sich bei einer Beschäftigung mit der Götterneunheit stellen, notwendigerweise auch hypothetische Antworten zeitigen. Diese als Arbeitshypothesen bezeichneten Annahmen sollten — wie am Schluss der Arbeit ausgeführt²⁾ — allein der Zweckdienlichkeit untergeordnet und nur solange angewandt werden, wie sie bisher noch verständliche Phänomene erklären und nicht bessere Einsichten denselben Nutzen erbringen. Eine so formulierte Einstellung schliesst demnach die Bereitschaft ein, die eigene Hypothese aufzugeben, wenn neue Erkenntnisse eine andere Meinung rechtfertigen. Diese, hier einleitend genannten Prämissen sollten im Gedächtnis bleiben, wenn im folgenden die inzwischen erschienenen Rezensionen zu MÄS 28 betrachtet werden.

In Verbindung mit der Frage, ob die Transkription des Ausdrucks „Neunheit“ psdt oder psdt ntrw zu lauten habe, macht J. G. Griffiths in seiner Rezension darauf aufmerksam³⁾, dass innerhalb des entsprechenden Kapitels von MÄS 28 (S. 19-23) kein Unterschied zwischen einem Zahlabstraktum und der Femininform der Kardinalzahl gemacht werde. Dem ist jedoch entgegenzuhalten, dass in dem betreffenden Abschnitt stets vom „Zahlabstraktum Neunheit“ gesprochen wird mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, und zwar dort (S. 19), wo es sich um „die Schreibung mit Hilfe der Femininform der Kardinalzahl neun“, also um eine rein formale Angelegenheit handelt — und wer wollte leugnen, dass sich Zahlabstraktum und Femininform der Kardinalzahl äusserlich gleichen?

Griffiths macht im gleichen Zusammenhang weiterhin geltend, dass dem Zahlabstraktum normalerweise ein spezifizierendes Hauptwort folge, der Ausdruck „Neunheit“ also zumindest ursprünglich psdt ntrw gelautet haben müsse, selbst wenn später das Substantiv die Bedeutung eines Determinativs erhalten habe und der Ausdruck damit auf psdt reduziert worden sei.

Die Frage lautet also, ob die dem Zahlabstraktum folgenden Zeichen ursprünglich Determinative waren, die man später als Phonogramme missverstehen konnte, oder ob es sich umgekehrt verhielt. Mir scheint nach wie vor die erste Möglichkeit die grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit zu besitzen, vor allem wenn man bedenkt, mit welcher Leichtigkeit die dem Zahlabstraktum folgenden Zeichen entfallen können, z.B. die Sonne Pyr. 746b und c beim Ausdruck „Vierheit (von Tagen)“ und „Achtheit (von Tagen)“. Müsste man dabei das Zeichen der Sonne als Phonogramm für hrw „Tag“ verstehen, also jfdt hrww bzw. hmnt hrww lesen, so wäre seine mögliche Eliminierung unverständlich. Ein Determinativ hingegen kann jederzeit entfallen, wofür es gerade auch beim Zahlabstraktum noch eine Reihe weiterer Beispiele gibt⁴⁾. Eindeutig auf ein Determinativ weist ausserdem der in den Sargtexten verwendete Ausdruck „seine Fünfheit (von Göttern)“ hin, der mit der Buchrolle geschrieben wird⁵⁾.

Im Hinblick auf die Transkription des Ausdrucks „die neun Bogen“, wofür in MÄS 28 (S. 23) psdt pdwt vorgeschlagen worden ist, gibt Griffiths zu bedenken, dass bei einer Kardinalzahl doch zu erwarten sei, sie würde ihrem zugehörigen Substantiv folgen und nicht vorangehen. Nun, das ist nur die halbe Wahrheit und in Verbindung mit der Zahl 9 ganz einfach falsch; denn nur die Zahlen 1 und 2 folgen adjektivisch ihrem Substantiv, während die Zahlen 3 bis 9 stets vor dem Plural des Gezählten stehen, ohne dabei jedoch die Genuskongruenz zu verlieren⁶⁾.

In seiner Rezension von MÄS 28 nimmt D. Lorton⁷⁾ u.a. auch zum Problem der beiden Neunheiten, der psdt wrt und der psdt '3t, Stellung und bemerkt, dass beim Dual psdtj wrtj '3tj die beiden Adjektive gleichermaßen

¹⁾ W. Barta, Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit, MÄS 28, München 1973, S. 7 f. (im folgenden abgekürzt als MÄS 28 zitiert).

²⁾ MÄS 28, S. 210 f.

³⁾ J. G. Griffiths, JEA 61, 1975, S. 294 f.

⁴⁾ Vgl. E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik, AnOr 34/39, Rom 1955/1964, § 404.

⁵⁾ CT V/221a.

⁶⁾ E. Edel, op. cit., § 393.

⁷⁾ D. Lorton, JARCE 11, 1974, S. 101 ff.

zum Hauptwort gehörten, also nicht auf zwei hypothetische Singulare von psdt verteilt werden dürften, da solch eine Bedeutung entweder durch psdt wrt psdt '3t oder durch die gespaltene Kolumne psdt wrt '3t ausgedrückt werden würde. Dieser Bemerkung kann, solange wir lediglich die Dualform psdtj wrtj '3tj betrachten, nur zugestimmt werden, da die beiden Adjektive im Dual eindeutig zu psdtj und nicht zu einem Singular psdt gehören. Zu fragen bleibt nur, weshalb Lorton darauf eingegangen ist. Offensichtlich liegt dem ein Missverständnis zugrunde; denn in MÄS 28, S. 50 f. wurde ja nicht etwa behauptet, die Dualformen wrtj und '3tj gehörten zu einem Singular psdt, sondern es wurde lediglich festgestellt, dass sich die beiden grossen Neunheiten (psdtj wrtj '3tj) aus einer psdt wrt und einer psdt '3t zusammensetzen, d.h. die Dualform psdtj wrtj '3tj weist mit ihrer inhaltlichen Aussage darauf hin, dass wir zwei Neunheiten, psdt wrt und psdt '3t, zu unterscheiden haben, für deren Vorkommen S. 51 A.1 eine ganze Reihe von Belegen in Pyramidentexten und Sargtexten aufgezählt werden.

Bevor im folgenden ausschliesslich Probleme zur Sprache kommen, die sich mit den Gottheiten der grossen Neunheit von Heliopolis befassen, seien noch zwei Verzeichnisse ihrer Mitglieder nachgetragen. Sie müssten in Fortführung der in MÄS 28 (S. 65-73) veröffentlichten Zusammenstellung von Verzeichnissen die Nummerierung 85 und 86 erhalten. Auch jetzt wird dabei selbstverständlich kein Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhoben.

- 85) Re, Atum, Schu, Tefnut⁸
- 86) Re, Atum, Schu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Seth, Isis, Nephthys, König⁹).

Die von Ph. Derchain verfasste Rezension beschäftigt sich ausnahmslos mit dem 2. Teil der als MÄS 28 erschienenen Untersuchungen, d.h. also mit den Gottheiten der grossen Neunheit von Heliopolis¹⁰). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Artikel über den Gott Atum bemängelt Derchain zunächst die Zitierweise, die sich in Verbindung mit folgendem Satz findet: „Als urtümliche Gestalt des Atum dagegen versteht man — wie bei anderen Urgöttern auch — die Schlange, in die sich Atum dann beim Weltende zurückverwandeln will“ (S. 81/82). Von den drei dafür herangezogenen Belegen: Pyr. 511a, TB 115 und TB 175 würde Atum — so gibt Derchain zu bedenken — nur durch das letzte Zitat (TB 175) ausdrücklich mit einer Schlange identifiziert, während die beiden übrigen Belege nicht hierher gehörten. Dem muss jedoch widersprochen werden, da beide Belege durchaus als Zeugnisse für eine Schlangengestalt des Atum angesehen werden können, zumal nicht von einer ursprünglichen, sondern von einer urtümlichen Gestalt gesprochen worden ist. Denn Pyr. 511a identifiziert den König mit einer Schlange, die den Göttern Befehle erteilt, worunter wir zunächst doch wohl nur Atum verstehen können, und TB 115 berichtet

⁸) Tempel von Soleb; LD III/85c.
⁹) Tempel von Bubastis; E. Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorokon II in the great Temple of Bubastis*, London 1892, T. 10.
¹⁰) Ph. Derchain, *CdE* 49, 1975, S. 279 ff.

von einer Schlange, die mit Re über die Teilung von Heliopolis spricht und selbst zu einem Kampf um das Erbe der Stadt bereit ist. Als gleichwertiger Rivale des Re um die Herrschaft über Heliopolis darf wohl auch hier nur Atum gelten, wie bereits H. Kees vermutet hatte¹¹).

Ebenfalls der Zitierweise gelten eine Reihe weiterer Bemerkungen Derchains. So wird beanstandet, dass unter den Belegen für Geb als „Vater der Götter“ auch CT II/18g erscheine (S. 99 A.9), wo der Ausdruck jt ntrw selbst nicht vermerkt sei. Das ist richtig, jedoch spricht einer der Paralleltexte davon, dass der Ba des Verstorbenen mit der grossen Neunheit vereint werden will und zwar mit Hilfe von Geb und Nut „an jenem Tage des für mich (d.h. für den Verstorbenen) Kopulierens und des Gebärens der Götter“. Dass damit Geb als Erzeuger der Götter umschrieben werden soll, bedarf wohl keines Kommentars, und der Erzeuger ist allemal auch der Vater gewesen.

In Verbindung mit den Belegen für die Tatsache, dass Isis und Horus als Eltern der vier Horuskinder gelten (S. 168 A.3), stellt Derchain hinsichtlich des Zitats Pyr. 2078b-c fest, dass dort Isis nicht als Mutter der Horuskinder bezeichnet wird, also auch nicht hätte zitiert werden dürfen. Da dort in der Tat nur von „Amset, Hapi, Duamutef und Kebehsenuf, den Kindern des Horus von Letopolis“ gesprochen wird, wurde das Zitat auch erst am Schluss der Anmerkung lediglich als Vergleich angeführt: „vgl. auch Pyr. 2078b-c“. Damit ist wohl für jedermann deutlich ausgedrückt worden, dass es nicht die gleiche Qualität wie die vorangehenden Belege besitzt.

Des weiteren geht Derchain auf die Belege für die Feststellung ein, dass „der Verstorbene von sich sagen kann, er sei als Horus aus Horus und Seth hervorgekommen bzw. durch die beiden Götter empfangen und geboren worden“ (S. 174 A.1). Hierbei wird nur der Beleg CT VI/116e als zur Sache gehörig bezeichnet, während Pyr. 142c und 211b nur mit einem entsprechenden Kommentar hätten zitiert werden dürfen. Er sei hier nachgetragen. Pyr. 211b lautet: msj.k n Hrw jwr.k n Stš „du bist geboren worden von Horus, du bist empfangen worden von Seth“. Für die Bedeutungen „geboren von“ bzw. „empfangen von“ für msj n bzw. jwr n vgl. WB II/137, 12 bzw. I/56, 7. Der ebenfalls aus der Unas-Pyramide stammende Beleg 142c ist in gleichem Sinne zu verstehen, wobei jedoch die Präposition n und das Suffixpronomen k umgestellt werden müssen. Anscheinend hatte es an dieser Stelle Unsicherheiten bei der Übertragung des Textes von der Vorlage auf die Wand gegeben, wie die nachträgliche Einfügung des n nach jwr beweist¹²).

In Verbindung mit der Charakterisierung des Gottes Osiris findet sich in MÄS 28 folgender Satz (S. 112): „Nach seinem 'Begräbnis' unter den Wassern der Überschwemmung aber erstet Osiris neu als Vegetation, wobei er mit den grünen Deltamarschen, dem grossen Grünen (w3d-wr), verglichen und festgestellt wird, dass auf seinen Rippen Pflanzen wachsen“. Als Belege für

¹¹) H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*, Leipzig 1941, S. 248 A.1.
¹²) Vgl. K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* III, Leipzig 1922, S. 10.

diesen Satz werden (S. 112 A.3) zitiert: Pyr. 628c, CT IV/6c-e, DRP 21 mit dem Vermerk, dass Osiris dabei dem jm3-Baum gleichgesetzt wird, sowie Plutarch 65 ff. Derchain stellt nun fest, dass der zitierte Satz drei verschiedene Aussagen enthielte, nämlich 1) das Verschwinden des Osiris unter den Überschwemmungswässern, 2) seine Angleichung an das grosse Grüne, und 3) seine Verbindung mit der Vegetation. Getadelt wird dabei, dass keiner der dafür zitierten Belege alle drei Funktionen bzw. Eigenschaften des Osiris zusammenfasse, vielmehr jeder davon nur einen Aspekt liefere, weshalb ihre Verbindung willkürlich sei.

Abgesehen davon, dass hier eine Forderung erhoben wird, die wohl nur selten erfüllt werden kann, da Belege, die uns vom Wesen eines Gottes berichten, eben häufig nur ein einzelnes Wesensmerkmal und nicht gleich eine ganze Reihe davon wiedergeben, hat Derchain den oben zitierten Satz falsch verstanden, da es dort nur um eine einzige Eigenschaft des Osiris geht. Und auch die vier dazugehörigen Zitate sollen dann eben keineswegs die drei von Derchain aufgestellten Aussagen, sondern nur eine einzige davon belegen, nämlich die Verbindung des Osiris mit der Vegetation. Denn zunächst ist die Feststellung, Osiris sei unter den Wassern der Überschwemmung „begraben“ worden, zu streichen, da dieser Sachverhalt bereits in dem vorangegangenen Satz behandelt und in der dazugehörigen Anmerkung (S. 112 A.2) belegt ist. Ebenso sollte die Gleichsetzung mit dem grossen Grünen nicht — wie aus der Formulierung des Satzes hervorgeht (vgl. das Relativadverb „wobei“) — die Verbindung des Osiris mit dem Wasser, sondern die mit der Vegetation bezeugen, da w3d wr ausdrücklich als Bezeichnung des grünen, also mit Pflanzenwuchs überzogenen Deltagebietes verstanden wird. Den S. 112 A.3 zitierten Belegen lässt sich danach im einzelnen entnehmen, dass Osiris den Namen „grosser Grüner“ tragen kann (Pyr. 628c), dass auf seinen Rippen Pflanzen wachsen (CT IV/6c-e), dass er dem jm3-Baum gleichgesetzt wird (DRP 21) und nach der Aussaat neu belebt emporspriest (Plutarch 65). Wir haben es also bei den vier Belegen nicht mit einer willkürlichen Verbindung mehrerer Eigenschaften des Osiris, sondern vielmehr mit dem Versuch zu tun, ein einziges Wesensmerkmal, nämlich die mit der Vegetation verglichene Neugeburt des Gottes, zu bezeugen.

In einer weiteren Rezension hat D. Müller die „Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit“ besprochen und auf seine Weise gewürdigt¹³). Der Besprechung lassen sich zwei Vorwürfe entnehmen: einmal, dass die in MÄS 28 verwendeten Textbelege aus ungleichartigen Quellen verschiedenen Charakters und Alters stammten, und zum anderen, dass sie darüber hinaus ihres literarischen und historischen Zusammenhangs entkleidet würden, um dann zu jedem beliebigen Beweis herangezogen zu werden. Um diese Sachlage zu beweisen, begnügt sich der Rez. mit zwei Beispielen aus der Problematik um den Gott Osiris. Es handelt sich dabei einmal um die Belege für die Formulierung „Horus, der in Osiris befindlich ist“ (z.B. Pyr. 19a; S. 170 A.2) und zum anderen um die Aufforderung an Osiris, Horus in sein Inneres zu setzen (Pyr. 44a-b;

¹³) D. Müller, *BiOr* 31, 1974, S. 259 f.

S. 170 A.4). Für die erste Aussage sind vom Autor ausschliesslich Belege aus den Pyramidentexten und den Sargtexten zitiert worden, während beim zweiten Beispiel nur ein einziger Beleg aus den Pyramidentexten erscheint. Daraus kann aber doch wohl kein Beweis für die Benutzung ungleichartigen Quellenmaterials konstruiert werden.

Und auch der zweite Vorwurf, die mangelnde Beachtung des Textzusammenhangs betreffend, erweist sich bei näherem Hinsehen als haltlose Unterstellung. Zunächst wird behauptet, der Autor habe, um den Text in seinem Sinne verwenden zu können, verschwiegen, dass die angeführten Texte nicht Osiris, sondern Osiris NN, also den verstorbenen König, nennen. Rez. erwähnt dabei jedoch nicht, dass zuvor in Verbindung mit der Charakterisierung des Gottes Osiris durch eine ganze Reihe von ebenfalls aus den Pyramidentexten stammenden Belegen einwandfrei nachgewiesen wird, dass sich Osiris mit dem verstorbenen König voll und ganz identifizieren kann (S. 115 A.4), eine Unterscheidung im Hinblick auf die zur Rede stehende Aussage also irrelevant sein konnte. Rez. verweist ferner darauf, dass es sich bei Pyr. 19a und den weiteren, in diesem Zusammenhang zitierten Texten lediglich um Opfersprüche gehandelt und das Horusauges als Opfergabe zu gelten habe, so als ob diese Tatsache vom Autor unbeachtet gelassen worden wäre. Richtig dagegen ist, dass darauf ausdrücklich hingewiesen (S. 170 A.3) und bemerkt wird, dass der Überreichung des Horusauges als einer Opferhandlung darüberhinaus die Bedeutung von Sonnenaufgang und Neubelebung innewohne. Auch hier kann deshalb von einer Nichtbeachtung des Textzusammenhangs keine Rede sein.

Im Falle der durch Pyr. 44b formulierten Aufforderung an Osiris, Horus in sein Inneres zu setzen, lässt es Rez. bei folgender Argumentation bewenden, um gegen die vom Autor vorgeschlagene Deutung einer „mit Horus schwanger gehenden Muttergottheit“ zu polemisieren: „This, too, is interpreted as demand to accept a pregnancy, although the phrase is a pun connected with the dedication of a mhn-mace; etc“. Der Hinweis auf die Paronomasie kann doch nur bedeuten, dass nach des Rez. erstaunlicher Meinung der Satz dj n.k sw m hnw.k, nur deshalb weil er wortspielartig auf das mhn-Szepter Bezug nimmt, nun nicht mehr sinngemäss übersetzt und verstanden werden darf. Dabei ist es doch eine Binsenwahrheit, dass sich die Sprüche des Opferrituals lediglich formal — eben als Wortspiele — auf den Namen der jeweiligen Opfergabe beziehen, bei dessen Überreichung sie rezitiert werden, während sie inhaltlich hochwillkommene, mythische Aussagen wiedergeben¹⁴).

¹⁴) Ein weiteres Eingehen auf die Besprechung von D. Müller, insbesondere auf eine Charakterisierung von deren Ton und Ausdrucksweise erübrigt sich und würde zudem den Rahmen eines rein wissenschaftlichen Beitrags überschreiten. Nur anmerkungswiese sei noch erwähnt, dass es sich sicherlich nicht um mangelndes Vertrautsein mit ägyptologischer Literatur handelt, wenn bei einem angeführten Text nur die dafür notwendigen Zitate und keine vollständige Bibliographie erscheint. Auch muss, da der Eindruck erweckt wird, als hätte der Autor Hypothese und Kategorie vermengt, noch einmal ausdrücklich auf das hingewiesen werden, was gerade zu diesem Thema im Vorwort und resümierend am Ende der besprochenen Arbeit (S. 210 f.) gesagt worden ist.

Zur Osirisfrage sind nach dem Erscheinen von MÄS 28 auch zwei Artikel veröffentlicht worden. Sie stammen von J. Osing und K. P. Kuhlmann¹⁵⁾. Beide Autoren haben sich vornehmlich mit der Etymologie des Gottesnamens beschäftigt. Ihrer Beweisführung lagen dabei ausschliesslich linguistische Argumente zugrunde, die unsere Einsichten erweitern, jedoch weit davon entfernt sind, alle Fragen beantworten zu können. So müssen wir nach wie vor hoffen, dass neue wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse zu anderen Resultaten führen, die dann nicht nur in philologischer, sondern auch in religionswissenschaftlicher Hinsicht befriedigen.

München

W. BARTA

Studies in Neo-Assyrian History The Ninth Century B.C.

Neo-Assyrian studies are once again in vogue and gradually the dark and gloomy corners of this vast field are being illuminated by new discoveries and publications. Among the latter a most welcome addition to our shelves is the critical bibliography for Assyrian royal inscriptions from the tenth to eighth centuries B.C. by W. Schramm¹⁾. This work continues the bibliography of Assyrian royal inscriptions which was begun by Schramm's mentor, R. Borger²⁾, and one hopes that the third in the series, which should complete the task, will appear in the near future. The bibliographies are standard reference works designed for the use of the most serious students of the discipline. They are intended to be complete and they are analytical; under each reign or time period is included a full bibliography of the royal inscriptions which are categorized and analyzed with respect to their form, content, and provenance. In some cases new editions of texts are presented and, on occasion, unpublished documents are included. Borger set a high standard for accuracy and completeness when he published the first volume many years ago; Schramm's book has maintained this standard. Inevitably one can always quibble over minor points and add details here and there to such encyclopaedic efforts, and I have listed my own comments at the end of this article; but the real tribute to the value of this book is to be found in the various studies which are presented in the following pages.

These miscellaneous observations on the history of the ninth century are, in a sense, premature, for the logical sequence to Schramm's bibliography is the publication of critical editions of the royal inscriptions. But the decision to issue a new edition of the third volume of the Cambridge Ancient History (CAH), which is desperately needed, has necessitated some abridgement

¹⁵⁾ J. Osing, *MDIK* 30, 1974, S. 91 ff.; K. P. Kuhlmann, *SAK* 2, 1975, S. 135 ff. Auf die von den beiden Autoren angeschnittenen Probleme soll in anderem Zusammenhang eingegangen werden.

¹⁾ W. Schramm, *Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften*, 2. Teil 934-722 v. Chr. = Handbuch der Orientalistik (ed. B. Spuler), 1. Abteilung Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, Ergänzungsband Fünf, 1. Abschnitt, Leiden/Köln, E. J. Brill, 1973; pp. xii + 141; price f 56,—, for subscribers f 48,—.

For the abbreviations used in this review article see my *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1972) and 2 (Wiesbaden, 1976).

²⁾ EAK 1 (1961).

of the logical order of things. While engaged in writing for the CAH a chapter on the tenth to eighth centuries, the period covered by Schramm's book, it became obvious to me that the major difficulties arose in the ninth century with the reigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III. For the preceding period there are few significant additions to the text corpus since the 1920s, and specialized studies by Weidner³⁾, Seidmann⁴⁾, and Schramm⁵⁾ have adequately dealt with Ashur-dan II, Adad-nerari II, and Tukulti-Ninurta II respectively. After Shalmaneser III, for Shamsi-Adad V we have a still valuable treatment by Weidner⁶⁾ and more recently Brinkman⁷⁾ has contributed to our knowledge of this reign; later in this article I shall make some comments upon this period. With regard to Adad-nerari III there have been a number of important publications in recent years, the latest by Millard and Tadmor (see below sub D). The interval from the death of Adad-nerari III to the accession of Tiglath-pileser III, 782-745, is a sparsely documented era about which little more can be said at the present. Finally, a study of the royal inscriptions and of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III is currently in preparation by Tadmor and we all eagerly await this publication.

Thus the major desiderata are exhaustive studies of the reigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III, for the former treatments are badly dated and many new texts have appeared during the last half century⁸⁾. It is not my intention to present detailed histories here but rather to provide observations on the most pressing problems in order to justify some of my statements in the Cambridge Ancient History.

A. Assyrian Foreign Policy and the Military Campaigns⁹⁾

A major issue raised by an examination of the annals of Ashur-nasir-apli II and of Shalmaneser III is the reason for campaigns in specific regions. In a given year why does the army go north rather than west? Or, after a series of campaigns to the west, why does a subsequent campaign go north? Until the era of these two kings we do not have annalistic narrations covering a long enough period of time to make such an enquiry meaningful, but with Ashur-nasir-apli II and especially with Shalmaneser III (we know the direction of every campaign for his entire reign) there are sufficient details to pursue this matter. In order to answer the question we must probe the

³⁾ AfO 3 (1926), pp. 151-161 and cf. RLA 1, pp. 209-211.

⁴⁾ MAOG 9/3 (1935) and cf. Weidner, RLA 1, pp. 29-31.

⁵⁾ BiOr 27 (1970), pp. 147-160 and pls. 1-6.

⁶⁾ AfO 9 (1933-34), pp. 89-104.

⁷⁾ PKB pp. 207-213.

⁸⁾ Olmstead, "The Calculated Frightfulness of Ashur nasir apal" in *JAOS* 38 (1918), pp. 209-263; "Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power" in *JAOS* 41 (1921), pp. 345-382. These articles are still of value and not least among their merits is the extensive use of the reliefs in reconstructing the history.

Regarding Ashur-nasir-apli II also see Weissbach, RLA 1, pp. 214-220.

⁹⁾ A recent article by W. G. Lambert, "The Reigns of Aššur-naširpal II and Shalmaneser III: An Interpretation" in *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 103-09 touches upon some of the points made in this section. I wish to acknowledge here that I learned much from this essay although I have not attempted to document this in detail.

reasons for the campaigns in the first place; we must establish what the Assyrian aims were and how successful the Assyrians were in achieving them. This enquiry is concerned with only these two reigns and, as we shall discover, they are crucial for the evolution of a new function of the campaigns; nevertheless, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the situation before and after the ninth century.

By the ninth century the motivation for military campaigns was a highly complex mixture of political, economic, sociological, and historical factors. We can single out a few main patterns in the intricate design but in doing so it must be borne in mind that they all blend together to form one tapestry. The original reason for the very existence of the Assyrian army and the evolution of Assyria as a militaristic state was defensive. In the early days when Ashur was only a city-state embroiled in conflict with rival city-states and barbarian hordes, it was a case of fight or perish. Over the centuries the inhabitants of Ashur turned from the defensive to the offensive and in the process enjoyed the increasing bounty they could reap from raids on their neighbours. The Middle Assyrian kings developed this kind of expedition into a gigantic form of the *razzia*. With the re-emergence of Assyrian power in the ninth century the same policy was pursued, for the monarchs of the early Neo-Assyrian period consciously copied the exploits and practices of their predecessors.

In the ninth century a main and obvious purpose of the military expeditions was to gain goods. The goods were luxury items and building materials and were used to erect and adorn the palaces and temples of which Assyrian kings were so fond¹⁰⁾. Equally important in this period was the acquisition of craftsmen and labourers both for the construction sites and for work on the land, since food production had to be increased to meet the demands of the rapidly expanding population. This transportation of peoples, which is sporadically attested in Middle Assyrian times, was another revival. Campaigning troops lived off the land and a significant portion of the commestibles (barley, beer, etc.) recorded in the annals as booty would in fact be consumed almost immediately. Another part of the plunder was the equipment (armour, harness, etc.) and animals (especially horses) which were used to outfit and augment the Assyrian military machine.

It has sometimes been assumed that an aim of the Assyrian campaigns was the security of the caravan routes, but I think this theory must be put aside, at least for the foreseeable future, due to the lack of evidence¹¹⁾. Nowhere do the Assyrian records even allude to this; mercantile matters are totally absent from the royal inscriptions. Although trade may have benefited from the royal campaigns, this was obviously an irrelevancy as far as the Assyrian motive for the expeditions is concerned.

¹⁰⁾ For a detailed study of this booty as recorded in the annals of the Sargonid period see N. B. Jankowska "Some Problems of the Economy of the Assyrian Empire" in I. M. Diakonoff (ed.), *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Moscow, 1969) pp. 253-276.

¹¹⁾ Cf. S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London, 1928) pp. 267f.

Plunder was, then, of paramount importance on an Assyrian campaign but this was not its sole purpose. There were a number of intangible factors involved, not least of which was the egotism of the Assyrian king. He, together with his gods, is the hero of the narratives and his insatiable thirst for military honours drove the army again and again onto the field of battle. This feature is interwoven with the state cults, especially the cult of the national god Ashur, for it was the gods who inspired, led, and assisted the king in his endeavours. National pride is another element; Assyria had an absolute monarchy and the state as a whole enjoyed royal successes and suffered royal defeats. Finally, the very idea of military conquest, imperialism, was firmly entrenched in Assyrian mentality from ancient times; the concept in Mesopotamia goes all the way back to Lugalzagesi and Sargon of Akkad. In Assyria the idea had an escalating form since each king wished to conquer more than his father and forefathers had conquered and so the urge to boast that he had penetrated regions where his ancestors had never trod pushed the monarch farther and farther beyond the Assyrian heartland. It was also self-perpetuating for it became the custom that a king should campaign at least once each year. This practice, which we may trace back as far as Tiglath-pileser I, was well established by the ninth century and a tangible reflection of it is found in the royal annals and the eponym chronicles which presuppose yearly expeditions. Scribes resorted to various devices to cover up instances where a king did not lead an annual campaign and even when only minor expeditions were undertaken, these were duly recorded; the important thing was that a campaign had been launched¹²⁾. Of course by the ninth century Assyria was a state with a large military organization at its disposal and this machinery had to be kept in motion or else it would rust and deteriorate.

Thus by the era of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III the royal campaign was an institution of great historical, economic, sociological, and political import. It was in this time period that a major change in the foreign policy of Assyria evolved which had a fundamental effect on military aims¹³⁾. Before the ninth century the defence policy of Assyria, which had created the army in the first place, included the practice of concluding treaty agreements but this custom was eventually abandoned (with the notable exception of the treaties with Babylonia), although Assyria continued to use vassal treaties down through the Sargonid age. The arrangement of treaties with equal partners was gradually replaced by quite another device, that of conquest followed by imposition of annual tribute and provincial administration. As the Assyrian armies campaigned more and more frequently, the king found it advantageous to establish supply depots at advance strategic points along major routes. Such depots are mentioned in the royal inscriptions as early as the reign of Adad-nerari II and they represent the beginnings of provincial organization. Very soon the function of these centres was expanded;

¹²⁾ See Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 30-33.

¹³⁾ The economic and social aspects of this change have been discussed by Tadmor in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore/London, 1975), pp. 37-40.

they were fortified, palaces were erected, a governor was appointed, and an annual tribute was exacted from the local population. In some cases Assyrians were settled in them so that they became Assyrian colonies. All of these features appear as early as the time of Ashur-nasir-apli II and he, together with his son Shalmaneser III, expanded the number of what one can now call provincial capitals. In the royal inscriptions of these two kings there is specific reference to the imposition of tribute and to the nature of that tribute (rather than just the vague statements found in earlier texts) and it is clearly understood that payment is expected annually. Another indication of the change is the appearance in the annuals, beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II, of reports of hostile actions or "rebellions" (i.e. withholding tribute) as the cause of a campaign¹⁴). Ashur-nasir-apli II actually states "(They) had withheld the tribute (and) corvée"¹⁵). The punitive and administrative role of the campaign is thus recognized.

As the institution of tribute-paying states evolved the function of the campaign was transformed. Rather than being a gigantic razzia the Assyrian military expedition came to be used to conquer and impose tribute upon new regions or to punish and win by force tribute that had been withheld by a rebellious people previously subdued. A transitory stage is evident in the reigns of Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Ashur-nasir-apli II. Adad-nerari II bludgeoned the Aramaeans in the eastern Jezirah into submission with a series of campaigns and then, toward the end of his reign, he led an expedition down the Habur and middle Euphrates and collected booty without any opposition¹⁶). The campaign was really a "show of strength"; the Aramaeans were so exhausted by the Assyrian onslaught that they "paid up" as soon as the army approached. Tukulti-Ninurta II led a similar expedition¹⁷), through a much wider area, and Ashur-nasir-apli II followed suit¹⁸). A later analogy to this is found in the Chaldaean period; Nebuchadnezzar II led a number of expeditions of the same type in Syria, after he had driven out the Egyptians, and the Babylonian chronicler described these trips with the phrase: "The king marched about victoriously"¹⁹). The Chaldaean was proclaiming his right to rule the region and to collect tribute. In Assyria this kind of expedition is not attested after Ashur-nasir-apli II for it had become unnecessary with the institution of annual tribute and provincial centres.

In this discussion I am trying to maintain a distinction between "tribute" (*madattu*, *biltu*, *nāmurtu*) and "booty" (*tāmurtu*) but it must be confessed that our sources for the ninth century, at least the royal inscriptions, tend to confuse them. The fact is, Assyrian policy was in transition and new terminology was not fully accepted²⁰). More practical "everyday" documents, mainly from the late Neo-Assyrian period, make it clear that *madattu* is the proper term for "tribute" in Assyria while *nāmurtu*

is an "interview gift" which could accompany the payment of tribute in person²¹). Lists of *madattu*-payments and of *nāmurtu*-gifts have been recovered but, so far as I am aware, no booty lists have been recognized although they must have existed. The majority of documentation, outside of royal inscriptions, regarding tribute and Assyrian provincial administration in general comes from the late Neo-Assyrian period, a fact which is certainly due to the accident of discovery. From the royal inscriptions of the ninth century one has the impression that the system was too new to be functioning efficiently; there seems to be little system and some confusion even over the terminology. Of course, part of this is due to the nature of the royal inscriptions themselves which are primarily interested in military conquest and plunder, not in the details of provincial administration. Until other kinds of source material are available it is impossible to form a real picture of the extent and nature of Assyrian influence and control in the ninth century and one must not be overly hasty about drawing conclusions on the basis of the present evidence.

Having laid the groundwork let us now return to our problem: Why does the army march into one area rather than another in any given year? Why, after campaigning for one or more years into one region, switch to another? Given the complexity of the motivation and aims of the annual campaign there is no single answer that will cover all the cases. In each instance a variety of factors is involved although occasionally there is a clear and immediate cause. A good illustration of this last point is Ashur-nasir-apli II's expedition against Suru of Bit-Halupe, on the Habur, in 883²²). The army was already on campaign in Kadmuhi, on the upper Tigris, when word arrived of a rebellion at Suru which had been instigated by Bit-Adini. Ashur-nasir-apli promptly changed course and marched directly to Suru and subdued the rebels. The cause of this action is immediate and obvious. If the reasons were always so apparent there would be no need to prolong this discussion!

In most cases the immediate cause for a campaign is not stated in our sources and I think that in most of these instances it is safe to assume that immediate causes did not exist. In other words, I am suggesting that there was an overall policy which dictated that campaigns would be launched in given directions provided there was not an emergency which demanded the presence of the army in a trouble spot. This proposal is not so hypothetical as it may at first appear.

The policy of Ashur-dan II and of his immediate successors was to concentrate upon the Aramaeans and the reconquest of regions which they had torn from Assyria in the preceding Dark Age. As this ambition was eventually satisfied in the era of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III new policies were developed. Ashur-nasir-apli concentrated on each front, apart from the Babylonian frontier which he left alone, in about equal proportion and he made significant gains in every

direction. It is hard to believe that this was not the result of a deliberate design. It looks to me as though Ashur-nasir-apli consciously set himself the task of consolidation and expansion and the consolidation included the first real steps toward provincial organization and administration.

Ashur-nasir-apli II's policy toward Babylonia and the Suhu deserves special comment. Ashur-nasir-apli never invaded Babylonia and it is quite possible that a treaty had been concluded between the Assyrian and Babylonian kings as in the reign of Shalmaneser III. However, Babylonia encouraged resistance to the Assyrian advance down the Euphrates by contributing a contingent of auxiliaries to the Suhaean cause at the Battle of Suru in 878²³). This seems to have been a warning to Assyria to direct her ambition elsewhere and this is certainly what happened. Ashur-nasir-apli did not lead another campaign this far down the Euphrates but his policy probably did not call for further expansion in this area anyway since this would have meant a direct confrontation with Babylonia. As to the actual result of the Battle of Suru in 878, the Assyrians claimed a victory and, although one must always be sceptical of boasts in the royal inscriptions, there is no evidence to contradict this. The failure to move farther downstream is, by itself, no proof of a defeat or a setback; nor are the hostile actions in the following year (877) by Laqu, Hindanu, and Suhu proof that Assyria had been checked at Suru in 878²⁴). It is quite true, as Brinkman has shown²⁵), that Assyria's influence over Suhu during the reigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser II seems to have been rather loose, and at least some of the credit for this must be given to her Babylonian backing. The little information there is about Suhu after 877 indicates a relationship of polite diplomacy with Assyria, in which Suhu took second place, and there is no sign of troublesomeness on her part.

With Shalmaneser III a grand plan is even more apparent. This king was interested in two fronts, the west and the north. He rarely campaigned to the east and he marched south into Babylonia only to assist a treaty partner, Marduk-zakir-shumi I, regain his kingdom. Throughout his reign if he was not campaigning to the west, he was usually campaigning to the north and until the last part of his rule there was a definite preference for the western front. Again it seems obvious to me from the facts that long range policy was behind this pattern. One can only speculate about the reasons behind the plan. In Assyrian eyes the west, with its Phoenician ports, must have appeared particularly rich in luxury items which the Assyrian army could plunder. Perhaps the original policy had called only for concentration on the west since it would have been bold to have planned on such a long and militarily active reign as Shalmaneser's turned out to be. Thus for twenty years, from the first regnal year (858) until 838, the Assyrian army pounded away at Syrian states almost unrelentingly and, despite some checks and setbacks, much was gained in booty and military honours. For the next few years, until 831,

Anatolia suffered under the almost undivided attention of Assyrian might. Thereafter the main object of the campaigns was the northern frontier which had, nevertheless, been dramatically invaded on more than one previous occasion. The shift of emphasis late in the reign was probably the result of a major policy decision dictated by a complete alteration of circumstances during the intervening years. There had been a change of monarch in Urartu (Arame was replaced by Sardur I), a good time to attack from a strategic point of view, and the increasing power of the northern kingdom must have made Assyrians uneasy. On the negative side, Shalmaneser's advisers surely must have felt that after campaigning westward for more than a quarter of a century it was time for a change; it is not surprising that Assyria finally left the western front alone, it is surprising that she did not do so earlier²⁶)!

It cannot be denied that this proposal of a broad policy consciously thought out and applied is based upon an argument that is dangerously circular. Ashur-nasir-apli II campaigned on all fronts, therefore his policy was to campaign on all fronts and vice versa. Nor can it ever be proven, barring the discovery of a totally unexpected type of document, that such grand plans ever existed. But the only alternative is to conclude that year after year this gigantic force was sent out in any direction that happened to catch the king's fancy.

In brief, in the preceding discussion I have tried to make the following points. The motivation for the Assyrian military campaigns in the ninth century consisted of a number of interwoven factors which, for convenience, we can divide into three main categories: defence, the acquisition of booty and corvée, and intangible elements (royal egotism, religion, nationalism, and the idea of imperialism). In the ninth century Assyrian provincial administration evolved and depended upon the Assyrian army which thus added to its functions that of a police force. In the ninth century the evidence for this phenomenon is sparse and it is impossible to describe how much territory Assyria really controlled and just how Assyria exercised control. Finally, there seems to be a grand plan behind the direction in which the armies campaigned in the reigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III.

Before leaving this topic a few words on the nature of our sources for the campaigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III are in order. It is common knowledge that the annalistic texts of Ashur-nasir-apli II provide more details about atrocities than do the texts of Shalmaneser III. Tadmor is quite correct in saying that similar atrocities were probably carried out by Shalmaneser III; but it would be incorrect to conclude that the reason for their scant mention in Shalmaneser's records was a change in scribal attitudes²⁷). As Schramm has noted, for Shalmaneser we have only annalistic collec-

¹⁴) ARI 2, §§ 465-467.

¹⁵) ARI 2, § 560. Cf. §§ 549 and 554.

¹⁶) ARI 2, §§ 433-434.

¹⁷) ARI 2, §§ 469-476.

¹⁸) ARI 2, § 577. Also note §§ 568, 584-585, and 634-636.

¹⁹) ABC Chronicle 5 passim.

²⁰) Cf. Jankowska ... op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 253f.

²¹) See Postgate, *Studia Pohl S.M.* 3 (1974), pp. 111-130 (*madattu*), 156-162 (*nāmurtu*), and cf. p. 217. Also note Tadmor in *Unity and Diversity* (n. 13) p. 37. There is the old study by Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyriern* = *Studia Orientalia* 8/1 (1936).

²²) ARI 2, § 547; CI, 9; also cf. n. 658.

²³) ARI 2, § 577; cf. § 698.

²⁴) ARI 2, §§ 578-580.

²⁵) PKB pp. 184-187.

²⁶) There is no question of "failure" of the western offensive; cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 41 (1921), pp. 374-376 and Labat in *Fischerweltgeschichte* 3, pp. 33f. For a more realistic assessment see S. Smith in the *Cambridge Ancient History* 3, p. 24; H. Schmölke, *Geschichte Vorderasiens* p. 255; Hallo in Freedman and Campbell (eds.), *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader* 2, pp. 161f.

²⁷) *Unity and Diversity* (n. 13) p. 36.

tions and most of them from late in the reign²⁸); we do not have any single campaign narratives^{28a}). In these large annalistic collections the scribes had to abbreviate drastically to cover the numerous campaigns and they omitted details not only of atrocities but of many things, such as booty, supplies for the army, descriptions of fortified sites, etc. Two items that are regularly noted, however, are the erection of steles and the rituals performed when a large body of water or the source of a river was reached.

B. *The Chronology of the Military Campaigns*

1. *Ashur-nasir-apli II*

There are problems with the chronology of the campaigns of Ashur-nasir-apli II since we lack vital sources, viz. a true annalistic collection of more than a few campaigns and an eponym chronicle. The main source for the campaigns and their chronology is a text commonly called the "Annals" (ARI 2, CI, 1; henceforth referred to as "CI, 1" (and an analysis of the nature of this inscription is necessary before we consider the chronological problems. CI, 1 is a collection of various texts, some of which contained annalistic accounts of campaigns and some of which contained descriptions of campaigns geographically arranged (Display Texts)²⁹). There are, in fact, only two passages which are annalistic, i 43-ii 125a (ARI 2, §§ 544-574 — accession to fifth regnal year) and iii 1-113 (ARI 2, §§ 577-587 — sixth to eighteenth regnal year). In these passages dates are not recorded in a consistent fashion. The description of the first campaign is introduced: "In my accession year (and) in my first regnal year" (i 43 — ARI 2, § 544)³⁰. A second campaign is introduced: "In this same eponym on the twenty-fourth day of the month Ab ... I moved out from Nineveh" (i 69 — ARI 2, § 547). In passing, note that these two campaigns almost certainly took place in the same year, the first full regnal year (883)³¹ as indicated by the statement "this same eponym" and by the fact that the second campaign was launched late in the fifth month; as we shall see, Ashur-nasir-apli normally began his campaigns early in the year³²). The narration of the campaign of the second year (882) begins simply "In the same eponym" (i 101 — ARI 2, § 549) which refers back to the beginning of the preceding paragraph "In the eponym year of my name" (i 99 — ARI 2, § 548) in which receipt of tribute sent to Nineveh is recorded. For the third year (881) two campaigns are recorded. The description of the first is introduced: "In the eponym of Ashur-iddin" (ii 23 — ARI 2, § 554); that of the second

begins: "On the fifteenth day of the month Tishri I moved on from Kalizi" (ii 33 — ARI 2, § 556)³³. The campaign of the fourth year (880) begins: "In the eponym of Miqti-adur ... on the first day of the month Sivan" (ii 49 — ARI 2, § 560). That of the fifth (879) is introduced: "On the first day of the month Sivan, in the eponym of Sha-ilima-damqa" (ii 86 — ARI 2, § 567, parallel CI, 11 § 634). In the second annalistic passage of this text (iii 1-113 — ARI 2, §§ 577-587) the narration of the campaigns of the sixth year (878) begins: "On the twenty-second day of the month Sivan, in the eponym of Dagan-bel-nasir, I moved from Kalach" (iii 1 — ARI 2, § 577). Three further dates, without eponyms, are provided in this passage: "On the eighteenth day of the month Sivan I moved from Kalach" (iii 26 — ARI 2, § 578); "On the twentieth day of the month Sivan I moved from Kalach" (iii 50 — ARI 2, § 582); "On the eighth day of the month Iyyar³⁴ I moved from Kalach" (iii 56 — ARI 2, § 584, parallel CI, 2 § 601). The last campaign narrated in the passage is for the eighteenth regnal year (866) and is introduced: "In the eponym of Shamash-nuri, ... on the thirteenth (variant: twentieth) day of the month Iyyar³⁴), I moved from Kalach" (iii 92 — ARI 2, § 587).

Certain significant facts emerge from this survey of the dates quoted in CI, 1. First, while the day and month are usually given, they are omitted for campaigns in each of the first three years. Second, campaigns always begin in the second month (Iyyar) or the third month (Sivan) (with the possible exception of the omissions just noted) and if there is a second campaign in the same year, it begins later, in the fifth month (Ab) or the ninth month (Tishri). Third, in three of the dates in the second passage (iii 1-113 — ARI 2, §§ 577-587) the eponym is omitted although each of these dates introduces a new campaign since, all other considerations aside, each begins early in the year on almost exactly the same date. The inconsistent method of quoting dates, especially in the second passage, is further evidence of the fact that the compiler of CI, 1 was not very concerned about chronology, a fact already apparent from the eclectic form of the text. Of course some of the sources, true annalistic accounts, used by the compiler for the relevant passages would have been more careful about chronology.

The compiler of CI, 1 has been rather cavalier not only about dates, but also about the sequence of events. In two places we are told that Ashur-nasir-apli took Ila, sheikh of the Laqaeans, as a captive back to Ashur: "I uprooted Ila, the Laqaean, his harnessed chariots (and) 5,000 of his troops. I brought (them) to my land Ashur" (iii 43f. — ARI 2, § 579) and "I uprooted Ila, sheikh of the Laqaeans, his troops (and) his chariots with teams. I brought (them) to my city Ashur" (iii 45 — ARI 2, § 580). In each passage this incident is preceded

³³) Apart from the introduction of a date, the fact that the army is starting once again from the Assyrian heartland shows that this is a new expedition.

³⁴) In both iii 56 and 92 the text has Iyyar, not Elul! The misreading goes back to King's transliteration and translation in AKA (but both his copy and Le Gac's copy have the correct text). The error was repeated by Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 475 and 480 and Schramm, EAK 2, p. 30.

by a narrative regarding Azi-ili's flight in face of Ashur-nasir-apli's army; the first narrative is rather detailed while the second is just a cursory note. It is obvious that the two passages concern the same events and that they come from two different texts. The compiler of CI, 1 has simply not blended his sources together at this point; rather he has tacked one on after the other. Thus even within the annalistic passages we cannot accept uncritically the sequence of events.

Now let us deal with the serious chronological problems in the second passage (iii 1-113 — ARI 2, §§ 577-587)³. It has been established that each date, even if the eponym is omitted, begins a new campaign and thus the passage describes a minimum of five campaigns. That the number five is correct has generally been accepted among modern historians, including Schramm who has presented a thorough analysis based on this assumption³⁵). However, a few years ago Brinkman questioned the traditional view and suggested that more than five campaigns were described³⁶). Brinkman's main concern was the "Carchemish-Mediterranean" narrative (iii 56-92 — ARI 2, §§ 584-586, parallel CI, 2 §§ 601-602) which he thought covered two campaigns. His conclusion was based upon a careful critique of the standard titulary of Ashur-nasir-apli. He noted a significant variant in different exemplars; while some texts had "to Carchemish of the land Hatti" (Brinkman labelled this C-1) others had "to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea" (Brinkman's C-2). Here, argued Brinkman, was proof that there were two different expeditions, one first to Carchemish and one later to the Mediterranean, for the scribes would not have prepared a large number of copies of an inscription in which only the midway station of a campaign was recorded as the furthest point³⁷). Thus the "Carchemish-Mediterranean" narrative, although it superficially seems to concern only one campaign, must represent at least two expeditions. Brinkman has, I think, proven this beyond reasonable doubt.

Brinkman's contention has, however, been criticized by Schramm who has argued for the unity of the narrative in this passage; that is, he has reverted to the old view that there was only one campaign³⁸). The criticism revolves around two main points. First, there is the nature and relationship of the variants in the standard titulary. Schramm claimed that the relationship of Brinkman's C-1 to C-2 must be the same for E-1 to E-2 and G-1 to G-2. But this is not the case at all; different groups of variants (e.g. C-2, E-1, G-2) appear on various monuments. The further observation that C-1, E-1, and G-1 are more precise than C-2, E-2, and G-2 is to me incomprehensible; why is "Carchemish" more precise than "Lebanon"?

The second point in Schramm's criticism is the matter of the hostages (iii 69f. — ARI 2, § 584, parallel CI, 2 § 601). Immediately after Ashur-nasir-apli received the bounty of Carchemish the narrative continues: "All the kings of the land came down to me (and) seized my feet.

I took from them hostages (and) they were kept in my presence on the march to Mount Lebanon". The text then goes on to narrate the details of the march to the Lebanon. Schramm argued that if we split the narrative at this point, on the assumption that two different expeditions were involved, the final part of the statement "They were kept in my presence on the march to Mount Lebanon" must be a later insertion. But it has already been shown that the compiler of CI, 1 was not very skillful at blending his sources together and, rather than regard this intrusive statement as a late insertion, I think it is merely another example of his careless conflation.

One final word about Schramm's view of the "Carchemish-Mediterranean" narrative is required. It is certainly significant, as Schramm points out, that although none of the rulers mentioned in this passage had ever been subject to Assyria before, they gave goods and, in the case of Lubarna, hostages without resistance (an exception is the land Luhutu). But can one conclude from this that these goods and hostages were part of a mutual exchange of gifts and ambassadors; that this expedition was not military but mercantile; and that Ashur-nasir-apli controlled only up to but not beyond the Euphrates? One of the main aims of Assyrian campaigns, as noted earlier in this article, was to acquire wealth and it was a fundamental part of Assyrian strategy to try and frighten and intimidate people so that goods would be offered without resistance. The reward for the victims was that they were not mutilated or massacred and their cities were not destroyed. This principle was enshrined in Olmstead's famous title "The Calculated Frightfulness of Ashur nasir apal"³⁹); and more modern scholars speak of the "psychological warfare" of the Assyrians⁴⁰). In the case of the "Carchemish-Mediterranean" narrative of Ashur-nasir-apli it is surprising that so little resistance was encountered but the fact is an Assyrian expedition did march through Syria and it is difficult to believe that this narrative describes a mere friendly exchange of ambassadors and gifts.

The analysis of the "Carchemish-Mediterranean" passage has led to the conclusion that this part of the second annalistic narration of CI, 1 (iii 1-113 — ARI 2, §§ 577-587) covers two campaigns although there is no statement to this effect in the text. Thus the narrative as a whole concerns at least six campaigns, not five as generally accepted, and this raises the question whether even more than six campaigns are covered here. Brinkman recognized this possibility and hinted that a clue to division in the narrative might be provided by the phrase "at that time" *ina ūmēšūma* which occurs a number of times in the passage (iii 43, 48, 55, 63, 77, 84, 95⁴¹). Now Schramm has argued that in some cases where the phrase occurs a long passage of time cannot have intervened and this argument seems valid⁴²). Also relevant

³⁹) JAOS 38 (1918), pp. 209-263 and his *History of Assyria* (Chicago/London, 1923) Chapter VIII.

⁴⁰) Cf. Saggs, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 145-154 and von Soden, *ibid.* pp. 131-144.

⁴¹) PKB p. 394, n. 2193.

⁴²) EAK 2, p. 31, n. 1.

²⁸) EAK 2, p. 100 q.

^{28a}) Except for the poetic account STT 43, edited by Lambert, *AnSt* 11 (1961), pp. 143-158.

²⁹) See ARI 2, §§ 530 and 533. For a list of parallel passages see § 534.

³⁰) Events of the accession and first regnal year were narrated together in the annals of this period; see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 28f.

³¹) For the correlation of the regnal years to calendar years see n. 48 (below).

³²) There was, then, no campaign in the accession year. Perhaps it was too short a period or perhaps Ashur-nasir-apli was too busy consolidating his position.

³⁵) EAK 2, pp. 29-31.

³⁶) PKB pp. 390-394.

³⁷) Brinkman's view was corroborated by de Filippi; cf. ARI 2, n. 633.

³⁸) EAK 2, pp. 27-29.

is that in all but two instances the phrase introduces a statement regarding the spoils of war; the two exceptions concern, respectively, the hunt (iii 48) and a new direction of march (iii 84). It would appear, then, that the phrase is nothing more than a stylistic feature. However, "at that time" does introduce the first of the two parallel statements regarding the "Ila incident" (iii 43) and this raises the possibility that it may be a stylistic feature of one (or more) source(s) of CI, 1, but not of others. Proof of this must await the discovery of more texts.

Finally, with regard to the number of campaigns treated in iii 1-113 it should be observed that the first narrated campaign dates to the sixth regnal year (878) and the last to the eighteenth (866); altogether there is a passage of thirteen years. It seems highly unlikely, particularly in view of the custom of annual campaigns in the ninth century, that no more than six expeditions were launched in this period. It may be that in some of these years the military achievements were not momentous but a true annalistic text, as an eponym chronicle, would have recorded them nonetheless. The fact is we have no such texts for this period, we have instead CI, 1. This document is a mine of detailed information regarding the military accomplishments of Ashur-nasir-apli II but a very unreliable source with regard to the general passage of time, the sequence of events, and dates.

In conclusion, critical analysis of CI, 1 has established the following with regard to the chronology of the campaigns:

1) Ashur-nasir-apli did not launch a campaign in his accession year but there were two campaigns in his first regnal year (883).

2) For the thirteen years from 878 to 866 there are at least six campaigns narrated, including two separate expeditions to the west (Carchemish and the Mediterranean respectively).

3) For this same period there were almost certainly more expeditions but, to date, it has been impossible to unravel accounts of these in the relevant passage in CI, 1.

2. *Shalmaneser III and Shamshi-Adad V*

The chronology of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III is well established for most of his reign but for the later years as well as for the period of Shamshi-Adad V there are difficulties. The difficulties arise in attempting to correlate the military campaigns recorded in the royal inscriptions to the eponym canon of the type Cb, commonly called the "eponym chronicle"⁴³. Two exemplars, Rm 2, 97 (Cb4) and STT 46 + 348, are preserved for the portion of the canon which covers the later years of Shalmaneser III, and for the reign of Shamshi-Adad V there is, in addition, K 51 (Cb1)⁴⁴. The discovery of STT 46 + 348 has confirmed that Forrer and Ungnad were correct in attributing the entries in Rm 2, 97 to these reigns and the new text has

⁴³ For bibliography of the annals of Shalmaneser III and Shamshi-Adad V see Schramm, EAK 2. For Shalmaneser III note particularly the convenient chart of sources for each campaign in *ibid.* pp. 87-90.

⁴⁴ For Cb1 and 4 see Ungnad, RLA 2, pp. 413 and 428-433. For STT 46 see Gurney, AnSt 3 (1953), pp. 19-21.

added a little more evidence towards the solution of the proper correlation⁴⁵.

Since Rm 2, 97 embodies the crux of the problem a few words on the state of the tablet, based on recent collation, are necessary. The fragment measures c. 8 x 9 cm. and is triangular in shape. It is possible, on the basis of physical features, that it belonged to the same tablet as K 51 (Cb1), a suggestion put forward by Ungnad (RLA 2, p. 413); however, this would be impossible if the reconstruction to be presented here is valid since it assumes a slight overlap. Bezold's copy, followed by all subsequent commentators, shows twenty-six lines but there is, in fact, a trace of the end of a line before Bezold's line 1; similarly, after his line 26 there is a trace of the end of one more line. Not enough is preserved in either case to allow a reading or, in the latter case, to determine whether it is identical with line 3 of K 51. These traces will be ignored in this discussion.

Forrer proposed that lines 9-10 of Rm 2, 97 referred to the same year and that two campaigns to Que took place in that year⁴⁶. He identified the *abaraku* of line 8 with the eponym Yahalu, *limu for the year 833*⁴⁷. The correlation which followed from this identification created serious problems with several entries. Following Ungnad's reconstruction (in RLA 2, p. 433), which was based on Forrer's hypothesis, note these discrepancies:

FIGURE 1
The Forrer-Ungnad Correlation: Discrepancies

Calendar Year	Cb	Annals	Regnal ⁴⁸ Year
835	to Milid	Namri, Parsua, etc.	24
834	to Namri	Que	25
831	to Urartu	Patinu	28

The difficulties could be resolved if one rejected the identification of the eponym Yahalu of year 833 with

⁴⁵ Forrer, MVAG 20/3 (1915), pp. 9-16; Ungnad, RLA 2, p. 433.

⁴⁶ Two-line entries for one year appear in Cb2 (see RLA 2, p. 431) for the years 788, 787, and 785.

⁴⁷ Forrer quoted KAH 1, 28: *li-mu mIa-ha-lum lu'AGRIG GAL-u*. Also note YOS 9, 73 (cf. Weidner, AfO 13 [1939-41], p. 308): *pu-u-ru sa mIa-ha-li [A]GRIG GAL [s]a mšul-ma-nu-SAG*.

⁴⁸ The correlation of calendar years to regnal years follows the system expounded by Poebel, JNES 2 (1942-43), pp. 74-78 and elaborated upon by Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 28. Weidner in AfO 14 (1941-44), p. 367, suggested that the Assyrian King List had an erroneous number of years for each of Shamshi-Adad V and Ashur-nerari V. Since Weidner made his proposal a duplicate, the SDAS list (see Gelb, JNES 13 [1954], pp. 209-230), of the Assyrian King List was discovered and agreed with the first exemplar on the number of years for Ashur-nerari V (the number for Shamshi-Adad V is missing). Nevertheless, Schramm in *Historia* 21 (1972), p. 515, revived Weidner's view and adopted the following dates:

Shamshi-Adad V	823-810
Adad-nerari III	809-782
Shalmaneser IV	781-772
Ashur-dan III	771-754
Ashur-nerari V	753-745
Tiglath-pileser III	744-727

It seems to me that the weight of evidence is still in favour of the Assyrian King List. The correlation of the regnal years in that list to the *limu* periods marked off in the *limu* lists has been plausibly interpreted by Poebel and I see no reason, at present, to reject this hypothesis or the evidence of the Assyrian King List.

the *abaraku* of line 8 in Rm 2, 97. This is, in fact feasible for Yahalu is also the name of the eponym for year 824. The texts referred to in footnote 47 could refer to the later eponym which is still in the reign of Shalmaneser III. This would leave open the question of the title and office of the Yahalu of 833 who may or may not be identical with the Yahalu of 824⁴⁹. The elimination of the necessity to date line 8 of Rm 2, 97 to year 833 allows the flexibility necessary to correlate the entries in Rm 2, 97 to the annals.

Such flexibility was assumed by Poebel who rejected the Forrer-Ungnad hypothesis⁵⁰. Poebel worked on the premise, which is surely sound, that the horizontal line in Rm 2, 97 must come between the years 823 and 822. This is where the line appears in the other eponym canons and it follows the normal pattern for this period of placing the line immediately before the name of the monarch. This is confirmed by the further refinement in some eponym lists, including STT 46 + 348, where a line is also drawn immediately before the second occurrence of Shalmaneser's name⁵¹. Following Poebel's idea and working forward from the line between 823 and 822, there is exact agreement among the sources for Cb (Rm 2, 97; STT 46 + 348; K 51) with regard to the length of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V (thirteen as independently attested by the Assyrian King List) and the traces in the various exemplars blend together quite well⁵². Working back from the line there is no serious difficulty in correlating Cb and the annals until line 10 of Rm 2, 97. Poebel argued that line 10 must be regarded as a separate year and not just a continuation of line 9 as assumed by Forrer and Ungnad. However, Poebel's contention still does not provide a satisfactory correlation for the earlier part of Rm 2, 97, a fact which oddly enough he did not mention. In order to solve the difficulty one must go one step farther than Poebel; one must assume not only that line 10 is a separate entry but also that a line has been erroneously omitted at this point. The result can best be illustrated by the following chart:

FIGURE 2
Proposed Correlation⁵³

Calendar Year	Cb	Annals	Regnal Year
841	to the cedar mount	Lebanon, etc.	18
840	Rm 2, 97: <i>a-n[...]-e</i> STT: URU? Qu? l-u-e	Amanus	19

⁴⁹ Even if he is identical, he may not have been *abaraku* in 833.

⁵⁰ Poebel, JNES 2 (1942-43), p. 77, n. 282.

⁵¹ See Brinkman, Or. n.s. 42 (1973), p. 311, n. 30.

⁵² This proposal eliminates most of the difficulties observed by Brinkman, PKB p. 201, n. 1290. On the number of Shamshi-Adad V's regnal years cf. n. 48 (above).

⁵³ Sources for the eponym chronicle (Cb): Rm 2, 97 (Cb4) obv. 1-26 = years 841-815; STT 46 + 348 obv. 1'-27' = years 841-816; K 51 (Cb1) obv. 1-2 = years 816-815. The horizontal line between the years 823 and 822 appears on both Rm 2, 97 and STT 46 + 348. Between years 828 and 827 a line is drawn only on STT 46 + 348 (cf. n. 51 above). The readings of Rm 2, 97 which are given here are based on collation.

839	<i>a-na KUR x-x-ḫi</i>	Que	20
838	to Danabi	Damascus, etc.	21
837	to Tabal	Tabal, etc.	22
836	to Milid	Milid, etc.	23
835	to Namri	Namri, etc.	24
834	to Que	Que	25
833	to Que	Que	26
832		Urartu	27
	to Que		
831		Patinu	28
830	to Urartu	Habhu	29
829	to Unqu	Manna, etc.	30
828	to Ulluba	Urartu, etc.	31
827	to Manna	not preserved	32
826	rebellion	not preserved	33
825	rebellion	not preserved	34
824	rebellion	not preserved	35
	(Shamshi-Adad V)		
823	rebellion		1
822	rebellion		2
821	rebellion		3
820	STT: rebellion Rm 2, 97: <i>]-x-ri-is</i>		4
819	to Manna		5
818	STT: <i>x-x-x-KUR?</i> Rm 2, 97: <i>]-šum-me</i>		6
817	<i>]-x-e</i>		7
816	to Tille		8
815	to Zaratu ⁵⁴		9

The proposed correlation still does not explain three curiosities which puzzled earlier scholars, the entries for 839, 838, and 829⁵⁵. Apart from this the only difficulty, as already noted, is line 10 of Rm 2, 97 where there should be two entries⁵⁶ and "to Que" makes no sense either for 832 or 831⁵⁷. Thus I believe that Rm 2, 97 is in error here and that the correlation proposed in Figure 2 is substantially correct.

In the preceding analysis I have touched upon the reign of Shamshi-Adad V and it is appropriate to now

⁵⁴ Cf. Weidner, AfO 13 (1939-41), p. 310.

⁵⁵ Regarding "to Unqu" for 829 note that Unqu is known as a variant of Patinu/Kinalua/Kullani; see Hawkins, Iraq 36 (1974), pp. 81-83. But a different Unqu must be involved here.

⁵⁶ Two different facts are actually recorded: a campaign to Que and the journey of the god from Der. Should each be the entry for a single year? The line is exactly as copied by Bezold; note how crowded the signs are.

⁵⁷ There is no record that Shalmaneser went beyond Patinu on the 28th *palu* (831). Another argument against "to Que" here, even if the proposed correlation is incorrect, is that nowhere in the annals is there room for three consecutive campaigns against Que. According to the annals there were campaigns against Que in 839, 834, and 833. The campaign of 833 is described in the Black Obelisk (132-141) as the "fourth time" against Que. If STT 46 + 348 really has "Que" for the year 840 this could be the first of the four although the farthest point mentioned in the annals is the Amanus.

concern ourselves with the problem of correlating Cb and the military campaigns as recorded in the royal inscriptions of this king. Shamshi-Adad did not campaign annually and so the scribes abandoned the practice, begun in the reign of Shalmaneser III, of dating the campaigns in the annals according to regnal year (*palū*); instead they simply numbered them and called each one a *girru* "campaign" ⁵⁸). It is unfortunate for us that they did not resume the older practice of dating the campaign by eponym (*limu*). Thus, apart from showing the proper sequence of campaigns, the royal inscriptions by themselves do not provide a chronology of the campaigns. It is only by correlating them to the eponym chronicle that this can be achieved.

Weidner attempted a correlation when he published the Ashur stele of Shamshi-Adad V ⁵⁹) and more recently Brinkman has tentatively accepted Weidner's proposal in so far as it relates to the dates of the Babylonian campaigns ⁶⁰). Since Weidner published his suggestion the Sultantepe exemplar of Cb, STT 46 + 348, has appeared. This new text offers the important variant for year 820, "rebellion" (*siḫu*) (cf. Figure 2). If the Sultantepe text is reliable, and it will be assumed here that it is ⁶¹), this further limits the possible number of years in which Shamshi-Adad could have campaigned. Thus I propose to approach the problem by means of elimination and, as we shall see, the result will be very close to that achieved by Weidner in relation to the Babylonian campaigns.

Six campaigns are recorded in the annals and these must be fitted into the period from the fifth to the thirteenth regnal years, nine years altogether. Let us assume that each of the six campaigns occurred in a different regnal year (it is possible that two occurred in one year but there is no evidence of this) so that we must eliminate three from the nine regnal years. To begin, Weidner observed that the entry in the eponym chronicle for year 813 (note that all Weidner's dates are one year too high) *ana KURaḫsāna* can be correlated to the fifth campaign of the annals, wherein *Nimitti-šarri* appears, because of the equation *Nimitti-šarri* = *Aḫisānu*; this is a campaign against Babylonia ⁶²). Thus the eponym chronicle has a series of four campaigns against Babylonia, years 814-811. In the royal inscriptions only three campaigns, the fourth to sixth, against Babylonia are narrated. This means that the fourth and last had not taken place when the preserved editions of the royal inscriptions were compiled and the correlation must be: campaign 4 = 814, 5 = 813 (which agrees with Weidner), and 6 = 812. Thus the year 811, in which the last Babylonian campaign took place, is automatically eliminated.

Two further regnal years must still be deleted from the possible choice. There are three campaigns (the first to third, all against Nairi) left in the royal inscriptions and these must be fitted into the period from the fifth to the ninth regnal years, five years altogether. The entry in the eponym chronicle for the eighth year, 816, probably can be eliminated for it was against Tille, a region close to the Assyrian heartland (see below sub C 2 Kudmuhu, Kadmuhu, and Kummuhu); such a minor operation may not have been deemed worthy of mention as a *girru*. If the entry of 817 also read "Tille", as proposed by Ungnad, then this can be tentatively eliminated for the same reason. This leaves only the years 819, 818, and 815 which may then be correlated to the first, second, and third campaigns against Nairi respectively. Corroboration of this is supplied by the new text, STT 46 + 348, which provides the reading for the year 819, "to Manna". The reading of the entry for 818 is still uncertain and the significance of "to Zaratu" for year 815 is still lost ⁶³).

This proposed correlation of the Nairi campaigns is not absolutely certain. Variables that must be kept in mind are: 1) the variant "rebellion" for the year 820 in STT 46 + 348 may be unreliable and thus this year would be another possible choice for a Nairi campaign (the first); 2) the year 817 was eliminated on the basis of a restoration which may prove incorrect. But even if both of these possibilities must be permitted, it would require only minor adjustment within the system.

Weidner's proposal for the Nairi campaigns was widely divergent for he did not have the evidence from Sultantepe. The key to his correlation was the reference to KUR *Matāia* on the third campaign in the royal inscriptions. In Rm 2, 97 he restored [KUR *Matāia*]-a for year 819 and thus dated the third campaign in that year; both the first and second campaigns he dated to 820. The Sultantepe text has now provided the correct reading for 819 and, since Weidner's proposal leaves a number of years in the eponym chronicle with no counterpart in the royal inscriptions, perhaps it should be abandoned.

FIGURE 3
Proposed Correlation for the reign of
Shamshi-Adad V ⁶⁴)

Calendar Year	Cb	Campaign	Regnal Year
824	rebellion	rebellion	accession
823	rebellion	rebellion	1
822	rebellion	rebellion	2
821	rebellion	rebellion	3

⁵⁸) Note the occurrence of Zaratum right after *Aḫisānu* in MSL 11, p. 39: 14; this is possibly an indication that the entry for 815 should be regarded as a Babylonian campaign. Also cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 208, n. 1291 for a similar suggestion to change one year. But as Brinkman observed, the weight of the evidence is certainly in favour of the correlation of the Babylonian campaigns as first advanced by Weidner.

⁶⁴) Sources for the eponym chronicle (Cb): Rm 2, 97 (Cb4) obv. 17-26 = years 824-815; STT 46 + 348 obv. 18-27 = years 824-816; K 51 (Cb1) obv. 1-6 = years 816-811.

820	STT: rebellion	rebellion	4
	Rm 2, 97:]x-ri-is		
819	to Manna	1: Nairi	5
818	STT: x-x-x-KUR?	2: Nairi	6
	Rm 2, 97:]-šum-me		
817]x-e		7
816	to Tille		8
815	to Zaratu ⁶⁵)	3: Nairi	9
814	to Der	4: Karduniash	10
813	to Ahsana	5: Karduniash	11
812	to Chaldaea	6: Karduniash	12
811	to Babylon		13

In conclusion some results significant for the history of the period should be underlined. For Shalmaneser III there is an extra campaign, against the Mannaeans in 827, which does not appear in even the latest edition of the annals, the Black Obelisk, since that concluded the previous year. In the troubled period of transition of power from Shalmaneser III to Shamshi-Adad V there were, according to the Sultantepe exemplar of the eponym chronicle, seven years of "rebellion", not six.

C. Notes on Historical Geography

1 KAH 2, 99

The label, KAH 2, 99, from a fragmentary relief found at Ashur (Ass 18616) reads:

[...]ruQat-ta-na-ia GEŠTINmeš ANŠEmeš na-ši
The Qattanaean brings wine (and) asses.

This label has been ascribed by some to Shalmaneser III and the gentilic has been regarded as an error for, or form of, Qatnu. I wish first to examine the identity of the gentilic and then to discuss the ascription of the object.

Qatnu appears in the inscriptions of Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Ashur-nasir-apli II (ARI 2, §§ 434, 475, and 577 respectively). In each passage a journey along the Habur is narrated; both Adad-nerari and Ashur-nasir-apli went downstream while Tukulti-Ninurta travelled upstream. Ashur-nasir-apli II mentions, on an earlier occasion, receipt of tribute from Qatnu and the erection of a statue and steles in the city (ARI 2, § 547 and n. 513). In the reign of Adad-nerari III Qatnu was included within the domain of the powerful governor Nergal-erish ⁶⁶). A location of Qatnu on the Habur is apparent from some of the preceding passages and consistent in the context of every one of them.

Goetze seems to have been the first to suggest that the Neo-Assyrian Qatnu should be identified with the Qattunan known from Mari: both places are on the Habur and the names are similar ⁶⁷). Kupper accepted Goetze's suggestion and attempted a more precise location of the site ⁶⁸). If the equation of Qatnu and Qat-

tunan is valid, and it seems to be, it is certainly relevant for the identification of the gentilic in KAH 2, 99. The Mari material now indicates that the two are different forms of the same name, a view shared by Parpola who includes the reference KAH 2, 99 under the entry "Qatna" ⁶⁹).

The proposed identification of the gentilic is relevant to the problem of the ascription of KAH 2, 99. The copy of the text was included by Schroeder in KAH 2 among inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and an edition of the label was published by Michel in his corpus of royal inscriptions of that king ⁷⁰). But the ascription to Shalmaneser III was questioned by Luckenbill ⁷¹) and Schramm has regarded the matter as uncertain ⁷²). Indeed, I can see no reason for assigning the object to Shalmaneser III, for neither Qattanu nor Qatnu appear in the large number of texts of Shalmaneser III. Rather, if Qattanu is Qatnu, as suggested above, then the fragment surely comes from an obelisk of either Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, or what is most likely, Ashur-nasir-apli II.

2. Kudmuhu, Kadmuhu, and Kummuhu

In Parpola, *Toponyms* pp. 215f., Kadmuhu and Kummuhu have been listed as variants of the same place name; the form Kudmuhu does not appear in Parpola (except as a cross-reference on p. 220) because it only occurs in texts earlier than the Neo-Assyrian period. Postgate, in his review of Parpola, expressed doubt that Kadmuhu and Kummuhu could be identified ⁷³). I agree and would go farther and say that it is absolutely impossible for the two names to refer to the same place. That two distinct regions are involved has been the view of previous scholars, notably Forrer, and in re-examining the evidence I see no reason to alter this view ⁷⁴). To clarify the position I intend to review the evidence, noting Forrer's conclusions and adding one or two observations of my own.

There can be no doubt that the Assyrian Kummuhu is identical with the Classical Commagene ⁷⁵). This province lay on the west bank of the upper Euphrates just south of Milid (Malatya). Now it is absolutely impossible to locate Kadmuhu in the same region. Kadmuhu was close to Mount Nipur and Mount Nipur can be identified as the Judi Dagh, a mountain east of the Tigris and directly south of Lake Van. This identification was established by the discovery there, in situ, of a text of Sennacherib (the "Judi Dagh Inscription") in which the site is named "Mount Nipur" (line 50) ⁷⁶). This same text refers to Kadmuhu in the following manner: "(various cities) on the border of the land Kadmuhu which are situated like eagle's nests on the pinnacles of Mount Nipur" (line 15). Further note Ashur-nasir-apli II's statement with regard to the route of his march as soon

⁵⁸) Cf. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 30b.

⁵⁹) AfO 9 (1933-34), pp. 89, 94, and 96.

⁶⁰) PKB p. 208, n. 1291.

⁶¹) This is a hazardous assumption (cf. Gurney, AnSt. 3 [1953], p. 21) but if it should prove unjustified, it would make only a difference of one year in the correlation proposed.

⁶²) For the equation see now MSL 11, p. 39: 13. Note *uruAḫ-sa-n[a]* in ND 2727, published by Parker in Iraq 23 (1961), pl. 24 and pp. 45f., which is a list of payments from Halman, modern Holwan or Sarpol-e-Zohab (see Borger, AfO 23 [1970], p. 1). This is further support for the above argument.

⁶⁵) Cf. Weidner, AfO 13 (1939-41), p. 310.

⁶⁶) Saba'a Stele 24 (see most recently Tadmor, Iraq 35 [1973], pp. 144f.) and Rimah Stele 19 (Page, Iraq 30 [1968], p. 142).

⁶⁷) JCS 7 (1953), p. 58, n. 38. For the Mari references see ARMT 15, p. 132.

⁶⁸) Kupper, *Les Nomades* p. 2, n. 2. Further cf. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920), p. 15.

⁶⁹) Parpola, *Toponyms* p. 285.

⁷⁰) WO 1 (1947-52), pp. 394f.

⁷¹) ARAB 1, p. 211, n. 1.

⁷²) EAK 2, pp. 91f.

⁷³) BSOAS 34 (1971), p. 390b.

⁷⁴) Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* ... pp. 17f.

⁷⁵) See most recently Hawkins, Iraq 36 (1974), pp. 79f.

⁷⁶) King, PSBA 35 (1913), pp. 66-94; Luckenbill, OIP 2, pp. 63-66.

as he left Mount Nipur: "I crossed the Tigris (and) approached the land Kadmuhi" (ARI 2, CI, 1 § 547). This reference not only confirms the proximity to Mount Nipur, it clearly shows Kadmuhi to have been on the west bank, a position which is verified by Ashur-nasir-apli II's route in his fourth year after leaving Assyria (Nineveh or Kalach): "after crossing the Tigris I entered the land Kadmuhi" (ARI 2, CI, 1 § 567, and cf. CI, 11 § 634). This reference in turn demonstrates that Kadmuhi was close to the Assyrian heartland and provides another contrast with the location of Kummuhu. The proximity to Assyria is substantiated by the title of an eponym which appears on a monument in the row of steles from Ashur: "... governor of Nineveh, Kadmuhi, (and) Nihria ..." 77).

The scribes of Ashur-nasir-apli II regarded Kadmuhi and Kummuhu as two different places for Kummuhu is also mentioned in his inscriptions but during events of the seventeenth year (ARI 2, CI, 1 § 587). Ashur-nasir-apli received tribute from the ruler of Kummuhu while in Huzirina. Huzirina is probably to be identified with modern Sultantepe (near Urfa)⁷⁸ which was not very far from the Euphrates and close to the region of Commagene; this is in harmony with the accepted identification of Kummuhu with Commagene.

Thus an identification of Kadmuhi with Kummuhu is out of the question. Kadmuhi was on the west bank of the Tigris upstream from Nineveh and opposite Mount Nipur (Judi Dagħ). A more detailed delineation of its boundaries together with an identification with the later name Tille, from the capital city Til-uli, has been given by Forrer⁷⁹.

One can add to Forrer a further note about the early history of Kummuhu. The earliest reference to Kummuhu known to me appears in a broken text of Tukulti-Ninurta I: "the entirety of Mount Kashiari, to the lands Kummuhu, Madanu, ..." (ARI 1, § 819). This is the only occurrence of Kummuhu⁸⁰ in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I although Kadmuhi appears regularly in conjunction with Mount Kashiari, the land Madanu, etc. There is no further mention of Kummuhu until the time of Ashur-nasir-apli II (see above).

With regard to the early history of Kadmuhi, Forrer has already noted the occurrence of a land called Kudmuhi in the inscriptions of Adad-nerari I (referring to his father Arik-din-ili) and Shalmaneser I (ARI 1, §§ 382 and 532 respectively). Kudmuhi is probably to be identified with Kadmuhi and not with the more distant Kummuhu. The form Kadmuhi first appears in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (ARI 1, §§ 692, 694, 701, 715, 721, 760, 773, 783, 803, 806). It reappears in texts of Tiglath-pileser I (ARI 2, §§ 12-15, 19, 94, 201). It does not occur again until the time of Ashur-dan II (§ 364) and then appears in texts of each subsequent monarch, Adad-nerari II (§§ 420, 441) and Tukulti-

⁷⁷ Andrae, *Stelenreihe* No. 66, and cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* ... p. 32.

⁷⁸ Cf. E. Gordon, JCS 21 (1967), pp. 85-88, Gurney, AnSt 22 (1972), p. 149 and n. 1, and Postgate, RLA 4, pp. 535f.

⁷⁹ *Provinzeinteilung* ... pp. 17f.

⁸⁰ KUR *Kum-mu-hi* Weidner, Tn. pl. X and cf. Weidner's note to this passage on p. 37.

⁸¹ Cb6 r. 2 (see RLA 2, p. 435).

Ninurta II (§ 483), down to Ashur-nasir-apli II (see above). In later times it is attested in the reigns of Sargon II⁸¹ and Sennacherib (see above)⁸².

3. *Mat(te/i)yatu and *Yatu*

In his fifth year Ashur-nasir-apli II proceeded from Kadmuhi through the pass of the land Ishtarate to the cities Kibaku, Mat(te/i)yatu (URU *Mat-i-ia-te*, URU *Mat-ia-te*, URU *Mat-ia-ti*, URU *Mat-ia-tu*, URU *Mat-te-ia-te*, URU *Mat-ia-ü-te*), and Zazabuha respectively (ARI 2, §§ 567-568 and §§ 634-635). It has long been recognized that Shalmaneser III was following this same route in his thirteenth year when he marched through the pass of Ishtarate to KUR Yatu⁸³ and that the latter place name must be connected with the Mat(te/i)-yatu of Ashur-nasir-apli II⁸⁴. It has further been accepted that the proper reading in the Ashur-nasir-apli texts is Matyatu or Matte/iyatu, the latter because of the orthography URU *Mat-te-ia-te* in the Nimrud Monolith⁸⁵; and that an identification with modern Midyat seems likely⁸⁶. There has not, however, been a satisfactory suggestion for the reading of the name in the texts of Shalmaneser III. Hommel proposed that the name of the land was Yatu while the name of its capital was Matyatu which then became Mattiyatu⁸⁷. J. Lewy said "the meaning of the prefixed element *mad/t* escapes us" but suggested, in a footnote, "it would appear that *mad/t* is a Hurrian word"⁸⁸.

The key to the solution was, in fact, provided in a text that was published almost simultaneously with Lewy's article. This text is an edition of Shalmaneser's annals inscribed on a marble slab (IM 55644) and edited by Fuad Safar⁸⁹. The relevant passage (iii 11f.) reads: (11) *ana KUR-ti-ia-e* (12) *al-lik KUR-ia-a-tu ... akšud*. The reading of the signs is clear from the published photographs and there appears to be no "run-over" on the edge at the end of line 11. Thus, either E must be an error for TE/TI or TE/TI has been omitted; one should read either KUR-*ti-ia-te/ti*(!) or KUR-*ti-ia-e* <*te/ti*>⁹⁰. This orthography supports the form of the

⁸² In TR 3007: 13 published in *Iraq* 30 (1968), pl. LIX and p. 180 read URU TAR-*ma-li*(?). I am grateful to J. N. Postgate for this collation.

⁸³ See n. 92 (below) for references.

⁸⁴ Cf. F. Hommel, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens* (Berlin, 1885) p. 472, n. 5; Streck, ZA 13 (1898), p. 95, who had some reservations; J. Lewy, Or. n.s. 21 (1952), pp. 6f.; Schramm, EAK 2, p. 77, Rez. E 1) III 11.

⁸⁵ See King, AKA p. 327, n. 8, and p. 328, nn. 12 and 14. The same text also has URU *Mat-ia-ü-te* once (ibid. p. 327, n. 9).

⁸⁶ See J. Lewy, Or. n.s. 21 (1952), pp. 6f., who also cites older literature.

⁸⁷ *Geschichte* ... op. cit. p. 572, n. 5.

⁸⁸ Or. n.s. 21 (1952), p. 6 and n. 5. Schramm in EAK 2, p. 77, following Lewy's lead, used Zamua and Mazamua as an analogy and proposed that the initial element came from the determinative *māt(i)*. Luckenbill read "Matia/i/e" in Ashur-nasir-apli's texts (ARAB 1, §§ 459, 460, 498) but "Iaeti/Iātu" in Shalmaneser's texts (ARAB 1, §§ 570, 657).

⁸⁹ *Sumer* 7 (1951), pp. 3-21 and pls. I-III, and see Michel, WO 2 (1954-59), pp. 27-45. Further cf. Schramm, EAK 2, pp. 77f.

⁹⁰ Excellent photographs were published both by Fuad Safar and Michel. Fuad Safar's transliteration has: *māti*(KUR-*ti*) *ia-e*. Michel read: *māti* *ja-e-t[e]*(!). Parpola, *Toponyms* p. 186 read: KUR JA-E-T(E). The comment in *Sumer* 7, p. 20 that the E is a ŠE is not supported by the photographs.

name established from the Nimrud Monolith of Ashur-nasir-apli, Matte/iyatu. The writing that otherwise appears in Shalmaneser's texts must go back to a scribal misunderstanding; that is, at a relatively early stage in the transmission of the narrative of this campaign a scribe, confronted by URU KUR *iātu*, thought the KUR was a determinative and deleted URU as an error⁹¹. Thus I would suggest that in Shalmaneser's texts, as in Ashur-nasir-apli's inscriptions, the proper form is Mat(te/i)yatu and that a place name *Yatu is non-existent⁹².

D. *Miscellaneous Notes on Schramm's EAK 2*

Chapters I and II: In general I have not repeated here comments from ARI 2.

Ic1 (p. 2): Ass 10524 is mistakenly said to be unpublished. It is the main exemplar in Andrae, FWA p. 166.

Ic6 (p. 2): The dedicatory inscription on a bronze statue, originally from Arbail, was included under Ashur-dan I in ARI 1 as LXXXIII, 2* although it may be from the time of Ashur-dan II (cf. ARI 2, § 356).

Ie (p. 30): In the third and seventh lines read Iyyar, not "Ülül" (cf. n. 34 above).

Ilaa-hh (pp. 53-57): My identification of some of the numerous inscribed fragments from Nineveh published by Thompson varies somewhat from Schramm. See the relevant pages of ARI 2.

Iloo (p. 60): Ass 35 is a brick with the same stamp as Ass 123. See ARI 2, CI, 67.

IIIb Rez. B (p. 72): Date of the Balawat Gates: The

⁹¹ Note that all of the inscriptions in which the name appears are several years later than the event:

a) Annals Cameron (written in the 17th year): *Sumer* 6 (1950), p. 15 iii 22 (*Mat-ia-a-ti/tu*).

b) Bull Inscription I (written after the 18th year): Layard, ICC 16: 42 and see Delitzsch, BA 6/1, p. 147 (*Mat-ia-a-ti/tu*).

c) Annals Fuad Safar (written after the 20th year): see above.

d) Black Obelisk (written after the 31st year): Layard, ICC 91: 90 (*Mat-ia-e-ti*).

Regarding all of these texts see further Schramm, EAK 2, pp. 70-105.

⁹² In Parpola, *Toponyms*, the references have been listed sub "JĀTU" (p. 186) and "MATJĀTU" (pp. 243f.). There is no reference in the appropriate place (p. 186) to the Bull Inscription and the reason for this requires comment. The two Bull Inscriptions were originally published by Layard in ICC 12-16 and 46f. and edited by Delitzsch in BA 6/1, pp. 143-151. The two inscriptions are close parallels but not exact duplicates; each has text not found in the other and neither is completely preserved. Unfortunately this fact was not recognized when references were extracted for Parpola's *Toponyms*. The only text which was used is that found in Layard ICC 12f. and 46f. (despite the bibliographical listing on p. XIX); ICC 14-16 which contains the major portion of Bull Inscription I, was ignored. Thus a number of place names, including some not found in Bull Inscription II (such as the one under discussion), were missed. It should also be noted that none of the variant forms of place names in the "Annals" of Ashur-nasir-apli II, including those found in the Nimrud monolith (cf. n. 86 above), listed in footnotes by King, AKA pp. 254-387, have been cited. It is to be hoped that in a new edition of this extremely useful reference work these lacunae will be filled.

narrative ends with the account of the ninth *palū* (850) and therefore this text must have been composed after this time, as Schramm states. But one must bear in mind that the labels and scenes which they accompany include events of the tenth *palū* (849) and the eleventh *palū* (848); see Michel, WO 4 (1967-68), p. 36, nos. 16 and 18 respectively. This fact was noted by Pinches in his original edition, PSBA 7 (1882), pp. 89-...; it was reiterated by Billerbeck in his study of the bronzes in BA 6/1 (1908), pp. 66 and 71 respectively; and the significance for the editions of the annals of Shalmaneser III was pointed out by Olmstead, *Historiography* p. 23.

IIIb Rez. E3 (p. 78): Kurba'il Statue: See also D. Oates, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 16f. and the photographs on pl. VIII.

IIIb Rez. F2 (p. 80): Nimrud Statue lines 44ff.: See now Hulin's reading of these lines quoted in my ABC pp. 240f.

IIIc (pp. 87-90): To the list of sources for the eighteenth year add the right side of the stele fragment published by Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973), pp. 40-44.

IIId (pp. 94f.): Add the brick inscription KAH 2, 81 (cf. ARI 2, n. 276).

IIIf (pp. 96f.): Another duplicate of this brick inscription was published by Foxvog, *Assur* 1/4 (1975), p. 8 (In this reference correct "RT 56, 25" to "RT 26, 25"). Further brick inscriptions have recently been uncovered at Kalach by the Polish expedition led by Dr. J. Meuszyński; see *Iraq* 37 (1975), p. 59.

IVf (p. 109): Add the two inscribed cylinders published by Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973), pp. 44-45.

IVi f(p. 110): Cf. Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973), p. 46.

V Adad-nerari III (pp. 111-119): For a new text, editions of old texts, and comments see Millard and Tadmor "Adad-nirari III in Syria" *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 57-64 (cf. EAK 2, p. 141); Millard, "Adad-nirari III, Aram, and Arpad" *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 105/2 (1973), pp. 161-164; Tadmor "The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-nirari III" *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 141-150.

Vf (p. 116): to lines 22-24: the campaign of 785, unlike 795 and 794, was to Hubushkia, not Der.

Vj (p. 118): to line 4': read "JNES 31, 220b".

Vm (p. 119): AAA 19, No. 136 = BM 128405 and No. 179 = BM 128391; cf. ARI 2, § 733 nos. 6 and 7 respectively.

V (p. 119): The clay docket ND 7104 published by Parker, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 38f. bears an incomplete seal impression which is probably of Adad-nerari III; cf. Borger, HKL 1, p. 379.

VId (p. 122): Stele of Bel-harran-beli-usur: cf. Postgate, *Studia Pohl S.M.* 3 (Rome, 1974), pp. 79, 184, 240.

Toronto, June 1976

A. K. GRAYSON

On Ancient Sippar *)

The largest body of published Old Babylonian texts originates from the Sippar area. They constitute one of the principal sources for our knowledge of the Old Babylonian society. All Assyriologists will be very happy about the publication of Mrs. Harris' *magnum opus* and we can congratulate the author with this result of her onerous work.

The book is far more than a "demographic study". It presents an over-all picture of Sippar: the city itself, its administrative structure (palace, city administration, temple, etc.), its economic structure and the population structure (occupations, sacred women, slaves, family life). Mrs. Harris' description of the city life of Sippar is clear and not burdened with philological digressions. She goes in depth whenever the materials permit this and she simply records those disconnected facts and data that cannot as yet be viewed in a wider perspective.

We are grateful for this comprehensive and balanced presentation of the evidence, not distorted by wild theories or fanciful speculations. For many years to come, this book will remain the standard work on Old Babylonian Sippar. New texts and different approaches will undoubtedly spawn a number of articles or even monographs, for which this book, together with "The Onomasticon of Sippar" (see Harris p. 389, note), will remain the basis.

The manuscript of the book was completed some years ago, so the author could not use D. O. Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (1970). The reader of the book will notice that the evidence from another recent publication, Finkelstein, CT 48 (1968), was not fully incorporated.

Mrs. Harris has informed me that she will give a new and updated list of the geographical names (see p. 371-384, in the Appendix) in her forthcoming book "The Onomasticon of Sippar".

A correct understanding of the texts is essential for a book like this. Mrs. Harris' interpretation of the texts is very reliable. I only have some objections in a few minor points; let me single out five examples:

CT 48 54 is not the rental of a sheepfold (é.tùr.ra; so Finkelstein, CT 48, Catalogue, and Harris p. 174, 176), but the rental of a second story (é.ùr¹.ra; cf. Harris p. 30-31 and add also VAS 9 220 to the list on p. 31).

CT 4 27b is not concerned with some temple vessel (dug; Harris p. 204 note 261), but a named ox (gud).

No "sprinkling ceremony" of the Princess Iltani (p. 176, 308) in JCS 2 77 No. 6: 7. Translate "when the princess fell ill" (salā'um N).

BE 6/1 35 and 36 (Harris p. 29 and 133 note 74). The

*) Review article of: Rivkah Harris, *Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.)* (= Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, Vol. XXXVI), 1975. XVII + 408 pages. Price: HGLd 150.—.

transliteration of BE 6/1 35 is garbled¹⁾ and we should read in BE 6/1 36 Case 26 é-tim, not "bītim šarram", as Schorr VAB 5 No. 139 did.

Si. 83 (cf. Harris p. 12 note 12) is an interesting text hardly used by Mrs. Harris and other scholars. We can read this text fairly well by combining what we see on the photograph (Scheil, SFS Plate VI) and on the copy by Friedrich, BA 5, 1906, p. 500 No. 26:

(obv.) 13 gín kù.babbar
šām zāh SALdu tu-nu-ri
zāh SAL.TUR dA-a-šu-ul-li- (rev.) x-šu
SALKisal.luh UD.KIB.NUNKi-e den
nīg.šudutu-ba-ni
ša iš-tu itū.ab.ē
mubādī.sīnki
a-di itū.gan.gan.ē ud.30.kam
(lo. edge) mubādī.dīli.gal.gal
šamu.3.kam
(rev.) mutūmdu tu-ba-ni
PA kisal.luh UD.KIB.NUNKi-e den
nam-ḥa-ar-ti
pdmarduk-mu-ša-lim dumu diškur-
dingir
mu-ša-ad-di-nim

"Thirteen shekels of silver, price of the run-away woman Šamaš-nūri, the run-away girl Aja-šulli...šu, court-sweeper(s) of Sippar-šērim, under Šamaš-bāni: from -X Sams. 15 till 30.IX Sams. 17, over three years, brought in by Šamaš-bāni, overseer of the court-sweepers of Sippar-šērim. Received by Marduk-mušalim, son of Adad-šarrum, the tax collector". Date: 26+.XI Sams. 18.

I owe the reading zāh (= ḤAxA) in lines 2-3, central for the interpretation of this text, to Professor Kraus.

Was Šamaš-bāni, as Overseer, held responsible for the presence of the court-sweepers? He obviously has to pay a compensation for both women who had disappeared three years before.

Cf. Harris p. 164-5 ("The Sweeper of Ebabbar"), p. 167 ("Slaves") and p. 341-343 ("Prices of Slaves").

THE LISTS

Let me concentrate on some of the less imaginative parts of the book under review: the lists of texts originating from Sippar, and the lists of officials, scattered over the book. I compared those lists with my own — admittedly incomplete — notes and I can offer a number of additions and corrections.

I. Lists of Texts

On p. 384-387 Mrs. Harris gives Lists of Texts, published and unpublished, written in Sippar. She ex-

¹⁾ Read in BE 6/1 35: 18ff. (Case): ¹⁸ana mānaḥti é ša wa[ššā]bu ¹⁹išakkanu ²⁰um bēl é ana ²¹waššābim ²²taši iqtabū ²³mānaḥtašu inaggar (Tablet: inakk[ar]) ²⁴um waššābum libbašu (Tablet: ina l[ibbi]u?) ²⁵ittāšu ²⁶ina mānaḥtišu ite[ll]i (Tablet: ma-na-ah[il]-t[al]-šu ul inakka[r]).

Cf. von Soden, AHW p. 710 sub nagārum II and Oppenheim, *Untersuchungen zum babyl. Mietrecht*, 1936, p. 138 note 25.

cludes from these lists most of the texts which most probably were not written in Sippar, but which were found there. She uses most of those texts in her book as additional evidence (see the Index, p. 399ff.). Among those texts are: BE 6/1 18, 26; CT 4 9b; CT 6 8, 29, 38b, 40a; CT 8 22c; CT 45 121; CT 48 2, 18, 63; VAS 8 26, 81-82; VAS 9 218; Waterman Bus. Doc. 28; the letters, like PBS 7 100, TCL 18 105, YOS 2 151, MAH 15933 (JCS 5 77a), etc.

Some of these texts deal with property in a place not far from Sippar (CT 45 121, VAS 9 218, Waterman Bus. Doc. 28). Other texts are transactions or litigations which took place in cities other than Sippar (notably Babylon): BE 6/1 26; CT 6 29, 38b; CT 8 22c, 40a; CT 48 2 (cf. Schorr VAB 5 No. 211), 64; TCL 1 164; VAS 8 26, 81-82; Goetze, AS 16 211ff.

In most of these texts Sippar people are demonstrably involved.

At least two "monumental texts" (Halla) of Sippar citizens have been published, dedicatory inscriptions of the judge Gimil-Marduk (Sollberger, Iraq 31, 1969, p. 90ff.) and of the *rabīānum* Itur-Ašdum, son of Šubā-ilān²⁾ (King, LIH I 66).

Inscribed cylinder seals have been found in Sippar; see Scheil, RT 19 48 No. 2, 53 Nos. 8-9. It is almost certain that the seal of "Erišti-Aja, daughter of Abimaraš, servant of Šamaš (and) Aja" (H. H. von der Osten, *Newell Coll.* (= OIP 22), No. 247) originates from Sippar. It would go too far to identify the original owner of a seal found in Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, Syria 17, 1936, p. 113 Fig. 6) with the Sipparian Aḥam-nirši, son of Inbuša (CT 45 24: 5, Hamm. 26).

I have the impression that we should cancel the following items from the list of published texts, because there is no evidence in them pointing to Sippar:

BE 6/2 83, 130

Çiğ Kraus *Nippur* (= ARN) 167 (Ni. 2974). This is an *išbat*-text, amply attested in Dilbat and Kish, but not in Sippar³⁾.

CT 48 104

Frank *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte* 28. Belongs to the *išbat*-text YOS 13 400.

Riftin Nos. 13, 48.

Szlechter *Tablettes* p. 154 MAH 16366. Belongs to the preceding texts (not from Sippar), p. 150ff.; see Szlechter p. 150 note 37⁴⁾.

Szlechter *Tablettes* p. 145 MAH 16426.

TCL 1 146. There is no proof for a NULGIG of Adad in Sippar (contra Harris p. 328-9).

²⁾ Read Šubā-ilān, not "Šuban-ili" (Harris p. 313 note 20). CAD IJ 103b 8, Thureau-Dangin, TCL 1 p. 61 sub *Ilān*, and Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, 1926, p. 23 under Itur-Ašdum, seem to consider this name as Akkadian (not in Bauer's glossary under *š(w)b*; p. 80). Professor Kraus pointed out to me that the element Šubā- could be "Amorite", see Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, 1965, p. 266 SB, Imperative.

See for LIH I 66 my *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, 1976, Chapter VI. 3 (p. 83 ff.).

³⁾ The *išbat*-texts known to me are: YOS 13 6, 75, 136, 146, 212, 228, 400, 473, 524(?); JCS 5 78 MAH 16362; ARN 167; Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte* No. 28.

⁴⁾ This means that the only reference for GAL.NI = santan = šandanakku, given by Harris p. 244, is not from Sippar.

TCL 1 156. Belongs to Archive E (JCS 25 226).
TCL 1 171. From Dilbat (171: 3 = VAS 7 108: 2 and note the PN Warad-Ē-Ibiānum).

TCL 1 188.
Speleers *Recueil* 228. Read in line 11 kar UD.NUNKi (= Adab).

I have some doubts on the group TCL 1 161, 163 and YOS 13 22. Pirḫi-Amurru, a judge, occurs also in TCL 1 157: 73 (not from Sippar). Cf. Harris, JNES 34, 1975, 294-5.

A. ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF PUBLISHED TEXTS

In the following list I incorporate those texts which have been published since the completion of the MS. of Mrs. Harris' book.

Birot, *Tablettes* 66, 67, 70.

Anbar, RA 69, 1975, p. 109-120 (7 texts).

CT 45 31. Cf. TCL 1 177 and JCS 2 77 No. 6: 9 (the herds of Princess Iltani).

CT 45 84-86. Cf. Harris, Indexes, p. 402.

Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell-ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (1970). Cf. Harris p. 4 note 14.

Goetze JCS 5, 1951, p. 96 YBC 6790. Cf. JCS 2 112 No. 29.

Goetze JCS 11, 1957, p. 78 HSM 109. Cf. Pinches Peek 14.

Finkelstein, AS 16, 1965, 233-236 (= Kraus, AbBr 7 No. 153).

Fish, JMEOS 18, 1933, p. 49-53. Belongs to CT 45 77 and 89.

Meissner BAP 76. Used by Mrs. Harris.

PBS 8/2 219. Read in line 6 *Iddin-Ea* d i.[KUD], a well-known judge from Sippar, son of Ibni-Šamaš (Harris p. 142, etc.).

PBS 8/2 225. Iddin-Ea, son of Ibni-Šamaš, occurs in line 3.

Pinches, PSBA 19, 1897, p. 132. Cf. PBS 8/2 196.

Scheil *Sippar* 64, 178, 180, 199, 247, 247bis, 287 (used by Harris), 650, 718.

Scheil RT 17 33 Si. 427.

Strassmaier, ZA 3, 1888, 229-230 No. 6 (= Meissner BAP 42).

Szlechter, *Tablettes* p. 29-30 MAH 16551. See Kraus, BiOr 16, 1959, p. 120b.

ibid. p. 43-44 MAH 16516. Cf. TLB I 218 and see Leemans, JESHO 2, 1959, p. 329-330.

Szlechter, TJAUB, 1969, p. 45-46 UMM B 2 (= Fish, MCS 2 43 No. 15).

Sollberger, JCS 5, 1951, p. 90 MAH 15983. Iltani Archive.

TIM 4 53. Cf. CT 8 10a.

TIM 5 48.

TLB I 226. Used by Mrs. Harris.

VAS 13 8 (= VAS 16 25). From Sippar according to Koschaker and Ungnad, HG 6 ad No. 1746.

VAS 18 8, 17, and perhaps 77 (77: 17 = TCL I 89: 18).

Veenhof, *Symbolae F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl*, 1973, p. 361. [Walker, AFO 24 123 Truro 6 ?]

Weidner, AFO 15, 1945-51, p. 77 (case of CT 4 47a).

Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers* ..., 1962, p. 86-98. Cf. Harris p. 115-116, JAOS 83, 1963, p. 251.

YOS 13 2, 4, 5, 7, 12, 13, 22(?), 376, 384, 385, 402, 419, 432, 454, 470, 484, 485, 489(?), 490, 491, 493, 495(?), 496, 506, 508, 510, 511, 531.

For a justification of this list of YOS 13 texts, see below, on B. Unpublished Texts, 2-3.

B. ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

1. From the British Museum

BM 80223 = CT 45 50; BM 80281 = CT 45 18; BM 80496 = CT 48 7; BM 81624 = CT 48 78; BM 78812/11 = Finkelstein, *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (= AOAT 25), 1976, p. 188-189.

BM 82137 = Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, 1976, p. 36 note 16.

2. From the Yale Babylonian Collection

The texts listed here have been published by Finkelstein in YOS 13 (1972). The first three texts are not YBC, but MLC 606, 1547, 1693 (= YOS 13 89, 277, 531). In her review article of YOS 13 Mrs. Harris gave the reasons why she assigns these (and more) texts to Sippar; see JNES 34, 1975, p. 293-296.

I would exclude from her list the following texts:

YOS 13 89 We find the impression of the buyer's seal on YOS 13 75 (p. 87), an *išbat*-text. Those *išbat*-texts are not attested in Sippar, but in Dilbat and Kish (see above, on Čiğ Kraus *Nippur* (= ARN) 167 and my footnote 3) —. Several individuals mentioned in this text reappear in YOS 13 203 (Kish-Dilbat)⁵.

YOS 13 252, 277, 284, 410 The related text TCL I 171 is from Dilbat (see above).

YOS 13 443 Belongs to Archive I (JCS 25 227), from Kish-Dilbat. "Ētirum" in line 2 is uncertain (*Gur-rurum*?).

YOS 13 39 According to Finkelstein, JCS 9, 1955, p. 7 note 72, the same slave girl is sold in VAS 7 50 (= Schorr VAB 5 No. 84), a text from Archive B (Dilbat; see JCS 25 255).

Other texts in YOS 13, originating from Sippar, are

YOS 13 2. Ina-Esaḡil-zēru, the *šāpīr bītim*, is also attested in CT 6 6 obv. 21, rev. 11.
YOS 13 7. Cf. PBS 8/2 202.
YOS 13 496. See JCS 25 227, Archive K.
YOS 13 506. See JCS 25 233.

3. From the Harvard Semitic Museum

Now YOS 13 4 and 5.

4. In the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

A. 1656 Cf. BM 80911 (unpublished).

A. 5257 A roster like CT 6 15-18 and Birot, *Tablettes* 70 (see Harris p. 91-92). The heading is:
d u b t a m - l i - i t e r é n d u b . l . k a m !

UD.KIB.NUN^{ki}
[n i] g . š u U - b a r - d u t u G A [L . U] K K E N . N A (?)
Date: 13.XI Hamm. 36.

5. In the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève

MAH 15964 (Finkelstein, JCS 15 131b).

II. Lists of Officials

The rabiānu's of Sippar (p. 61-62)

We can only be certain that a *rabiānum* is the mayor of Sippar, if "Sippar" is explicitly named.

Imgur-Sin Probably mayor of Ḫalḫalla, see below.

Abdi-araḫ CT 8 4a rev. 14 (Sm).
Awēl-Ištar CT 48 1: 10 (Sm 12).
Sin-iddinam CT 48 3: 13 (Hamm 6).
Nūr-Šamaš CT 48 70: 11, seal 2 (Hamm 9).

Warad-Marduk His father is *I-din-dx x* (VAS 9 62 seal).

Apil-ili CT 47 49: 30 (Hamm): *ra-bi-a-an x x*.

Ipiq-Annunitum CT 47 75: 15 (uncertain).
Nabium-mušallim TIM 7 208: 2 (mayor of Tell ed-Dēr?) (Si 18).

Ṭaridum Goetze, JCS 11 78 rev. 4 (Si 30).

Sin-šaduni YOS 13 496: 18 (Amd 1).
Šamaš-rabi(?) Goetze, AS 16 211: 12 (Amd 36).

Qurdi-Ištar Finkelstein, JCS 15 131a, saw SANGA ^{dx x} on MAH 16147: 15.

The Mayors of Ḫalḫalla (p. 63)

Imgur-Sin l ú Ḫ a l - ḫ a l - l a k i , CT 47 78: 24 and seal 3; cf. CT 45 9: 19 (AS).

Šamaš-ilum CT 47 19a: 17, CT 47 68a: 19 (Sm?)⁶. Read in CT 8 6b: 12 *r[a-b]i-a-an* (no PN).

Itūr-Ašdum CT 48 19: 11 (Hamm).
Rabbu-ḫadum He is the son of Ṭaridum (Waterman Bus. Doc. 73 rev. 5-6; CT 47 58 seal 1 [sic]).

The Chairman of the Assembly (p. 67)

Ubar-Šamaš A. 5257 i 3 (unpubl.; so?) (Hamm 36).

⁶ In 1969, Dr. E. Sollberger kindly collated seal inscription 2 on CT 47 68a and found that the second line is not to be read *ir Ša-am-su-i-lu-na*, but probably *ir dnin.sia.an.na*. Several witnesses in this text are attested in texts dated to Apil-Sin and Sin-muballit(CT 47 8, 19; Waterman Bus. Doc. 40, 55).

⁵ Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum* I, 1966, p. 228-9, pointed out that MLC 606 (= YOS 13 89) has close connections with his No. 551.

Ili-damiq BE 6/1 119 obv. i 42; cf. TCL I 54: 3 and see Harris, JCS 16 9a(Ae).

Sin-iqīšam TCL I 166: 3 (Amš 13).

Overseers of Merchants in Sippar (p. 75-76)

Sin-iqīšam CT 48 1: 13 (Sm 12); CT 8 4 rev. 16 (Sm).

Ilšu-bāni CT 48 11 rev. 4 (Hamm 42).
Attā CT 45 56: 14 (?) (Ae).

Ilšu-ibni CT 8 30c: 17, 19 (Amd 5), CT 45 46 seal(Amd 6), CT 45 114: 32. As father in CT 6 37c: 4, Waterman Bus. Doc. 18: 4, 19: 4 (all Amd). See Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, p. 44-45 note 1.

Ibni-Adad CT 8 11b: 19 (Amš 5). Cf. Kraus, *Edikt* 111.

Šamaš-bāni CT 45 114: 28.
Ilšu-ibnišū CT 48 102 rev. 4 (Amd).

Utu.šū.mu.un.dib CT 8 36a: 3, 6 (Amd 26).
Utu.šū.mu.un.dib di.KUD dumu Ilšu-ibni PA dam.gār, Waterman Bus. Doc. 19: 3-4 (Amd 29).

The šakkanakku's (p. 81)

Eršetija CT 48 1: 12(Sm 12). Cf. VAS 8 71: 31 = Schorr VAB 5 no. 287.

Sin-rēmenni CT 48 108: 19 (Hamm 43).
Warad-Kubi YOS 13 489: 16 (Ae bb).

Overseer of the Barbers (p. 82-83)

Šalim-teḫḫūšu Finkelstein AS 16 234: 28, 36.
Ilš[u-li]bluṭ Goetze AS 16 212: 13 (Amd 36).

Iddatum Meissner BAP 74: 8 (Amš 13).
Nūr-ilišu AbBr 6 148: 6.

In "Sagila-iddinam" and "Nanna-iddinam", *-iddinam* stands for Sum. m a . a n . s u m .

List of Barbers (p. 84)

Itti-Ištar-Sippar-naḫrāri TCL 18 101: 20.
Warad-Sin VAS 8 116: 10.

List of UGULA MARTU (p. 95-96)

Cf. Anbar, RA 69, 1975, p. 119.

Sin-tajjār CT 45 56: 13 (Ae).
Ibbi-Ilabrat CT 45 51: 5 (Amd 34). Not "Ilšu-abušu".

Mār-ešrā Waterman Bus. Doc. 16: 6 (Amš 14), Meissner BAP 107: 34 (Amš 16; cancel "Mār-Si-manu").

Ina-Esaḡil-zēru Anbar, RA 69 118: 1 (Amš 15).

Amš 17b: Read CT 45 61: 4, 7, 10, 15, 18.
Tarībatum His father is Ilšu-bāni (BE 6/1 116: 6).

Sinātum (CT 33 36, BM 78356) may be the Captain of p. 98, not an UGULA MARTU (Harris p. 94; 96 notes 56, 57).

List of Captains (p. 98-99)

Sin-iddinam See JCS 25, 1973, 227 Archive K.

Ilšu-ibni s. Ili-damiq TCL I 154: 21 (Amd 24), cf. TCL I 164: 2 (?) (Amš 9).

Ilšu-ibni CT 45 51: 9 (Amd 34).
Šamaš-nāšir PA.P[A](?), CT 48 102: 14 (Amd).

Sinātum: his father could be Sin-išmeanni (CT 33 36: 5).

List of abi šābi's (p. 104-105)

Marduk-lamassa < šu a > - b i e r é n (so ?), CT 33 27: 5 (Amd 4).

Marduk-mušallim CT 45 48: 9 (Amd 8), cf. TIM 2 98: 8.

Utu-Ištar Anbar RA 69 112: 9 (Amš 12), Meissner BAP 74: 19 (Amš 13), TIM 5 48: 7.

Marduk-mušallim and Marduk-lamassa: see Kraus AbBr I 2: 1-2 (Amš 15); Walker, CT 52 47: 1-2.

List of dēkū's (p. 106)

Marduk-muballit s. Nanna-mansum CT 48 37: 10-13 (Sd 1).

Nabium-nāšir s. Nūr-alīšu.

List of DUMU.É.DUB.BA's (p. 108-109)

Imgur-Sin, Iddin-Ea CT 48 108 left edge (Hamm 43).

Sin-iqīšam d u m u . é . [d u b . b a . a] š a P N s a n g a Waterman Bus. Doc. 50: 14-15 (Amd 6).

Ibbi-Ilabrat TCL I 154: 22 (Amd 24). Cf. CT 33 36: 7.

X-mušallim Waterman Bus. Doc. 48 rev. 8 (Amd 32).

Sin-imguranni CT 48 72 rev. 5 (Amd 30), CT 8 2b: 5 (Amd 34), PBS 8/2 225: 4 (Amd 33?).

Sin-šulūli PBS 8/2 225: 10 (Amd).

Qišti-Ea PBS 8/2 252 is dated Amš 12 (not 5). Cf. my footnote 11.

Awel-Nabium PBS 8/2 219: 3-4 (Amš 4).

Šumum-liši CT 45 59: 23 (Amš 10), CT 48 54 rev. 8 (Amš 12), Szlechter *Tablettes* 30 MAH 16551: 12 (Amš 13), TIM 5 48: 27.

Ibni-Marduk CT 48 40: 17 (Sd).

Warad-Marduk Finkelstein JNES 21 75 VAT 819: 21 (Sd 11), VAT 1176: 16 (Sd 13).

Taribu Pinches, PSBA 19 132: 12.
Sin-išmeanni PBS 7 98: 17.

Marduk-muballit TCL I 54: 23.
Gimil-Marduk in CT 8 14c: 3 is dubious. The copy offers PA GIŠ.BAN.

The *šāpir rēdi*, not mentioned by Mrs. Harris, belonged to the Military Organization. Refs. from Sippar texts are Finkelstein, AS 16 233: 4, Kraus, AbBr 1 93: 7, CT 45 37: 8, 11 (cf. Harris p. 77 note 121). Cf. Finkelstein, AS 16 237 note 8. Other refs.: VAS 16 48: 7, 103: 7; TIM 2 99: 16, 31; AbBr 3 38: 37; BIN 7 50: 18, 29; A.3148: 7 (unpubl.).

Judges appearing in Collegia in Litigations (p. 120-123)

Cf. in general Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, p. 25-45.

Ad page 120: Also CT 48 30 rev. 9-12 (Sumu-la-el), CT 48 14 rev. 10-12 (Sabium 14).

Ad page 121, CT 47 24/24a: cf. CT 48 3 rev. 14ff., 8 rev. 34-38.

Ad page 121 below: add Waterman Bus. Doc. 65 rev. 10-15 (Hamm).

Ad page 122 top: Sin-išmeanni, "judge of Babylon", precedes in CT 8 24b: 18.

Ad p. 122 middle: read perhaps Sin-imgur<anni>; cf. CT 47 67a Seal 2. As to Marduk-lamassašu (seal 7), he is Overseer of the *naditu*'s according to CT 47 47a seal 5 (add our ref. to Harris, p. 192).

Ad p. 122 middle: add Schorr VAB 5 No. 317: 31-33 (Sams 18), cf. Schorr's comments. Add CT 48 32: 1-3 (Ae k).

Ad page 122 below: the three individuals in VAS 8 71 are no judges, as CT 48 1: 10-14 shows.

Judges appearing in collegia in contexts other than litigations (p. 124-125)

Ad page 124 below, CT 45 55: many more judges are named in lines 17-23.

ibid., CT 45 54: add another Ilšu-ibni (rev. 19).

ibid., CT 8 3a: read Sin-išmeanni s. Ibni-Marduk and add Ipiq-A[nunnitum] s. Ibni-Šamaš (cf. Meissner BAP 42: 32-35, 107: 29-32).

Add to this group BE 6/1 119 i 1-5 (Ae), 116: 26-28 (Sd h).

Judges appearing in groups of two in various transactions (p. 125)

Add CT 47 69: 22-23 (69a rev. 5'), Šamaš-nāšir and Šamaš-bāni; CT 45 114: 7, 17, Warad-Sin and Warad-ili.

The first witnesses in BE 6/1 61 are a judge (26), the overseer of the Merchants Ipiq-ilišu (27), who was also a judge (Harris p. 73), and a judge (28).

The first witnesses of CT 2 25 (Hamm 10), Sin-eribam and Bur-Sin, may be well-known judges.

Single judges appearing in various transactions (p. 125-126)

Ad page 125 below: read Lipit-Sin s. Mār-Šamaš and add YOS 13 384: 5, 9.

Add to the list:

Sin-iddinam s. Nanna-mah
AbBr 2 65: 21 (Ae).

Riś-Šamaš AbBr 2 66: 6, 14 (Ae).
Sin-bēl-aplim CT 4 15b: 5 (Ae b).
Warad-ilišu s. Ibni-Šamaš CT 45 45: 17-18 (Amd), cf. CT 45 119 rev. 16 (no date).
[Sin-nād]in-šumi s. Ilšu-bāni CT 45 119 rev. 15.
Iddin-Ea TCL 18 105: 10; PBS 8/2 219: 2, 6 (Amš 4), 225: 3.
Gimil-Marduk s. Šilli-Šamaš Sollberger, Iraq 31, 1969, p. 90-92.
Awel-Sin s. Sin-bēl-aplim CT 6 6: 14, rev. 6 (Amš 11).
Ipqu-Annunītum CT 48 76: 10; RA 69 113: 4 (Amš 17).
Awel-Sin s. Ilšu-ibni CT 48 98: 3-4, 5 (Amš 17+d). Also Waterman Bus. Doc. 76: 3?
Kubburum AbBr 1 100: 16.

List of rābiš dajjāni (p. 129)

Sin-abušu *ra-bi-šum* CT 48 30: 33-34 (Sl).
Nabi-ilišu *ma š k i m d i* KUD CT 48 14 left edge (Sa 14).

List of diviners (p. 178)

The diviner *Kubburum*, attested in BM. 81424: 3 (dated -III Amd 15 according to a transliteration by A. L. Oppenheim; see Mrs. Harris p. 178), could be the father of the diviner *Ir-Nanna*, "son of Kubburum, the diviner", whose name occurs on a late copy of an Old Babylonian omen text (S. Smith, AAA 11, 1924, p. 113 BM. 116624; see most recently the discussion by Cl. Wilcke, RIA IV/6-7, 1975, p. 534-5).

Ibni-Marduk occurs also in TCL 18 102: 11, 27.

List of the Doorkeepers of the gate of the cloister (p. 194-196)

Amurru-bani CT 48 31 seal 2 (Sumu-la-el).
Bulalum CT 48 27 seal.
"Etel-anna-mansum" Read *ē . i d i m - a n . n a - m a . a n . s u m*.
Etel-pi-Nabium TIM 4 53: 23-4 (Amš 15).

Libūram, Sabium-ili and Eidim-anna-mansum in CT 45 92 iv (?) 2-5 may be doorkeepers. The same obtains for Aḫum-kinum and Eidim-anna-mansum in BE 6/2 72: 16-17, and for Eidim-anna-mansum, *š e š . b a . a n . t u k* 7) and Warassa, Waterman Bus. Doc. 52 rev. 5-7 (but see Harris p. 196 under "(Official) of the Gate of the Cloister").

Adad-iddinam, doorkeeper of the gate of the cloister (CT 47 66: 29; Sams. —), is the son of Marduk-tajjār (CT 47 45a: 12-13). This (?) Marduk-tajjār was the son of Bulalum (CT 47 45a seal 1). Bulalum may be the doorkeeper listed by Harris p. 194.

7) Read *š e š . b a . a n . t u k* in CT 47 26: 26, not "*š e š . k i . m a . a n . s u m* (= Nannatum)" (Harris p. 196 and note 219).

List of sanga's (p. 157-159)

King	Year	Senior Sanga	Junior Sanga	Text
Sl		L[ipit-Ištar]	—	CT 48 31: 16 (= CT 8 44a: 30)
Sa	—	Lipit-Ištar	—	CT 47 1: 13; CT 48 27: 17
Sa	—	Lipit-Ištar	Išar-Šamaš	Waterman Bus. Doc. 68 rev. 1-2
—	—	Lipit-Ištar	—	CT 6 26a rev. 4
AS	—	Lipit-Ištar (s. Šamaš-tappašu)	—	CT 48 59 rev. 6 and seal 6
AS	1	Lipit-Ištar	Šumuḫ-Sin	CT 8 29b: 15-16
AS	x	[...]	Šamuḫ-Sin	CT 45 11: 35
AS	—	Lipit-Ištar	Šamuḫ-Sin	CT 47 5: 18-19; MAH 16516: 16-17; TLB 1 218: 21-22, 220: 18-19
AS	—	Lipit-Ištar	Šumuḫ-Sin	CT 48 29 rev. 4-5; CT 45 12: 11-12; CT 8 29c: 19-20, 49a: 40-41
—	—	Warad-Sin	Šamuḫ-Sin	CT 47 78: 22
Sm	—	Warad-Sin	Šalim-pāliḫšu	CT 45 16 rev. 16; Waterman Bus. Doc. 34 rev. 8; TCL I 195: 15-16
Sm	—	Warad-Sin	Šalim-pāli [sic]	TCL I 68: 16-17
Sm	—	Warad-Sin	Šalim-pāliḫ-Šamaš (Šalim-pāliḫ-Marduk)	TCL I 69: 23-24 <i>ibid.</i> seal)
Sm	—	Warad-Sin	Šalim-pāliḫ-Marduk	CT 47 11: 22-23, 11a seal 14
Ha	2	Annum-pi-Aja	Etel-pi-Nabium	CT 47 21: 20-21
Ha	—	Annum-pi-Aja	Etel-pi-Nabium	CT 4 45c: 17-18; CT 6 22b: 10-11 (no date)
Ha	—	Annum-pi-Aja	Sin-bāni	CT 45 28 rev. 10-11
?	?	Annum-pi-[Aja]	Sin-b[āni]	Waterman Bus. Doc. 66 rev. 3-4
Note: The first witnesses in CT 47 44: 22-23 (Ha 34) and PBS 8/2 261: 15-16 (Ha) are Annum-pi-Aja s a n g a ʿu t u and Sin-bāni P A l u k u r ʿu t u.				
Ha	31	Annum-pi-Aja	Išme-Sin	VAS 9 42: 10-11
Ha	33	Annum-pi-Aja	—	CT 47 43: 19
Si	?	Annum-pi-[Aja]	Iš[me-Sin]	CT 8 46a: 35-36
—	—	Annum-pi-Aja	—	Waterman Bus. Doc. 80: 10(?)

Remark on Harris p. 157 note 11: *Lipit-Ištar*, senior sanga at the time of Sumu-la-ila, Sabium and Apil-Sin, is not the son of Šalim-pāliḫ-Šamaš, as seal impression 6 on CT 48 59 shows: he is son of Šamaš-tappašu (date: Apil-Sin —). Note that the first witness in CT 45 10 is Lipit-Ištar, the senior sanga (15), whereas the seventh witness is Lipit-Ištar, son of Šalim-pāliḫ-Šamaš (21-22; cf. TCL I 64: 19-20). Both texts date from the reign of Apil-Sin.

Other sanga's of Šamaš (p. 159):

1. *EN.ZU-ELLAT* (?) -ti (= Sin-tillatī), son of Sin-imitti, CT 47 7 seal 6, cf. CT 47 78 seal 7 and CT 8 23a: 19, according to R. Harris, OR NS 38, 1969, p. 140 on CT 47 7. His son appears to be Sin-šamuḫ. Time: Apil-Sin or earlier.

2. Gimil (??) -Sin, son of Lipit-Ištar, CT 45 33 seal (Sams. 9).

The sanga of Gula (p. 184)

Cf. Renger, ZA 59, 1969, p. 114 § 134. Warad-Ēgalmaḫ Szlechter, Tablettes p. 28-29 MAH 16387: 4-5 (cf. p. 30 MAH 16551: 10) (Amš 12).

The sanga of Adad (p. 185)

[...] -ilišu CT 45 28 rev. 23 (Hamm. —).
[...] -Adad Meissner BAP 7: 30 (Hamm. 39).

The sanga of Ikūnum (p. 185)

It may be desirable to recapitulate Harris, OR NS 38, 1969, p. 139:

A . a . b . a -ṭabum CT 47 7: 27 (AS).
Warad-Amurru CT 6 7b: 22 (AS), CT 45 9: 20 (AS), CT 47 9: 29 (Sm); cf. Waterman Bus. Doc. 40 rev. 3 (Sm).

Sin-šaduni CT 47 28: 19, seal 1 (Hamm. 6); CT 47 62: 5 (Sams. 9).

Some other sanga's

For the sanga of *Sarpanitum*, see Harris p. 147 note 28 (VAS 9 42, last seal impression). The sanga of *Ea* is Iddin-Ea according to Szlechter, Tablettes p. 29 MAH 16551: 2-3 (Ams 13).

The name of the god is missing in AbBr 1 15: 9 (Etel-pi-Nabium), CT 45 24: 23 (Sililum; Hamm. 26), Szlechter Tablettes p. 29 MAH 16387: 10 with the collation by Finkelstein, JCS 15, 1961, p. 131a (Warad-Ulmašitum; Ams 12), CT 6 36a: 11 (Puzur-Šamaš *ša-gu-um* é).

The Female Scribe (p. 197)

Inanna-ama-mu

CT 48 30 rev. 15, 31 rev. 9 (Sumu-la-el), CT 47 1: 22 (Sabi-um; courtesy Mr. Karel van Lerberghe).

Nin-azu Cf. CT 6 40c: 16.
Mana CT 48 52 rev. 10 (Hamm. 4), 56 left edge 2 (Sm ?).

The Supervisory Herdsman (p. 255)

Mrs. Harris notes that Iddatum follows his father's (Pušum) occupation as *nāqidum* (p. 255 with note 288). We may add that Warad-Kubi, *nāqidum*, is the son of Mār-Ištar (TCL 1 177: 3, cf. CT 45 56: 4), another *nāqidum* (CT 45 31: 16). Šelebum, son of Sin-iddinam, was a *nāqidum* (Goetze, JCS 2 107 No. 10 obv. i 14; cf. 75 No. 4: 6). Is his father Sin-iddinam the *nāqidum* of TLB 1 228: 11?

Note that all these men worked for Princess Iltani.

Alphabetically arranged List of Scribes (p. 296-302)

Aḫi-asat CT 8 4a: 29 (Sm).
Awel-Adad See Harris p. 130 and p. 285 note 118; add CT 47 65a: 47'.
Awel-Sin PBS 8/2 219: 5 (Ams 4).
Atlipum Waterman Bus. Doc. 25 rev. 15.
Babātum CT 48 114: 17 (Ha 13).
Enlil-nāšir CT 8 2a rev. 19 (Amd 34).
Erib-Sin CT 8 42b: 20.
"Ibbi-Sin" I see *Ibbi-Enlil* on the copies. Add JNES 21 75 VAT 1176: 4 (Sd 13). Cf. Harris p. 78-79.
Iddin-Ea CT 48 11 rev. 10 (Ha 42).
Ili-mati Meissner BAP 61: 15, Scheil Sippar 247: 11, Friedrich BA 5 498 No. 23: 21.
Ilšu-b[ani] s. Ḥadanšu-likšud YOS 13 p. 92 No. 419 (Ae x).
Imgur-Sin du[b.sar] s. Ilšu-abušu CT 8 17a: 22-23.
Imgur-Sin dub.sar di.KUD.meš See Harris p. 130.
Inbi-eršetim CT 2 25: 31 (Ha 10).
Ipiq-Aja CT 48 82: 21 (Ha 37).
Ipiq-Antum See Harris sub Ipiq-Annunī-tum.
Lipit-Inanna VAS 9 160: 17 (Ha 40).

Lú-Nin.šubur-ka

Cf. Harris p. 130 (dub.sar di.KUD.meš).
Mār-Amurru TLB 1 229: 37 (Si 3).
Nanna-mansum CT 48 66 rev. 5 (Amd 22), CT 45 50: 20 (Amd 24).

Riš-Šamaš <du b>.sar

Waterman Bus. Doc. 27 left edge (Sm 19).

Sin-abum CT 4 44b: 21 (Sm), CT 48 118 rev. 4 (Sm).

Sin-iqīšam AbBr 2 90: 5.

Sin-ludlul VAS 9 64: 18 (last witness).

Šamaš-nāšir JCS 11 78 rev. 10.

Šamaš-wedēku[s.] Sarriqum dub.sar CT 33 48a: 18-19 (Harris p. 302 sub Zarriqum).

Šu-ilišu dub.sar erén, CT 45 55: 32.

Šumum-līši CT 45 66: 21. See below, p. 153.

"Ušur-waladšu" Read Ū-šur-we-dam!

Ušur-wēdam CT 6 33a: 35 (Si 8), CT 47 66: 33 (Si).

UTU-KAM CT 4 42a: 45 (Sumu-la-el).

Utul-Ištar CT 45 66: 7 (no date), TIM 7 45: 5 (Ams 2), 30: 7, 13 (Ams 7). He was scribe from Amd 22 (CT 48 66: 4) till Ams 7 (TIM 7 30); see Kraus, *Edikt* p. 108-109 (1).

Warad-I[bari] BE 6/1 108: 19.

Ibbi-Enlil, Sin-iqīšam and Utul-Ištar are very high-ranking officials in the Late OB Period and not just scribes; see Harris p. 286-7 (and passim) and Stol, JCS 25, 1973, p. 222.

Utul-Ištar was scribe in Sippar from Amd 22 till Ams 7 (see above). Now, there was also a scribe Utul-Ištar, known from the Dilbat-Kish texts (between Amd 32 [YOS 13 281: 8] and Ams 1 [VAS 7 69: 9]).

In Sippar, Utul-Ištar is attested as *abi šābi* from Ams 12 on (Anbar, RA 69, 1975, 112 No. 2: 9). He may be identical with the Utul-Ištar *abi šābi* in the Bulatatum Archive, from Dilbat-Kish (JCS 25 226 Archive D), dated Ams 8.

With Anbar, RA 69 113 note on line 9, I assume that all these Utul-Ištars are one and the same person, officiating in Sippar and Dilbat-Kish as scribe (Amd 22-Ams 7) and, later on, as *abi šābi* (Ams 8-15). Cf. my footnote 9.

The two other high-ranking scribes, Ibbi-Enlil and Sin-iqīšam, are only known from the Sippar texts. They were in office at the same time, between Sd 4 and Sd 18.

Excursus: The title "scribe"

In JCS 25, 1973, p. 222-223, I made some remarks on the title "scribe".

Some scribes in the Sippar texts appear with the title *dumu.é.dub.ba.a* ("military scribe" according to Mrs. Harris; "secretary" according to my note in JCS 25 222) and *dub.sar* ("scribe"); see Harris p. 106.

Studying the careers of four such scribes: Awel-Sin⁸⁾, Ipiq-Aja, Sin-imaguranni⁹⁾ and Warad-Ibari¹⁰⁾, I could not detect a distinct pattern in the use of these two titles; see also Harris p. 106 note 122 (Ipiq-Aja).

Belānum, Iddin-Ea, Qīšti-Ea¹¹⁾, Sin-eribam and Sin-nādin-šumi (uncertain) are first *dub.sar* and later on *dumu.é.dub.ba.a* (contrast Šamaš-ibni in JCS 25 223!). In view of the paucity of the references we should not stress this sequence too much. However, the picture arising from the "careers" of these five men is confirmed by what we know of the scribe *Šumum-līši*, frequently attested in the Sippar texts:

Text	Year	Title
BE 6/2 116: 13	Amd 37	du[b.sar]
CT 4 14a: 21	Ams 3	dub.sar
BAP 3: 21	Ams 3	dub.sar
CT 8 3b: 33	Ams 3	dub.sar
BE 6/2 120: 12	Ams 4	[dub.sar]
BE 6/2 124: 15	Ams 6	dub.sar
BE 6/2 126 rev. 2	Ams 7 (1.IV)	dumu.é.dub.ba.a
PBS 8/2 241: 15	Ams 7 (12.V)	dub.sar
TCL 1 164: 29	Ams 9	dumu.<é>.dub.ba.a
CT 45 59: 23	Ams 10	dumu.é.dub.ba.a
CT 8 19b: 25	Ams 11	dumu.é!.dub.ba.a
MAH 16387: 10	Ams 12	dumu.<é>.[du]b.b[a].a
CT 48 54 rev. 8	Ams 12	dumu.é.dub.ba.a
BAP 74: 33	Ams 13	dumu.[é.dub.ba.a]
MAH 16551: 12	Ams 13	[dumu].é.[du]b.b[a.a](?)

Lastly, I would like to point out that *Ibni-Marduk* is *dumu.é.dub.ba.a* in BE 6/1 112: 26 (Sd c = 19) and CT 48 40: 17 (Sd ?); the same man seems to bear the rare title *um.mi.a* in CT 48 106 rev. 5 (Sd 4) (cf. JCS 25 222-3).

The GAL.UKKIN.NA erén ká é.gal (cf. Harris p. 47)

See in general my *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, chapter VII (p. 94 ff.). Three G.s are known to me:

⁸⁾ *Awel-Sin* is *dub.sar* in texts dated Amd 29, 32, 34, 35, Ams 1 and 4 (see Harris p. 297 with my addition, above); he is *dumu.é.dub.ba* in Amd 37 (BE 6/1 86: 15).

⁹⁾ *Sin-imaguranni* is *dumu.é.dub.ba.a* in texts dated Amd 30, 33?, 34; he is *dub.sar* in Amd 33 (PBS 8/2 214: 15). — Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen* p. 264 note 1, thinks that he is identical with S. *dumu.é.dub.ba.a* *ša Utul-Ištar* in the Dilbat text VAS 7 86: 2-3 (see Kraus, *Edikt* p. 102 note 5).

¹⁰⁾ Is *Warad-Ibari* *dumu.é.dub.ba.a*, son of Warad-Mamu, in BE 6/1 105: 11-12, identical with the last witness in this same text, Warad-Ibari *dub.sar*? In that case, *dub.sar* would (again) be the generic word for "scribe", see my remarks in JCS 25 222 and Hallo, JNES 31, 1972, p. 88 note 7 (Ur III).

¹¹⁾ Qīšti-Ea is not *dub.sar* in BE 6/1 101: 41 (so Harris p. 106 note 122; p. 300; cf. p. 322 note 70). I see on the copy

Sin-mušallim AbBr 2 66: 9, 17 (Ae), after Walther, *Gerichtswesen* p. 150.
Nabium-nāšir CT 45 55: 3-4 (Amd). Cf. Harris p. 47.

Nanna-mansum CT 8 19a: 15-16 (Ams 5)¹²⁾, ARN 169: 6-7 (Ams 16).

Are Nanna-mansum G. in the texts from Dilbat-Kish (YOS 13 525: 4, VAS 7 119: 3, dated Ams 16; BIN 7 211: 10, dated Ams 17) and our Nanna-mansum G. one and the same person?

It is quite interesting that two high officials, Utul-Ištar the scribe (*abi šābi* from Ams 8 on), see above, and

Nanna-mansum, the G., seem to have officiated in both Sippar and Dilbat-Kish. Were they given a larger province because of their personal qualities or their influence?

šāpir bitim

The references for *šāpir bitim* "the manager of the house" are scattered throughout the book; let me give them here in a list.

Written PA é

Kurūm s. Šamaš-tappašu VAS 8 53: 30 (= 52: 32) (Sm). Cf. Harris p. 162.
Nanna-lú-ti VAS 9 130: 17 (Hamm 35).
Marduk-muballit JCS 2 77 No. 6: 15 (Ae o). Cf. Harris p. 161-2.

IGI Qi-iš-ti-dē-a [dumu.é.dub.ba].a. Add this ref. to Harris p. 108 (Ams 15).

¹²⁾ CT 8 19a: 16 was misunderstood by Mrs. Harris, p. 113 note 160. See already Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, p. 150. I admit that this restoration and [dNanna-ma.an].sum! in line 15 are conjectural.

Written *ša-pir* é¹³)

Gāmilum TCL 1 151: 3 (Amd 30).
Ina-Esagil-zēru CT 6 6 rev. 11, 14 (Ams 11),
YOS 13 2: 3 (Ams 17).

This "manager of the house" is found in the temple (TCL 1 151: 17', cf. Harris p. 161 and Renger, ZA 58 p. 157 note 327), in the cloister (TCL 1 151: 16'), or in affluent households like that of Princess Itani.

Leiden, Summer 1976

M. STOL

Sur quelques publications récentes concernant la littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves et ses prolongements

On enregistre ces derniers temps, pour des raisons qui ne sont pas toujours d'ordre scientifique, la parution d'un véritable flot de publications concernant la littérature ottomane, post-ottomane et moderne des musulmans yougoslaves (lire ceux de Bosnie-Herzégovine en premier lieu). En attendant de pouvoir faire le point¹⁾ sur l'ensemble de ces nombreux textes de valeur très inégale, il me semble intéressant de signaler dès à présent les principaux d'entre eux, c'est à dire ceux qui font partie de la catégorie des "Études générales"²⁾.

La volumineuse anthologie présentée de façon intelligente par Alija Isaković³⁾ est une publication luxueuse destinée au grand public, mais qui peut être utile à maints égards aux spécialistes aussi. Elle contient des extraits de la poésie et de la prose populaire, la traduction en serbo-croate des oeuvres d'auteurs ayant écrit en turc, en arabe ou en persan, un choix de la littérature dite "*aljamiado*" (il s'agit de textes écrits en serbo-croate mais utilisant les caractères arabes), enfin des extraits de la littérature moderne et contemporaine. L'ouvrage se termine par une substantielle bibliographie chronologique (allant de 1883 à 1971 et contenant plus de treize cents titres), quelques notes, et un index d'auteurs dont les extraits sont précédés d'une notice biographique.

On voit facilement d'après ces quelques lignes l'importance d'une telle anthologie qui réunit de façon commode tant de textes dispersés et souvent difficilement accessibles, sans oublier les précieuses notices bibliographiques, les extraits de compte-rendus, et les très intéressantes pages introductives d'A.I. qui rehaussent in-

contestablement la valeur de cette utile publication⁴⁾.

La thèse de Muhsin Rizvić sur la création littéraire des écrivains musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine à l'époque de la domination austro-hongroise⁵⁾ (à qui l'on doit déjà plusieurs travaux importants sur ce sujet⁶⁾), est de loin l'étude la plus complète publiée jusqu'à présent dans ce domaine. On y trouvera une documentation importante et des analyses détaillées sur les auteurs, les courants littéraires et les diverses associations culturelles de cette époque (1878-1918), mais aussi un chapitre (t. I, p. 7-48) consacré à la période ottomane qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement ici.

On retiendra surtout dans ce dernier les pages suggestives sur la littérature populaire musulmane, et, encore plus peut-être, celles sur la littérature "*alhamijado*", car celle-ci n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une véritable analyse de ce genre, de la part d'un critique littéraire yougoslave moderne⁷⁾. Très précieux sont aussi les passages consacrés aux articles en serbo-croate, parus dans les journaux ottomans locaux, étant donné qu'il s'agit de publications pratiquement introuvables hors des bibliothèques de Sarajevo.

De moindre intérêt est par contre la partie sur la production littéraire en arabe, turc et persan, du fait que celle-ci n'a été accessible à M.R. qu'à travers des ouvrages généraux peu critiques⁸⁾ ou quelques rares traductions.

Mais tout cela n'est évidemment qu'une Introduction au véritable sujet de l'auteur, qui est d'analyser la période charnière de l'histoire culturelle des musulmans de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine, période qui a joué un si grand rôle dans l'évolution de la communauté musulmane de ces régions, et dont les traces sont encore très nettement visibles.

Et cette analyse me semble sérieuse, scrupuleuse et, pour tout dire, exemplaire. On peut naturellement, dans un ouvrage d'une telle ampleur, qui brasse tant de textes et touche à tant de domaines différents, ne pas être d'ac-

⁴⁾ Cela dit, on comprend mal pourquoi les éditeurs ont choisi, comme couverture d'une anthologie de la littérature des musulmans yougoslaves, un tissu persan du XVI^e siècle!

⁵⁾ Muhsin Rizvić, *Književno stvaranje muslimanskih pisaca u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba austro-ugarske vladavine*, Sarajevo, 1973, 2 vols. gr. in-8°, 316 p. + 306 p. (= Akad. Nauka i Umjetn. B. i H., Djela, Knjiga XLVI).

⁶⁾ Cf. par ex.: "Književna kritika u Bosanskoj Vili" (Die Kritik in der Zeitschrift "Bosanska Vila"), dans *Radovi Fil. Fak. u Sarajevu*, 2, 1964, p. 337-403 (avec un résumé en allemand); "Pokretanje Behara" (Some facts about publishing of "Behar"), dans *Radovi* ..., 4, 1966-67, p. 265-294 (avec un résumé en anglais); *Behar. Književnoistorijska monografija*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1971, 1 vol. in-8°, 635 p.

⁷⁾ Cf. Vladimir Ćorović und Scheich Seifuddin Kemura, *Serbokroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Muslims aus dem XVII., XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert*, Sarajevo, 1912, 1 vol. in-8°, XXVIII + 75 p. (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel, II, Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 2).

⁸⁾ Safvet-beg Bašagić, "Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti", dans *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*, XXIV, Sarajevo, 1912, p. 1-88 et 295-390 (également en tiré à part, avec une pagination différente, Sarajevo, 1912, 1 vol. gr. in-8°, 184 p.); Mehmed Handžić, *Književni rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, 1934, 1 vol. in-8°, 118 p. (paru auparavant avec une pagination différente sous le titre "Rad bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana na književnom polju", dans *Glasnik Islamskog Vjerskog Starješinstva*, I/1-3, 6-12; II/1-6, Beograd-Sarajevo, 1933-1934).

cord sur une opinion concernant tel auteur ou tel autre, sur certaines formulations, ou même, d'un point de vue plus général, sur l'optique de M.R. Il n'en reste pas moins que, quelles que puissent être nos remarques et critiques éventuelles, le livre de M.R. est appelé à devenir un instrument de travail indispensable à tous, autrement dit un "classique".

La publication de Smail Balić, *Culture bosniaque composante musulmane*⁹⁾, est d'un genre différent. C'est avant tout un ouvrage patriotique. Cela veut dire d'une part qu'il a été conçu sous l'impulsion du "patriotisme local" (ce qui exige toujours un engagement idéologique personnel, à base nationaliste) et d'autre part qu'il obéit à des réflexes qui n'ont souvent aucun rapport avec les règles scientifiques habituelles.

Cela dit, par la somme de travail et d'énergie employés, ainsi que par les résultats obtenus, l'ouvrage de S.B. est, sur plus d'un point, un livre respectable. L'auteur y a réuni, patiemment et avec amour, une documentation considérable, et le lecteur attentif y trouvera beaucoup de données de toutes sortes, ainsi que des renseignements que l'on chercherait vainement ailleurs. Il pourra donc consulter aisément (malgré quelques lacunes mineures que les spécialistes sauront combler, et certains gauchissements ou silences significatifs, qui sont monnaie courante dans ce genre d'ouvrages) des chapitres intéressants sur la littérature populaire; la belle-littérature et la littérature savante à l'époque ottomane, post-ottomane et contemporaine (signalons au passage les pages sur la littérature *aljamiado*); la musique et les arts populaires; l'architecture; les bibliothèques et les écoles locales, etc. Il pourra également utiliser des listes soigneusement établies: d'auteurs, de peintres, de calligraphes, d'acteurs de théâtre, d'hommes de science, de musiciens et de journalistes; celles des traductions des oeuvres d'auteurs bosniaques en langues européennes; et celles des journaux et des périodiques publiés par les musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine en Yougoslavie et à l'étranger, etc. Tout cela est complété par une riche bibliographie comportant plus de cinq cents titres, sans compter celle, également très fournie, figurant dans les notes au bas des pages. On y trouvera aussi deux index qui, quoique incomplets, faciliteront la consultation du livre.

On ne saurait demander, évidemment, à un ouvrage de synthèse qui touche à tant de domaines différents, d'être exhaustif, ni à son auteur de dominer avec la même aisance l'ensemble des disciplines abordées. C'est pourquoi il serait absurde de le chicaner sur tel ou tel point de détail ou sur telle référence omise. Il y a cependant, sur un plan plus général, une remarque qui s'impose: la situation des musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine est un problème d'une rare complexité, et d'autant plus ardu qu'il existe un grand nombre de clivages internes, dont certains sont "individuels" et d'autres du genre "collectif". Ignorer l'existence de ces clivages équivaut à ne rien pouvoir comprendre à la situation (ou plutôt aux

situations) des populations musulmanes de ces régions. Les passer sciemment sous silence, pour des raisons idéologiques et tactiques, c'est faire une oeuvre tendancieuse qui a de fortes chances de verser dans l'apologie. Il me semble que c'est justement le cas dans l'ouvrage qui nous intéresse ici.

Entendons-nous: je n'ai absolument rien à priori, ni pour, ni contre l'existence d'un fait culturel bosniaque-musulman à travers les siècles, tel que le conçoit l'auteur¹⁰⁾. Ce qui me gêne, par contre, c'est un certain nombre d'infléchissements et d'oublis qui vont toujours dans le même sens. En voici quelques exemples: Peut-on parler, dans un ouvrage qui porte le titre "Culture bosniaque-composante musulmane", de l'oeuvre de Fehim Bajraktarević, sans dire un mot sur son attitude envers la communauté dont il était issu¹¹⁾? Peut-on parler, à plusieurs reprises, de Meša Selimović, sans dire qu'il se considère personnellement comme un Serbe de descendance musulmane? Est-il sérieux de présenter (p. 132) un personnage aussi sinistre qu'Aḥmad-paša Ćazār (uniquement parce qu'il était de descendance bosniaque) comme un héros et un mécène? Est-il sérieux d'écrire (p. 153), au sujet d'un livre aussi scrupuleux que celui de Hajrudin Ćurić (sur la situation scolaire des musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine 1800-1878) que la "critique a rejeté certaines de ces appréciations", en invoquant uniquement les trois lignes parues dans *Glasnik Vrhovnog Islamskog Starješinstva* (XXXIV, 1971, p. 624), qui n'ont évidemment rien à voir avec une critique rationnelle, telle qu'elle se pratique dans le monde scientifique? On pourrait multiplier les exemples de ce genre.

En résumé: à condition de s'en servir avec esprit critique, l'ouvrage de S.B. peut apporter beaucoup au lecteur rompu aux problèmes que pose l'étude des musulmans yougoslaves. Il risque, par contre, de donner une image quelque peu déformée aux non-initiés.

La parution du livre inachevé de Hazim Šabanović sur la littérature des musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine écrite en "langues orientales"¹²⁾ pose plusieurs séries de problèmes. C'est un ouvrage posthume, édité par les soins de Ahmed S. Aličić, où l'on a regroupé l'ensemble des notes (parfois dans leur état "brut") rassemblées depuis un bon nombre d'années par le grand turcologue yougoslave récemment disparu. On y a ajouté quelques articles parus auparavant et se rapportant au même sujet. Le tout est précédé de quelques remarques du rédacteur, d'une Introduction (faite d'après quelques textes anté-

¹⁰⁾ Signalons au passage que l'optique de S.B. concernant le problème "national" (il faudrait mieux dire d'ailleurs "nationalitaire" — mais cela nous obligerait à de très longs développements) des "Bosniaques", des "musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine", et des "Musulmans" (avec majuscule) de Yougoslavie, diffère sensiblement de l'idéologie officielle yougoslave actuelle, sans que tout cela soit explicité en détails. (Cf. les remarques rapides de la p. 7, et p. 167 note 5.)

J'ai essayé de dire quelques mots à ce sujet à plusieurs reprises, et notamment dans la *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXXIX, 1971, p. 197-201; et dans *Studia Islamica*, XXXIX, 1974, p. 135-137.

¹¹⁾ A ce sujet cf. ma notice dans *Journal Asiatique*, CCLX/1-2, 1972, p. 178-181.

¹²⁾ Hazim Šabanović (Ahmed S. Aličić éd.), *Književnost Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine na orijentalnim jezicima* (Bibliobibliografija), Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1973, 1 vol. in-8°, 728 p. (Collection "Kulturno Nasljedje").

⁹⁾ Smail Balić, *Kultura Bošnjaka Muslimanska komponenta* (Die Kultur der Bosniaken. Die muslimische Komponente), Wien, A. Holzhausens NFG, 1973, gr. in-8°, 247 p. et XIII pl. (avec un résumé en allemand, p. 195-204).

¹³⁾ Correct Harris p. 163 note 52 accordingly.

¹⁾ Dans une étude conçue comme complément à mon article "La littérature ottomane des musulmans yougoslaves - Essai de bibliographie raisonnée", *Journal Asiatique* CCLIX/3-4, 1971, p. 309-376.

²⁾ Cf. les numéros 4bis-10 de l'article cité. Je laisse ainsi de côté (pour le moment) quelques articles et monographies dont l'importance est au moins aussi grande que celle de certains ouvrages dont il sera question ici.

³⁾ *Biserje, Izbor iz muslimanske književnosti*, Odabrao i priredio Alija Isaković, Zagreb, Stvarnost, 1972, 1 vol. gr. in-8°, XII + 528 p.

La partie bibliographique (p. 455-518) a paru également (précédée d'une brève et sympathique Introduction) dans la revue *Život*, XXI^e année, t. XL, fasc. 4-6, Sarajevo, 1972, p. 437-467 et 571-605.

rieurs de H.Š.), d'un tableau de transcription et d'une liste des sources utilisées. Suivent les textes plus ou moins développés concernant cent soixante deux auteurs, et finalement les courtes notices sur soixante-dix sept autres.

Il est évidemment très délicat de formuler des critiques à propos d'un ouvrage inachevé, publié après la mort de son auteur, mais il y a tout de même quelques remarques importantes à faire.

Je me suis expliqué déjà longuement ailleurs¹³⁾ sur les difficultés que pose le sujet (choix d'auteurs et leur "nationalité", dépouillements énormes que cela présuppose, impossibilité matérielle pour un seul homme d'analyser les ouvrages appartenant à des disciplines aussi éloignées les unes des autres et écrites dans des langues très différentes, etc.), ainsi que sur la manière dont ce travail de très longue haleine devrait être entrepris. Disons simplement que le livre de H.Š., avec ses grandes qualités et non moins grands défauts, confirme amplement mes conclusions. Car si celui-ci contient en effet une masse de renseignements extrêmement précieux et introuvables ailleurs (fruit de longs et fastidieux dépouillements effectués dans un certain nombre de bibliothèques de Turquie), il présente d'autre part de très grosses lacunes (non seulement sur le plan de l'information mais aussi sur celui du jugement et de l'optique générale) qui sont capables d'égarer un lecteur non averti. Ainsi par exemple trouve-t-on côte à côte de précieuses mises au point (comme celle concernant le poète Servī, p. 83-85), des textes qui ne sont que des résumés mal digérés des ouvrages de prédécesseurs (cf. par exemple la note sur Ayās, p. 47-48), ou alors des articles apparemment prêts pour la publication, mais dont les insuffisances nous laissent perplexes (cf. l'article sur 'Adnī, p. 39-43, qui ne tient compte ni de l'étude de M. C. Şehābeddin Tekindağ dans *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, t. 7, p. 183-188, ni des deux thèses qui lui ont été consacrées en Turquie!). On pourrait d'ailleurs facilement citer d'autres exemples de ce genre¹⁴⁾.

Cela dit, et contrairement à l'opinion de certains de mes collègues yougoslaves, je pense qu'il faut se féliciter très vivement de la parution rapide de cet ouvrage qui met à notre disposition une documentation considérable, appelée à rendre de grands services aux spécialistes de ces questions. Je dirais même plus: à condition de ne pas le considérer comme une "Histoire de la littérature ottomane de Bosnie-Herzégovine" (ce qu'il n'est manifestement pas), mais plutôt comme des *Matériaux* pour une future histoire de ce genre, le livre posthume de

H.Š. est un événement de premier ordre dans l'histoire de l'orientalisme yougoslave¹⁵⁾.

Clichy sous Bois,
novembre 1975

ALEXANDRE POPOVIC

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

ALGEMEEN

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Third Edition. Volume II. Part 2. *History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C.* Edited by I. E. S. EDWARDS F.B.A., The Late C. J. GADD, N. G. L. HAMMOND F.B.A., E. SOLLBERGER F.B.A. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1975 (8vo, XXIII + 1128 Seiten). Preis: £ 12.50.

Mit dem vorliegenden Werk bekommen wir den bis jetzt umfangreichsten Band der CAH¹⁾, wobei inhaltlich jedenfalls eine verhältnismässig kurze Zeitspanne durch ihn gedeckt wird: dieser Band wird der Geschichte der vorderasiatischen Sphäre (im breitesten Sinne des Wortes) während der letzten vier Jahrhunderte des II. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends gewidmet (ca. 1380-1000 v. Chr.). Wie bereits angedeutet, ist es nicht möglich, die geschichtliche Entwicklung des eigentlichen Vorderen Orients (einschliesslich Ägyptens), besonders im kulturellen und ökonomischen Bereiche, von der Geschichte des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes, in erster Reihe Griechenlands, zu trennen. Den Herausgebern ist es gelungen, dieses Ziel bei der Vorbereitung des vorliegenden Bandes strengstens zu verfolgen und die damit verbundene Bewältigung eines ungemein riesigen und verschiedenartigen Quellenmaterials mit Hilfe von gewissenhaften und unermüdlichen Spezialisten²⁾ zu erreichen. Durch diese Zielsetzung, die sich auf neue archäologische Funde und philologische und linguistische Forschungen stützt, hat die 3. Ausgabe der CAH ihren entsprechenden, ca. doppelt so grossen Umfang erreicht, wie wir bereits in unseren Bemerkungen zu früheren Bänden (siehe unten Anm. 1) näher dargelegt haben.

Den vorliegenden Band eröffnet der inzwischen leider verstorbene A. Goetze mit der Analyse des Verhältnisses

¹⁵⁾ Les ouvrages passés en revue concernent uniquement la production littéraire des musulmans de Bosnie-Herzégovine et laissent délibérément de côté celle des autres populations musulmanes de la Yougoslavie, sur laquelle nous sommes peu ou pas du tout renseignés. C'est pourquoi il faut saluer très chaleureusement le bref essai de Hasan Kalesi sur les auteurs de Kosovo ayant écrit en turc et en arabe ("Književnici sa Kosova koji su pisali na orijentalnim jezicima", in: *Kosovo nekad i danas*, Beograd, Nov.-izd. pred. Borba, 1973, p. 381-388).

Enfin, pour des raisons analogues, on attend avec intérêt la parution annoncée d'une étude de Ljubomir Cvijetić sur la production littéraire des Musulmans de Sandžak entre les deux guerres mondiales (1919-1941).

¹⁾ Zu den vorhergehenden Bänden der CAH siehe unsere Bemerkungen in *BiOr* 30, 3/4, 1973, S. 196-197, für den Band I, 1 und 2) und in *BiOr* 30, 5/6, 1973, S. 391 (für den Band II, 1).

²⁾ Bei sieben von diesen gelehrten Mitarbeitern handelt es sich dabei, zu unserem grössten Bedauern, um ihr posthumes Werk (W. F. Albright, Jaroslav Černý, O. Eissfeldt, C. W. Blegen, A. Goetze, R. Labat, R. de Vaux).

des hethitischen Reiches insbes. zu Syrien unter Suppiluliumaš im XVII. Kap. (S. 1-20) unter dem Titel „The Struggle for the Domination of Syria (1400-1300 B.C.)“. Mit der weiteren Entwicklung der hethitischen Macht befasst sich derselbe Vf. noch in zwei weiteren Kapiteln: Im Kap. XXIa (S. 117-129) spricht er unter dem Titel „Anatolia from Shuppiluliumash to the Egyptian War of Muwatallish“ über die Entwicklung Anatoliens seit Suppiluliuma bis zum von Muwatallish geführten Krieg mit Ägypten. — Die weitere Entwicklung Anatoliens — nach der Auflösung des Hethiterreiches um 1200 v. Chr. — erörtert sodann zunächst das XXX. Kapitel (S. 417-442) von R. D. Barnett, betitelt als „Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age“. Dabei erfahren wir auch über die Zusammenstösse von Muški, den neuen Bewohnern Anatoliens, mit den Assyriern seit dem 12. Jh. v. Chr.³⁾ Die eigentlichen Phrygier werden eingehend in sämtlichen Äusserungen ihrer Kultur (Kunst, Religion, Sprache) sowie nach den archäologischen Erforschungen dargestellt. — Im Kap. XXIV (S. 252-273) wird dann unter dem einfachen Titel „The Hittites and Syria (1300-1200 B.C.)“ besonders das wichtige Zeitalter von Hattušiliš⁴⁾ — und zwar breiter als nur enzyklopädisch — ebenfalls von A. Goetze dargeboten.

Auf Syrien kommt in Kap. XXIIb (S. 130-160) Margaret S. Drower unter dem Titel „Ugarit“ zurück, indem sie eine abgeschlossene Schilderung Ugarits im 14. und 13. Jh. v. Chr. sowie auch ein gediegenes Bild der kanaanäischen Religion und Literatur bietet. Dem syrischen Bereich widmet noch W. F. Albright das XXXIII. Kap. (S. 507-536) unter dem Titel „Syria, the Philistines and Phoenicia“, wo einerseits von den sg. See-Völkern⁵⁾ in Palästina und von dem kanaanäischen Wiedergeburt in Phönicien, andererseits von den syrisch-hethitischen Staaten sowie auch von dem Antritt der Aramäer die Rede ist.

Drei Kapitel gehören der assyrisch-babylonischen Sphäre: Im XVIII. Kap. (S. 21-48) schenkt C. J. Gadd unter dem Titel „Assyria and Babylon c. 1370-1300 B.C.“ eine höchst kritische Würdigung der politischen und sozialökonomischen Verhältnisse und der Kunst Mesopotamiens während des 14. Jhs.⁶⁾ Die anschliessende Entwicklung Assyriens im 13. Jh. behandelt im XXV. Kap. (S. 274-306) als „Assyrian Military Power 1300-1200 B.C.“ J. M. Munn-Rankin; neben den assyrischen Feldzügen (einschl. der Eroberung Babyloniens durch Tukulti-Ninurta I.) wird hier der Literatur, Architektur und Kunst schlechthin viel Raum gewidmet. Schliesslich nennen wir noch das XXXI. Kap. (S. 443-481), das D. J. Wiseman unter dem Titel „Assyria and Babylonia c. 1200-1000 B.C.“ der mesopotamischen Geschichte seit dem Ende der kassitischen Herrschaft bis zur Entstehung der sg. 8. Babylonischen Dynastie unter

Nabu-mukin-apli am Anfang des 10. Jhs. v. Chr. widmet. Zusätzlich berücksichtigt derselbe Vf. noch das Rechtsleben⁷⁾ und die Reichsverwaltung dieser Periode, daneben auch ihre Literatur, Religion und Kunst. Dieses Kapitel ist zweifellos eine gediegene Einführung in die wichtige Etappe der assyrischen Herrschaft unter den Sargoniden, der der künftigen Hauptband des CAH-Werkes (III.) reserviert wird⁸⁾.

Im XIX. Kap. (S. 49-97) meldet sich Ägypten mit seiner wichtigen Amarna-Periode in der Darstellung von C. Aldred unter dem Titel: „Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty“. Dabei werden ziemlich ausführlich Religion, Literatur und Kunst dieser Periode berücksichtigt⁹⁾. Die weitere geschichtliche Entwicklung Ägyptens bietet das XXIII. Kap. (S. 217-251) unter dem Titel „Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III“, das R. O. Faulkner, wiederum mit einem Schlussabschnitt über die zeitgenössische Religion, Kunst und Literatur (S. 247-251), in sehr übersichtlicher Weise geschrieben hat. Zum drittenmal erscheint Ägypten im XXXV. Kap. (S. 606-657), wo Jaroslav Černý die verwickelte Zeitspanne seit dem Tode von Ramesses III. bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie unter dem Titel „Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-first Dynasty“ im klaren Bild gemeistert hat.

Auch mit Palästina befassen sich drei Kapitel: XX. (S. 98-116) von W. F. Albright, bezeichnet als „The Amarna Letters from Palestine“¹⁰⁾; XXVI. mit dem Titel „Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty“, geteilt in zwei Abschnitte: a) The Exodus and Wanderings (S. 307-330) von O. Eissfeldt und b) Archaeological Evidence (S. 331-337) von H. J. Franken. Von O. Eissfeldt stammt ferner das XXXIV. Kap. (S. 537-605), betitelt als „The Hebrew Kingdom“¹¹⁾.

Mit der Darstellung der elamischen Geschichte (einschl. Religion, Architektur und Kunst) wurde der unlängst verstorbene französische Assyriologe René Labat betraut. Seine zwei Kapitel, XXIX. (S. 379-416)¹²⁾ und XXXII. (S. 482-506)¹³⁾, bieten ein erschöpfendes Bild von Elam im 16.-11. Jh. und berücksichtigen auch die Völker am westlichen Rande Persiens.

⁷⁾ Nur kurz erwähnt hier der Vf. die Sammlung der mittelassyrischen Gesetze, indem er von „a Series of Laws and Legal Decisions“ spricht, die eine lange Entwicklungstradition (seit Ašur-uballit) hinter sich hatte, bis Tiglat-pilešar I. die bestehenden Anordnungen kompilieren liess, um seiner „ultime authority“ Ausdruck zu geben (S. 475f.). Mit der kurzen Charakteristik der „mittelassyrischen Gesetze“ geriet Wiseman in die Auseinandersetzung mit G. Cardascia, worauf die Herausgeber aufmerksam machen (S. 476²⁾).

⁸⁾ Bereits vorangekündigt unter dem Titel „The Assyrian Empire“.

⁹⁾ Es ist zu bedauern, dass dem sg. Edikt von Horemheb, einem der wichtigsten aus allen erhaltenen Rechtsdenkmälern Ägyptens, nicht mehr Raum zugewiesen werden konnte.

¹⁰⁾ Darunter wird auch die politische Organisation Palästinas sowie auch sein demographisches und gesellschaftliches Bild während der Amarna-Zeit dargeboten.

¹¹⁾ Hier findet man auch wichtige Abschnitte: „The Literary Character of the Old Testament Historical Books“ und ferner: „The Traditional History and Modern Criticism“.

¹²⁾ Als „Elam c. 1600-1200 B.C.“.

¹³⁾ Als „Elam and Western Persia, c. 1200-1000 B.C.“.

¹³⁾ Cf. *ma Litt. Ott.*, p. 321-326.

¹⁴⁾ Les compte-rendus parus en Yougoslavie oscillent entre l'admiration béate et la virulence excessive à l'adresse de ... l'éditeur. Ils se gardent tous bien soigneusement de dire l'essentiel. A savoir que H.Š., qui a rendu, par ailleurs, des services énormes à l'orientalisme yougoslave, n'était pas un historien à proprement parler, mais un excellent spécialiste dans le domaine du déchiffrement, de la traduction et de l'édition des documents d'archives ottomans. Partant de là, le moins qu'on puisse dire, c'est que ni sa formation, ni sa culture islamologique générale ne le prédisposaient guère à entreprendre un ouvrage sur la *littérature* ottomane, dont l'étude, de toute façon, vu le nombre de *disciplines* à aborder, dépasse largement les capacités d'un seul homme.

Sur un autre point de la question, cf. *ma Litt. Ott.*, p. 323 note 50.

³⁾ Vgl. den II. Abschnitt: „The Newcomers and the Clash with Assyria“ (S. 420-426).

⁴⁾ Mit der lobenswerten Arbeitsweise, die dem Vf. eigen war, sind hier auch wichtige Passagen aus den Inschriften dieses Herrschers in der Übersetzung beigelegt.

⁵⁾ Diesen Völkern widmet sich R. D. Barnett im XXVIII. Kap. (S. 359-378) unter dem Titel „The Sea-Peoples“, wo er auch der Schlacht bei Kadesh seine Aufmerksamkeit schenkt.

⁶⁾ Ein Sonderabschnitt ist der mittelkassitischen Gesellschaft gewidmet.

Acht Kapitel, also ein Drittel ihrer Gesamtzahl, befassen sich noch mit weiteren Gebieten, deren Anteil bei der Gesamtkonzeption der „Ancient History“ immer mehr zum Ausdruck kommt. Im entsprechenden Ausmass wird der mykenische und ägäische Bereich behandelt: Neben dem letzten Abschnitt (c) des XXI. Kap. (S. 161-164), in dem C. W. Blegen unter dem Titel „Troy VII“ der 7. Schicht von Troia eine kurze Beschreibung (mit einer anschaulichen Planskizze) zugeordnet hat, befasst sich viel umfangreicher mit diesem Bereich vor allem das XXII. Kap. in seinen beiden Abschnitten: F. H. Stubbings spricht unter a) über die Verbreitung der mykenischen Zivilisation („The Expansion of the Mycenaean Civilization“, S. 165-187)¹⁴), während unter b) H. W. Catling der späten Bronzezeit von Zypern unter dem Titel „Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age“ seine Aufmerksamkeit schenkt (S. 188-216)¹⁵). Die weitere Entwicklung und das Verschwinden der mykenischen Zivilisation haben zum Gegenstand das XXVII. Kap. (S. 338-358) von F. H. Stubbings mit dem Titel „The Recession of Mycenaean Civilization“¹⁶) und das XXXVI. Kap., betitelt „The End of Mycenaean Civilization and the Dark Age“, mit zwei Abschnitten: Archäologisch wird die Schlussperiode sub a) von V. R. d'A. Desborough, „The Archaeological Background“ (S. 658-677) besprochen¹⁷), während der Abschnitt b) von N. G. L. Hammond, „The Literary Tradition for the Migration“ (S. 678-712) für die Besiedlung des künftigen Griechenlands äusserst lehrreich ist¹⁸).

Das weitere Kapitel, XXXVII (S. 713-772), weicht von der soeben angeschnittenen thematischen Anordnung ab. Wie sein Titel „The Western Mediterranean“ zeigt, bemühen sich hier beide Autoren — Glyn David und J. D. Evans — um die Darstellung der riesigen Sphäre des westlichen Mittelmeerraumes, wobei die Entwicklung der ersten Zivilisation Italiens, Siziliens, Maltas, Sardinien und Korsikas, Südfrankreichs, Spaniens und Portugals sowie auch Afrikas (westlich von Ägypten) kurz, jedoch sehr übersichtlich skizziert wird.

Erst nachher kehren alle übrigen Kapitel (XXXVIII-XXL) des Werkes wieder zum griechischen Bereich unter mehreren Gesichtspunkten zurück. Im XXXVIII. Kap. (S. 773-804) widmet sich J. M. Cook dem Fortgang der griechischen Wanderungen („Greek Settlement in Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor“)¹⁹). Das nächste Kapitel ist zweiteilig: im XXXIXa) behandelt John Chadwick unter dem Titel „The Prehistory of the Greek Lan-

guage“ in meisterhafter Kürze die älteste Entwicklungsstufe des Griechischen (S. 805-819)²⁰); im XXXIXb) untersucht G. S. Kirk die geschichtliche Unterlage der homerischen Gedichte: „The Homeric Poems as History“ (S. 820-850)²¹).

Im Kap. XL (S. 851-905) wird von W. K. Gunthrie ein ausführliches Bild der griechischen Religion und Mythologie geboten: „The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks“. Mit diesem Kapitel verabschieden wir uns jedenfalls noch nicht mit dem Alten Orient, denn — wie bereits bemerkt — soll der nächste Band (III.) die Bearbeitung des neuassyrischen Reiches bringen. So wird der Benutzer des vorliegenden Grundwerkes erst Gelegenheit haben, manche Wurzeln, Analogien und Vorlagen von zahlreichen Phänomenen des geistigen sowie auch des materiellen Lebens im Alten Orient, nicht zuletzt in Mesopotamien, zu erfassen; dies gilt, in nicht gerade geringem Masse, für die ersten griechischen kosmogonischen und theogonischen Mythen: der Vf. erwähnt zwar hier die religiöse Literatur der Babylonier, Hurriter und Hethiter (S. 892), ohne jedoch das Wesen dieser Angelegenheit näher darzubieten²²).

Ebenso wie bei den früheren Bänden des vorliegenden Werkes bildet auch in diesem Band einen beträchtlichen Teil die Bibliographie zu den einzelnen Kapiteln (S. 906-1036); sie wurde — im Vergleich mit jener bei den bisherigen Einzelfaszikeln — bei mehreren Kapiteln noch wesentlich ergänzt²³). Über die in Zitationen verwendeten Abkürzungen gilt immer noch jene Beantwortung weiter, die wir bereits in der Besprechung des CAH I 1/2 angeführt haben²⁴). Einen ebenfalls unentbehrlichen Bestandteil des Werkes bilden die Landkarten (im ganzen 16), die ein Index begleitet (S. 1046-1054)²⁵). Einen unersetzlichen Nachtrag bilden die

²⁰) Besonders bemerkenswert sind in diesem Rahmen die Ausführungen zu Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax und zum Vokabular des Griechischen, wo auf das mykenische Gegenstück hingewiesen wird (S. 807-810).

²¹) Dabei schenkt der Vf. viel Aufmerksamkeit der Bedeutung der mündlichen Überlieferung (vgl. sub II.: „The Iliad and Odyssey as Traditional Oral Poems“ oder sub VIII.: „The Oral Tradition in Ionia, and Later Transmission“).

²²) Ansonsten schreibt der Vf. im Abschnitt III. (S. 884-887) dieses Kapitels über die Schuld der griechischen Religion und Mythologie bei ihren minoischen und mykenischen Vorgängern.

²³) Vgl. die Addenda bei den Kap. XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XXXIX und XL.

²⁴) Vgl. BiOr 30, 3/4, 1973, S. 197 Anm. 1.

²⁵) Es ist zu bedauern, dass die grossen in diesem Bande der CAH behandelten politischen und kulturellen Bereiche ohne eine detaillierte Landkarte — in ähnlicher Weise wie diese für Palästina mitgeteilt wurde — begleitet sind. Dies gilt besonders von Ägypten (nur als ein Bestandteil in der Landkarte des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes enthalten, S. 183), aber auch von Babylonien, das überhaupt mit keiner Landkarte vertreten wird (auf der Landkarte Nr. 1 befinden sich nur Kleinasien und Nordmesopotamien — also praktisch nur Assyrien). Auch für das Reich Urartu, dem im Kap. XXV/II viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, fehlt eine kartographische Dokumentation schlechthin. Dasselbe gilt von Elam, dem ebenfalls die Kap. XXIX und XXXII. gewidmet sind. Eine Vermehrung von geographischen Angaben auf beiden bereits erwähnten Landkarten wäre wünschenswert ebenso wie eine konsequente Durchführung der einzelnen Bezeichnungen (wenn schon z.B. Euphrat zugleich akkadisch als Purattu angegeben wird, warum bleibt dann nur der Name Tigris?). Es wäre wohl empfehlenswert, wenn sich in den geplanten „Volumes of Plates“ auch eine Sektion von befriedigend ausgeführten Landkarten befinden könnte.

zweikolumnigen Indices: „Index to Maps“ (S. 1046-1054) und besonders der „General Index“ (S. 1055-1128). Ausserdem haben die Herausgeber lobenswerterweise noch drei Tabellen beigefügt: 1. Die Liste der Könige der 18.-21. Dynastie in Ägypten (S. 1038-1039), 2. Synchronistische Tafel des 14.-10. Jhs. v. Chr. für das Vorderasien (S. 1040-1043) und 3. jene für Kreta, ägäische Insel und das griechische Festland (S. 1044-1045).

Zusammenfassend soll unserer Freude Ausdruck gegeben werden, dass die bis jetzt herausgegebenen Bände der CAH eine ganz besondere Leistung auf dem Gebiete der Altertumsgeschichte darstellen: dank der gross angelegten internationalen Zusammenarbeit von hervorragend ausgewählten Spezialisten ist hier eine Synthese gelungen, die ohne jeden Zweifel die gesamte Bühne der vorderasiatischen und antiken Geschichte unter Berücksichtigung der neuesten Entdeckungen und Problemanalyse umfasst und erforscht. Ausserdem ist es den Herausgebern gelungen, in den Indizes eine Bibliographie für den bearbeiteten Stoff in jener Hülle und Fülle zusammenzutragen, die eine eingehende Erforschung der Problematik im einzelnen ermöglicht, wenn auch mit ihrer begreiflicherweise beschränkten Vollständigkeit gerechnet werden muss. Aus allen diesen Gründen gebührt den unermüdlichen Herausgebern der CAH unsere tiefe Dankbarkeit, verbunden mit den Wünschen nach einer möglichst raschen Fortschritt der kommenden Bände.

Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad),
September 1975

JOSEF KLÍMA

* *

Wilhelm EILERS, *Die Vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik*. Wiesbaden, F. Steiner, 1974 (8vo, 107 pp.) = Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abh. d. geistes- u. sozialwiss. Klasse, Jahrg. 1973 Nr. 10.

It is a pleasure to welcome Professor Eilers' interesting publication, an advocacy of a subject which has only very rarely been given any special, systematic treatment by Orientalists. The only comparable study that I can think of is the more restricted and unfinished work by J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden 1959). Discussing Eilers' publication, I have to restrict myself to some etymological observations within the domain of Semitic, and some methodical remarks in that connection.

Semitic words and "roots", what with their supposed biconsonantal bases and derivations from the same, play a preponderant part in Eilers' monograph; this can be seen not only in the text but also from the amount of space the respective entries take up in the carefully made Indices, pp. 74-107. Moreover, one out of the book's four sections (I, pp. 5-24), though interspersed with semasiological examples, is devoted to methodical considerations. To be sure, much material from other languages is dealt with throughout the book: Indo-European languages from German and English to Armenian and Hittite but chiefly of course Iranian in its several

periods, further some Turkish, a little Mongolian, and a few odd bits from elsewhere. All this considered, it is perhaps not too limited a procedure to take the work in review from the standpoint indicated just now. The Iranist for semasiological purposes, I gather, has at his disposal a rather firm body of diachronical knowledge which consists not merely of data in his own field of study but is shot through with and supported on the whole by the huge network of structures of the Indo-European languages at large, so that a good deal of etymology may be fairly well established in Iranian. About Altaic and Mongol I do not know; but certainly in Semitic we are not so privileged. It is 40 years or more since no less a linguist than A. Meillet pointed out the opacity of Semitic. Recent studies of Semitic and the so-called Afro-Asian or Semito-Hamitic languages have not yet brought clarification. We may agree with the harsh judgement of G. N. Schramm in *Current Trends in Linguistics* 6 (The Hague-Paris 1970) pp. 258-260, to the effect that there is still virtually no comparative reconstruction in Semitic. Putting this somewhat differently we may state, as it has indeed been said occasionally, that the Semitic languages have no etymology. In this situation Eilers' plea for the application of comparative semasiology, even for the heuristic value of the method, coming from one who is an Akkadianist as well as an Iranist, is interesting and courageous.

It is impossible in a few lines to do justice to the richness of Eilers' comparative semasiological observations. The author reports with a touch of rightful pride that in the course of some decades of language studies, from instinctive probings he gradually developed his comparative semasiological method for the verification and then the further finding of etymologies. In the first section of his book, he illustrates certain tendencies for analogical naming in various languages and among widely different peoples, by means of words for parts of the body such as 'eye=seeing', 'ear=hearing', by geographical names, and by loan translations such as 'milky way', 'meerscham', 'ostrich', and some other examples. Sketching the justification and the usefulness of a comparative semasiological method, he is aware of its possible pitfalls, and of its restrictions, p. 15: „Gesetze gleich den unbedingten Lautgesetzen sind das nicht; eher lässt sich in der Semasiologie von Tendenzen sprechen“, thus with a reference to the great but too skeptical Th. Nöldeke. The method could not be drawn very neatly, of course, in the mere 20 pages of Eilers' introductory section, and I think that he himself would be the last person to claim that he has provided a thorough analysis of it. Over against the time-honoured morphological comparison he wants now, p. 11, to compare the contents of words and their functions, in order to grasp „aus welchen Grundgedanken es zum Aufbau ihrer äusseren Erscheinungsform gekommen ist. Das bedeutet zugleich, dass wir im Vollbesitz der etymologischen Grundlagen sein müssen, die uns die vergleichende Morphologie beschafft hat, um auch bedeutungskundlich zu sicheren Gleichungen zu kommen“. This is explained by the example of 'ring=(ring-)finger; MHGerm. *fingerlin*, Russ. *persten'* & c.; but the author stops short, p. 12, of drawing a pertinent con-

¹⁴) Darunter wird der hochentwickelten Stufe der sozialökonomische Organisation der mykenischen Gesellschaft eine kurze, doch ganz gediegene Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt (S. 179-181).

¹⁵) In diesem Rahmen wird in dem Unterabschnitt „Literacy in the Late Cypriot Period“ in einem geeigneten Überblick die Entwicklung und der heutige Stand der Erforschung der sg. „Cypro-Minoan Script“ dargelegt (S. 205-209).

¹⁶) Im Rahmen dieses Kapitels wird verhältnismässig ausführlich über den troianischen Krieg gesprochen (S. 342-349).

¹⁷) Hier auch einige Worte über Kreta (S. 675-677).

¹⁸) Belegt sehr anschaulich mit der beigefügten Landkarte von Griechenland (S. 682).

¹⁹) Dabei werden alle drei Hauptwanderungen — aiolische, dorische und ionische — untersucht, wobei der letzteren besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, indem von der Gründung der ersten ionischen Städte noch im dunklen Zeitalter gesprochen wird (S. 786-804).

clusion with regard to Heb. & c. *ṭabba'at* 'ring', Heb. & c. *ešba* 'finger'. In this particular instance, no blame attaches to Eilers: that the Semitic languages have no etymology is concomitant to the fact that they have not yet been given a sound diachronical phonology, in spite of the great progress made by J. Cantineau and especially A. Martinet. Anyhow, the case of 'finger' and 'ring' together with the elusive etymology of Heb. & c. 'finger', shows to what extent the methodical semantic comparison and probing proposed by Eilers could be useful.

Semantic comparison is not a wholly new device, of course. For its systematic application, Eilers envisages two different aims, p. 22. The farther aim is lofty, general, of a philosophic nature: "... der induktive, an jedem Einzelfall erneut vollzogene Nachweis der Einheit des menschlichen Denkens, der Einheit des menschlichen Geistes und damit der Einheit des gesamten Menschengeschlechtes ...". We may well agree with Eilers that this is not like so much abstractive philosophical speculation or wishful thinking of humanitarian politicians, but exact empirical science. Even so in his introduction, rather than making light of the more dogmatic trends of Bloomfieldian structuralism that have no use even for 'meaning' in analysis, he might have linked up his method with the work of N. Chomsky and others, thereby the better to convince the skeptics among linguists and philologists. After all, the rise of conceptual thought and the development of culture have now been given a place in the phylogenetic development of mankind as it is understood by some students of comparative ethology; cf. K. Lorenz, *Die Rückseite des Spiegels. Versuch einer Naturgeschichte menschlichen Erkennens* (München-Zürich 1973), the respective chapters.

The more immediate and modest aim of a linguist working with comparative semasiology, Eilers defines as follows. "By applying the semasiological method it is possible to check the derivation of etymologies, to establish whether they are possible or even probable, or whether they must be refuted". And p. 23: "But verification is not the only use of the method. Once sufficient examples of a particular development have been established, the method enables us to advance and consider in that light other etymologies that remained hitherto unexplained; so that these may be found out not by morphological but by semantic comparison. We have found an heuristic method ...". In the sections II-IV, Eilers has arranged a fair collection of semasiological observations according to the various grades of probability as indicated in his definition. These pp. 24-70 make refreshing literature.

Not all the Semitic examples can stand the test of scrutiny, for reasons which I have, in the main, indicated in the foregoing. Semitic scholarship simply has not at its disposal the requisite etymology, nor even the necessary diachronical phonology. In a forthcoming publication, which partly offers a wholly new diachronical phonologic analysis and which partly is done on semasiological lines more or less like Eilers' work but in a sharply restricted scope, I hope to show how all this can be remedied to a large extent, even so that a con-

siderable body of Semitic etymology stemming from, let us say, neolithic conditions in Northern Syria will be established. Yet, many of Eilers' conclusions and proposals in Semitic are largely, though not wholly, correct. It may be remarked that he arbitrarily, for instance, chooses to dissect the triconsonantal root, now by taking C₁ as a "prefix" to a biconsonantal base (e.g., p. 42 'nose', '+NP; but the etymon is **kanub/p-*, as shown by a derived form Arab. *qanūf-* and by the more original Cushitic (Bilin) *qunbā* and similar forms), but then again by taking C₃ as a "suffix", in many other examples (concerning the latter procedure, cf. now the stricture of J. Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, London 1973, pp. 6f. But Kuryłowicz' view is too restricted. For instance, it can be shown that in **kaba/is-*, Arab. *qbs* &c., there is a sibilant suffixed, **kab-+S-*, which is a derivation older than, and by and large replaced by, the use of prefixal *S/S* of Semitic and also mostly "Semito-Hamitic", as in **s/šaka/ib-*). Again, Eilers' use of roots with medial *-h-* is arbitrary (e.g., p. 56 Heb. *qahal* & Arab. *qwl*. There is a true connection, and the semasiological explanation is largely correct. But there is not a change *w/h* medially, as assumed p. 46; it can be shown that */h/* was phonemised in "West Semitic" only and that one environment in which it arose, medially, was the "hollow" root, or at least certain forms like **kawal-* > **qāl-* > **qā'āl-* > **qahal-* 'assembly' in Hebrew). Another matter that is not sufficiently clarified in the present study, though Eilers refers (p. 21 and elsewhere) to his former discussion of it, is that of the *Begriffswurzel* or verbal root. Indeed, the *communis opinio* on the so-called "primitive nouns" of Semitic, like *ab-* 'father', *u/im(m)-* 'mother' &c., needs to be corrected; consistent etymological analysis will show them to have their place in the general system of triconsonantal roots. But it is questionable whether priority must be conceded to the verbal root. On this point I disagree with Eilers; I think that the same etymological analysis will make it probable that the development of the Semitic verb was denominal, on the whole.

That so many of Eilers' semasiological observations in Semitic, for all the lack of a reliable body of etymology and even of a trustworthy diachronical phonology, are yet largely correct, is not a miracle. Apart from his very skillful application of fine insight over an unusually wide range of linguistic scholarship, there is a different fact to be considered. The development of the Semitic languages (leaving out of account now the bouts of their spread over parts of Africa) is, in a comprehensive view, a colossal process of language formation, dialectalisation, innovations and their diffusion, convergence, the coalescence and welding of a few great culture languages and from them dialectalisation again but also some standardisation as we know from the case of Arabic — a colossal linguistic process extending in time through some nine millennia or so and (or: but, depending on the point of view we wish to take) in place (only) over the Fertile Crescent and its Syro-Arabian hinterland. Small wonder, in brief, that etymology in Semitic may prove to be a tricky business, double-bottomed as it were, when someone at last has

the courage to tackle it by means of systematic comparative semasiological considerations. V. Christian has shown that in Mehri and the other Modern South Arabian tongues there is an Aramaic layer over an ancient Semitic substratum connected with Akkadian (and Ethiopian Semitic, of course); I think it can be further shown that in Mehri &c. there is an intermediate layer of "West Semitic" that is to be connected, however vaguely, with what W. von Soden termed "Old Amorite", chiefly on account of the change *s (š) > h*. For etymological purposes, throughout the domain of Semitic, the situation is equally complicated, often even more so. Literary Arabic is not only the recipient and the adaptor system of a variety of dialect traits from, let us say, the Aramaic age of Semitic development; beneath that, Arabic can be shown to have preserved the full gamut of "West Semitic" innovations, phonological and otherwise, that stem from what may perhaps be called the Amorite age of Semitic development; beneath that again we can discern in Arabic as well as in all the other Semitic languages (and in "Semito-Hamitic"), like a firm deposit, the inheritance from some Ancient (pre-Akkadian) Semitic dialects.

This perspective of Semitic origins and development, which happens to coincide in the main with that proposed by I. Guidi in 1879, is gained by a systematic etymological study. The latter consists, as indicated above, of a novel diachronic phonological analysis, which hinges on the detection of a mutation, Proto-Semitic **k > Ancient Semitic* ' (Arab. *hamza*) (> Ø) next to PS **k > Heb., Arab. &c. q*; the mutation is obvious in such a connection as Heb. 'addir & Arab. *qadir-* 'powerful' and, once detected, serves to discover for many words throughout Semitic a relatively small number of etymons; for instance, PS **kabas-* 'surrounding fence or wall' > Akk. (!) *apsū(m)* 'surrounding sea' &c., Ugar. 'aps, Heb. 'epes 'end, extremity' next to Ass. *qab/psu* 'area (of town, country, temple)', Ugar. *qbs*, Heb. *qibbūš* 'assembly', Syr., Arab. *qaps/š-* 'cage, skeleton, wattle-work', and the denominal verb Arab. *qbs* 'to obtain fire, or learning, from (sth., someb.)', which latter is rather idyllic and could easily be mistaken for a superficial etymology; in the same huge etymological family there is the verb, also denominal, OAkk. *apāsum* (thus the sibilant) 'to make'. Another instance can be seen in PS **kawal-* 'community assembly', 'ring of men' > OAkk. *ālum* 'city' &c., *awilum* 'man' &c., Arab. 'awwalu 'first, foremost', Heb. 'awil 'stupid (fellow)' and other cognates with C₁ = ' < **k*, next to all-Semitic *qawl/qāl-* 'voice', Arab. *qwl* 'to speak', EpigrS. Arab. *qwl* (*qawwil-* or *qāwil-*), *qyl* 'leader, princeps', and further cognates with medial *-h-*, ref. Eilers p. 56 and a remark here above. Apart from these and more complicated phonological matters, the systematic etymological study which I am still referring to has for its other principal methodic ingredient the detection and analysis, largely semantic or perhaps even semasiological, of *Hegeworte* and words stemming from a primeval arboreal ecology, that was developed in masterly fashion by the Germanist J. Trier in his later, etymological studies.

On scholarly and more personal considerations alike,

it would not do to utilise that new etymological apparatus here in a discussion *en détail* of Eilers' semasiological results. That I have sketched it nonetheless is because it seems worthwhile to deal with one of his examples which he had already proposed in a previous publication, and which has gained a wide measure of acceptance without being critically tested, as far as I know. I am referring now to Eilers' etymology, pp. 54f. and *Die Welt des Orients* 2 (1957-8) pp. 322f., 465f., of 'silver' as 'breaking, (what is/can be) broken', so OAkk. *kaspum* 'silver, money', Heb. &c. *kesep* < Akk. *kasāpu(m)* 'to break', likewise Arab. *ḥidda-* 'silver' < Arab. *ḥdd* 'to break'. Cf. HAL³ s.v. *kesep*, and I. M. Diakonoff, "Problems of Root Structure in Proto-Semitic", *ArOr.* 38 (1970) pp. 453-480, on p. 454, n. 4. We have to do here with a perfect example of the sort of hoax played, in Semitic as elsewhere, by oddly converging patterns, a false etymology which it is better not to allow perpetuation in the dictionaries. This, not so much because it should be so very important to have the correct etymology of 'silver'; anyhow, the correction does not detract from the value of Eilers' semasiological observations. What matters is to redress some underlying faulty notions of structures and development in Semitic by which, necessarily, the semasiologist was led astray.

There is no "Common Semitic root" *ksp* 'to break'. Akk. *kasāpu(m)* 'to break, crumble into pieces' is secondary, though not isolated; its meaning must have been developed from a denominal verb *kasāpu(m)* 'to allot (ceremonially), to distribute' > 'to cut, serve out' food, presumably flesh meat at first, hence the attenuated meaning as preserved in Akkadian. Its most obvious cognates are Heb., Arab. *qsb* 'to cut', Arab. *qaššāb-* 'butcher', further Arab. *qdb* 'to cut'. An exact parallel can be seen in Heb., Arab., Syr. *qs/šm*, which also has the fundamental notion 'ceremonial allotment' though not of food but in divination by oracling and the casting of lots, Arab. *qism-* 'portion, share', secondarily only Arab. *qsm* 'to cut'. As to *ksp* again, it is not necessary here to enlarge upon the cognation of Heb. *kešep* (thus the sibilant) 'sorcery' and, though somewhat further off, the verb Heb. *ksp* 'to long for'; but it is important to point here to the ancient funeral rite, presumably communal and even Communion, which transpires from Akk. *kispu(m)* 'sacrifice for the dead', verb *kasāpu(m)*, of which in the dialect of Nuzi and elsewhere the more original form without sibilant metathesis, *kipsu*, is attested. This, with the support of many other cognates that cannot be indicated here, makes it safe to assume for Akk. *kasāpu(m)* 'to break, crumble into pieces' an origin in a *Hegewort* in J. Trier's sense of the term — AncSem. **kabas-* 'wall of a settlement', probably even 'sacred enclosure'.

Besides the Ancient Semitic dialect characterised by the mutation PS **k > ' (> Ø)*, the dialect from which stem such all-Semitic words like 'ab- 'father', 'u/im(m)- 'mother', *bayt-* 'house' and also, e.g., **amara* 'to observe, witness' > Akk. &c. 'to see', Arab. &c. 'to say' — besides the AncSem. 'dialect there was an AncSem. *k*-dialect which had PS **k (> q) > k*. The latter can be traced through a sizeable body of lexical items in Akkadian, Hebrew, Syriac, less so in Arabic, yet per-

haps rather clearly apparent in Ethiopian Semitic too, lexical items denoting functions of ritual, agricultural economy, ancient building techniques, and bespeaking on the whole, it would seem, an unsophisticated way of life in villages.

I will not presume to sketch here the more complicated elements of the etymological analysis; in matters phonologic, there is a clearing up of the wilderness of the sibilants and the interdental fricatives, which leads up to declaring Arab. *ḍ* a secondarily developed phoneme, and the explanation of the laryngeal and pharyngeal fricatives as being secondarily developed in "West Semitic", too: morphologically, there is an *etymological* explanation, *pace* Kurylowicz, of the *a > i* "apophony" as fundamental in the development of the Semitic verbal system, which seems to have been triggered off by the replacement of suffixal -S by prefixal S/š-, as mentioned above.

In brief, a derivation of OAkk. *šc. kaspum* 'silver, money' from Akk. *kasāpu(m)* 'to break, crumble into pieces' is unlikely. There is a more complicated etymological connection between *kaspum* and *kasāpu(m)*: both words derive ultimately from **kabas-*: in the semantic background of each of them there is the notion 'ring'. The verbs Akk. *kasāpu(m)* 'to break, crumble into pieces' < 'to cut (food)', *kasāpu(m)* 'to perform a sacrifice for the dead', also *kasāpu(m)* 'to bewitch' cf. Heb. *kešep* 'sorcery', and also EthSem. *ksb* 'to circumscribe', all bespeak a communal function in connection with the ceremonial 'ring' that was PS **kabas-* 'surrounding fence or wall'. OAkk. *kaspum* 'silver' was a decorative ('silver') ring, too: its derivation was something like PS **kabas-* > AncSem. **kabis-* 'ring' > **kasib/p-* '(silver) ring' > OAkk. *kaspum* 'silver; money'. Semantic parallels can yet be found in contemporary "Semito-Hamitic" languages, e.g., Cushitic (Beja), cf. L. Reinisch, *Wörterb. Bedaue-Spr.* p. 34, s.v. 'aštā with an astute reference to Ge'ez xuišād (I think that both words reflect **k/abis-t-* 'ring', but the matter is rather complicated).

The most remarkable case adduced by Eilers for 'silver' and 'breaking' is that of Arab. *fiḍḍa-* 'silver'. Briefly again, my position is this. Arab. *fiḍḍa-* continues PS **kabis-* (thus without sibilant metathesis) 'ring; bond'; cf. Arab. **qafis-* > *faqis-* '(iron) ring on plough (keeping together wooden parts)'; Arab. **fišš-* 'bond; seal' > *fišš-* 'stone on signet ring; joint &c.'; on Arab. *ḍ* < *š*, cf. my remark above. The only difficulty here is of a phonetic order: we have to suppose in the background of *fiḍḍa-* the influence of a *q*-dialect by which was caused the pharyngealisation of the sibilant *s > š (> ḍ)*, but also the loss of a some-time *C₁*, **k > ' > Ø* as in Ancient Semitic, or perhaps *q > ' > Ø* as in dialects of Modern Arabic. This matter, though not uncommon in our etymological analysis, is abstruse. Anyhow, Arab. *fiḍḍa-* 'silver' has no direct etymological relation at all to the verb Arab. *ḥḍḍ* 'to break', for which either a sometime *pqs/š* 'to break' (an onomatopoeic word?) or at best perhaps a form PS **pakas-* (?) can be supposed, the latter possibly in connection with Akk. *pās(t)u(m)*, Arab. *fa's-* 'axe', cf. Arab. *miḥqāš-* 'iron mace'. The 'breaking' here usually

refers to the breaking or bursting of small things like seeds, the crushing of drugs, also to the breaking out/forth of a liquid, namely the oozing of water in nature and from a wound on the skin; but in Hebrew there is *pšš* (pilpel &c.) referring to smashing and to the shattering of rock; variously elsewhere in some cognates there is the smashing of a human skull, but also the scattering of a party, and the release of a mortgage bond. Arab. *ḥḍḍ* means 'to break a seal'; possibly, there is some contamination (or even an etymological connection, but then *denominal*, if it is permitted to think of a 'seal' on a jar containing a liquid) between the verb and the 'ring, bond, seal' in the etymological background of *fiḍḍa-* 'silver' as indicated above. Anyhow, I submit that the noun cannot be derived from the verb. The phonetical identity between *fiḍḍa-* 'silver' and *ḥḍḍ* 'to break' is not the result of a simple etymological, certainly not of a deverbal connection. And, there is not a semiological parallel between Arab. *fiḍḍa-* and OAkk. *kaspum* 'silver'; but there is between them, in a final analysis, cognation by what may perhaps be called a "deep" etymological connection.

We see, then, that the accumulated riches of the Arabic lexicon and the complex diachronic phonology in its background are to be blamed, not our colleague to whom we are obliged for having valiantly provided us with a first introduction to the systematic study of the fascinating semantic relations in the wide field of Oriental languages, from which so much can still be learned.

I should like to congratulate Professor Eilers on this thoughtful book. My long-winded remarks will have made clear at least that it is a stimulating publication. And is not this the best complement that can be paid to an author? I hope that we may expect to have from him further works in his chosen line of study, works perhaps in which certain items which he has indicated somewhat sketchily so far, and on which etymological attempts had been made by others previously, can be given a more elaborate treatment?

Zoutelande, August 1975

L. O. SCHUMAN

* *

C. ZACCAGNINI, *Lo scambio dei doni nel vicino oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII*, Roma, Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del vicino oriente, 1973 (in-40, XII + 224 pp.) = *Oriens Antiqui* Collectio XI.

Depuis la dernière décennie, les sciences humaines se sont remises en question; il en résulte une rénovation fondamentale des concepts et des méthodes qu'utilisent les chercheurs. Zaccagnini, dans son ouvrage, se fait l'héritier de cet apport récent; voilà un courage qu'il convient de saluer et dont on ne saurait assez souhaiter d'émules. Cet auteur applique les méthodes et critères nouveaux au problème de l'échange des cadeaux, au niveau international, dans le Proche-Orient des XVe-XIIIe siècles; il expose ses résultats de manière très structurée, en choisissant de se placer sur un plan strictement socio-économique.

L'échange des cadeaux entre les cours orientales, à l'époque envisagée, constitue une pratique relativement bien documentée; elle dénote, comme bien d'autres aspects de la vie internationale de ce temps, le très haut degré atteint par la civilisation du Proche-Orient, quinze siècles avant notre ère.

La conclusion d'un mariage (pp. 12-31) constitue l'une des premières occasions d'un échange de cadeaux. L'auteur remarque fort bien que, faute d'éléments, nous ne pouvons décider si la pratique connubiale était régie, à cette époque, par l'échange restreint ou généralisé des épouses. Un mariage à échange restreint (Bentesina et la famille de Hattusil III, PDaK 9, R^o 14-27) ainsi que les mariages, pour nous, unilatéraux dont le contexte est clair (Sattiwaza, Huqqana, Mashuilluwa et les filles de Suppiluliuma I, PDaK 1, R^o 53-58, PDaK 2, R^o 21-68, StHR 6, § 1,2-§ 2,7, StHR 3, § 2,3-§ 3,17), encore conviendrait-il de le remarquer, sont liés au caractère d'exilé ou de réfugié de l'époux et à l'octroi, à celui-ci, d'une position publique dans l'Etat qui l'accueille; ces mariages, dès lors, relèvent d'un mécanisme beaucoup plus complexe, où l'aspect d'intégration sociale d'un étranger domine sinon efface l'aspect d'échange pur et simple de biens. De son côté, l'Égypte refuse de concéder une princesse à une cour étrangère; ceci la contraint à pratiquer un échange épouse — or (Zaccagnini, pp. 15-21), selon nous non par dédain envers les puissances étrangères mais en raison de la règle successorale dynastique égyptienne. Au passage, Zaccagnini souligne l'existence d'un équilibre entre dot et don nuptial (pp. 24-30); cependant, si l'on en juge par RS. 17.159 et RS. 17.355, l'épouse conserve la propriété de sa dot (capacité de jouissance) mais l'administration de celle-ci (capacité d'exercice) en revient, au moins en partie, à l'époux, ce qui ne nous paraît nullement incompatible avec les données des codes antérieurs, contrairement à ce que semble penser l'Auteur.

Une autre occasion d'échange de cadeaux est l'accession au trône d'un nouveau souverain (pp. 32-39), dons judicieusement qualifiés de symboliques par Zaccagnini et qui expriment essentiellement une réalité juridique: la reconnaissance internationale du nouveau gouvernant. Toutefois, il faut se méfier des lettres politiques: leur but est de convaincre et leur argumentation demeure souvent tendancieuse; il faut y lire entre les lignes. C'est pourquoi, doivent être écartées du lot des lettres "d'intronisation", EA 17, première lettre de Tusratta à Aménophis III, et EA 41, lettre de Suppiluliuma I à Aménophis IV (W3-n-r', Hôros chez Manéthon, cf. Fl. Josèphe, *Contre Apion*, I 96 et 232); ces lettres constituent des tentatives de rois bien en place (Tusratta le dit lui-même en EA 17, 11-18) pour renouer, en cours de règne, des relations diplomatiques antérieures rompues, dans le premier cas, par des troubles intérieurs, et dans le second cas, par le redressement politique du Mitanni; elles ne dérogent pas à la pratique normale des intronisations, elles répondent simplement à un mobile d'ordre tout différent. De même, RS. 17.247 (lettre de Pihawalwi à Ibiranu) constitue un sec rappel à l'ordre envers un gouvernant qui, depuis son accession, néglige les obligations de participer aux réunions au sommet et au financement de la société internationale

dont son pays est membre depuis les accords conclus par Niqmadu et Niqmepa, ses prédécesseurs; cette lettre répond, elle aussi, à un mobile tout différent de celui d'une lettre d'intronisation.

D'autres occasions d'échange de cadeaux sont la conclusion d'un traité d'alliance (pp. 40-42) ou la victoire sur l'ennemi (pp. 43-49). Zaccagnini, avec bon sens, cherche plus ici à clarifier les problèmes qu'à les résoudre. Car même le cas de RS. 17.340, 20-24 n'est pas certain: la remise du butin par les Hittites constitue la stricte application des accords militaires pris antérieurement avec l'Ugarit et les cadeaux de Niqmadu aux généraux relèvent plus de l'hospitalité ou de la participation à la société internationale hittite que de la congratulation de victoire.

Cette hospitalité, après les fêtes (p. 50), constitue l'une des occasions les plus fréquentes d'échange de cadeaux, surtout lors des mouvements de messagers (pp. 51-58); ces présents ne sont guère influencés par le statut social réciproque des puissances en cause.

Le mécanisme de l'échange des dons (pp. 59-94) relève d'éléments complexes et significatifs. Au commencement de la procédure d'échange (pp. 59-60), intervient un appel à la coutume (très rarement à la nouveauté), ce qui, en matière internationale, constitue un principe fondamental, même de nos jours, palliant à l'absence d'éléments de coercition. Cet appel à une certaine tradition dynastique ou nationale d'échange de cadeaux estompe fortement le caractère personnel que l'échange pourrait avoir: les sujets de l'échange ne deviennent plus que les représentants actuels (personnes morales) d'un ensemble qui les dépassent.

Les motifs invoqués pour l'échange de cadeaux (pp. 61-69) relèvent parfois de simples prétextes, comme le souligne Zaccagnini; s'y articule tout un processus de rectification d'équilibre entre les prestations des donateurs (pp. 70-77), soulignant le mode réaliste et non formaliste des relations internationales en ce temps. Ce processus postule l'évaluation des cadeaux (pp. 78-88); en celle-ci, les critères économiques constituent de loin les paramètres les plus importants et ils donnent lieu à une véritable procédure de vérification de la qualité et du titre des biens mobiliers donnés. L'échange annuel paraissait idéal à l'époque (pp. 89-94), trait psychologique que corrobore l'annuité des réunions au sommet des membres de la société internationale hittite.

Divers principes régissent l'échange des cadeaux (pp. 95-148). Le principe de réciprocité (au sens socio-économique et non juridique) constitue le premier d'entre eux. Il est régi, selon l'Auteur, par le souci d'une réponse adéquate à un don, en vertu d'un certain contexte historico-social de relations, et nullement par une exigence d'égalité mathématique qui se suffit à elle-même; cette optique se retrouve dans le droit international de ce temps et y formaliserait à nouveau le caractère volontariste et non formaliste des relations sociales et juridiques à cette époque.

Le principe de fraternité (pp. 108-116) joue aussi un grand rôle; mais, comme le souligne judicieusement Zaccagnini, les termes de parenté utilisés font appel à un principe intellectuel et non à un lien de sang. Au passage, Zaccagnini marque les rapports entre réciprocité

et commerce (pp. 117-124) ainsi qu'entre réciprocité et redistribution (pp. 125-133).

Le schéma temporel (pp. 139-148) part d'un passé souvent idéalisé et bon; ce qui souligne, comme le droit international le fait, que la norme sociale est la bonne relation des Etats et non l'hostilité. Le futur sera meilleur que le présent et il le sera pour l'éternité; ici aussi, nous retrouvons un élément clair en droit international: les relations, sociales ou juridiques, établies par les parties sont en principe indéfinies dans le temps; elles ne sont pas caduques à leur mort et, dès lors, ne leur sont pas personnelles.

L'articulation sociale (pp. 149-194), enfin, commence par une étude très fouillée de l'influence de la position sociale réciproque des donateurs (pp. 149-169). Le rang social, l'âge et la situation politique peuvent influencer sur les modalités d'échange, sans que ce soit systématique ni automatique; ici encore apparaît le caractère volontariste et non formaliste des relations sociales à cette époque. Le sexe, toutefois, paraît avoir un effet beaucoup plus net et constant, lié, selon nous, à une différence de conception entre le rôle social de l'homme et celui de la femme.

Les deux niveaux-types de biens échangés (pp. 170-178), biens de prestige et biens de subsistance, permet à l'Auteur de détailler une longue liste de biens; et la pertinence des cadeaux (pp. 179-188) met en évidence une adaptation de la nature des dons à la nature des occasions.

Enfin, en évoquant la personnalité des cadeaux (pp. 189-194), Zaccagnini met au point toute une série de faits et de conceptions sociales régissant l'échange à l'époque étudiée. Toutefois, l'Auteur n'opère pas toujours clairement la distinction entre personnalité morale (à laquelle s'adresse les cadeaux politiques échangés entre personnes morales de droit public, comme Zaccagnini l'avait par ailleurs mis en évidence) et personnalité physique (à laquelle s'adressent certains cadeaux d'hospitalité et les biens ressortissant au régime matrimonial); ceci risque d'induire en erreur le lecteur non averti et de pousser celui-ci à accuser faussement l'Auteur de contradiction interne.

L'ouvrage de Zaccagnini se termine par un appendice. Dans un bref et utile lexique (pp. 195-206) des principaux termes techniques accadiens utilisés par les chancelleries, l'auteur s'attache à faire ressortir l'essence des concepts-économiques que véhiculent ces termes; cette conception de la construction d'un lexique est indispensable à une saine élaboration d'un dictionnaire et il faut espérer qu'elle ne cessera de faire des adeptes. L'ouvrage se clôture par un excellent index des textes anciens traités (pp. 207-224).

Les quelques réserves que l'on pourrait faire à cette oeuvre concernent moins leur auteur que le poids de traditions erronées auxquelles celui-ci, malgré lui, contraint de se rattacher.

Ainsi en est-il des concepts socio-juridiques surannés de "seigneur" et "vassal" en matière internationale, concepts utilisés, il y a cinquante ans, faute de meilleurs critères disponibles, et que, par tradition irréflective, cer-

taines écoles actuelles maintiennent artificiellement, isolant ainsi l'orientalisme des autres sciences humaines. Zaccagnini doit se rattacher à cette tradition, mais les conclusions qu'il tire, en ce cas, sont caduques. Dans les Sociétés Internationales, comme l'est par exemple le groupement d'Etats autour du Hatti ou de l'Egypte, l'échange n'a pas pour équation: fidélité et tribut, d'une part, protection, d'autre part; il s'articule, comme pour les Sociétés Internationales actuelles et pour toute Société de droit privé, sur un double plan: le plan juridique d'équilibre *global* des engagements réciproques de tous les membres de cette société, et ceci n'est plus du ressort de la socio-économie; le plan économique de partage des frais de fonctionnement de la société, mais ceci n'est plus du ressort d'un échange de biens et de cadeaux. Dès lors, une grande partie de l'exposé de Zaccagnini sur la redistribution (pp. 125-133) et quelques autres éléments devraient être revus.

Ainsi aussi, une tradition a conduit à conférer aux termes de la racine *šlm* une signification de "don augural", alors que celle-ci n'est qu'une signification très très contextuelle et d'un emploi très restreint. Zaccagnini se voit contraint de s'y référer (p. 202), alors que le terme *šulmānu* désigne, en soi, dans sa signification usuelle "une chose de circonstance", c'est-à-dire, quand il s'agit de biens "un cadeau de circonstance, un cadeau de courtoisie" et dans sa signification économique "une gratification, un émolument honorifique". Il s'oppose très bien aux termes de la racine *qis* (Zaccagnini, p. 199) qui comportent la notion de base de "part" et impliquent l'idée d'une certaine règle de donation préexistante et nullement occasionnelle (règle coutumière pour l'hospitalité; accords militaires antérieurs pour le partage du butin; etc ...), mais ne concernent pas *ipso facto* des dons à caractère purement privés.

A titre subsidiaire, il convient de noter trois points de critique textuelle. En EA 100, 33 (Zaccagnini, p. 199), il importe sans doute de lire IGI-šu! (moins probablement *pall-na*) et non NII.BA comme le proposait Knudtzon (cf. EA 148, 26-27, et passim). En KUB III 67, Vs 8'-11' (Zaccagnini, p. 136), l'expression *libba-šu i-na arki ... nadānu* est un égyptianisme reproduisant littéralement l'ég. *rdi ib m-s3* ... et signifie simplement "s'inquiéter au sujet de ...". En PDaK 6, III 50-55 et 60-63 (Zaccagnini, p. 190), le terme *šulmānu* est utilisé dans un sens *juridique* très précis et désigne non pas un don mais une "proposition (d'accord)". Zaccagnini ne saurait dès lors utiliser ces trois passages aux fins que poursuivent ses recherches.

Ces réserves, toutefois, n'entâchent guère, à notre sens, le fond de ce livre. Nous estimons que cette étude claire, cohérente et structurée de Zaccagnini constitue une oeuvre fondamentale et ouvre un chapitre nouveau dans l'histoire de nos conceptions sur le monde oriental ancien. C'est un livre à lire et à relire.

Bruxelles, février 1976

G. KESTEMONT

* *

Frederick C. GAMST, *Peasants in Complex Society*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. No date (8vo, XV + 82 pp., 4 photographs) = Basic Anthropology Units. Price £st 1.15 (paperback).

Holt, Rinehart and Winston run two interrelated series of anthropological publications: a series Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology and descriptive by nature, the other one are the Basic Anthropology Units. They are referencebooks (for postgraduate - students) on "essential topics in the contemporary study of man". They postulate a generous level of theoretical and informational sophistication. The present book by Gamst treats an admirably concise (not fully 100 pages!) and comprehensive way of peasants, or about threequarter of the world population. He surveys the several theoretical issues relating to this many-faceted subject and the state of the discipline. The consequence is a condensed text with a high ratio of meaning to words. Certainly no easy reading but then the Unit's purpose is to refer not to introduce.

The author sets the tone of his survey when he observes that anthropology — notwithstanding its long-standing interest in peasant societies — has usually pursued its objectives by using too narrowly conceived frames of references (i.e. on the level of communities viewed in isolation) whereas the typical peasantry can only exist by the grace of an encompassing (and dominating) politico-economic system and thus falls short of attaining full understanding of peasant communities.

The remark requires the author to develop the larger theoretical model of "complex society" in which the — duly typified — peasantry finds its allotted place as an integrated, though inferior in political, social, economic and cultural respects, fundamental and indispensable sector.

The author obliquely attempts to delineate such key-terms as peasant (as contrasted to other "folk": townsmen (not "urbanites") pastoralists, complex society, state, elite, etc. The kind of "ideal type", definition of "complex society" — may provoke some criticism as it seems based on a simplified model of mediaeval European (English) society. However, the author may have a point here: his focus is on peasants not on complex as such. The main point is clearly made: Peasants are incomprehensible unless viewed in the larger contrast of urban-rural relationships, the structure of the nation-state, the powerhierarchy and the distinction of the great and little traditions as subsystems of a larger culture-system. The peasant community is the supporting basis of the non-agrarian elitist super-structure in power.

The study of peasants is complicated by the circumstance that peasant culture presents a historic phase in the global socio-cultural developmental process (and as such characterized by a low-level energy-harnessed technology) and therefore a non-static component of economic systems.

The synchronic structural analysis of contemporaneous complex society has therefore to be complemented by a diachronic one.

The latter leads the author first to an elucidation of the place of peasant technology ("low-level energy-harnessed") and then to a reconnaissance of the peasants' options for future development. Their possibilities are not unrestricted. As a class, peasants all over the world have to face increasing population pressure, increasing industrial competition for capital, land and other natural resources, energy to name only these. The only thing they have in abundance and can control themselves is human labour. This perspective would imply that although individual peasants might succeed in enlarging their production through capital investment and thus to increase their level of income and welfare, as a class they will suffer diminishing returns for their labour as the other factors of production become more costly.

However, to be a peasant is also a way of living and there are plenty of people who cannot transform or do not want to transform into farmers, non-agrarian workers, but cling to the simple life with its modest gains but with plenty of emotional rewards. Peasants will always be with us and there is every reason to keep on studying them. Gamst's book provides good guidance: provokingly.

January 1976

C. OP 'T LAND

* *

Gladys AMAD, *Le baiser rituel, un geste méconnu*. Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq, 1973 (in-8°, 125 pp., 77 ill. sur planches hors-texte).

Cet ouvrage concis, bien documenté et bien illustré, apporte de précieuses précisions et quelques importantes corrections à notre connaissance de l'histoire du geste religieux et de sa représentation. Partant d'une thèse de Langdon (Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian prayer, *JRAS* 1919, 531-556) qu'elle étaye, amplifie et prolonge à travers l'histoire de l'iconographie religieuse de l'Iran ancien jusqu'à la Rome païenne et chrétienne, l'auteur précise la nature initiale du geste d'*adoratio*, terme auquel il convient, dans beaucoup de textes antiques où il figure, de restituer le sens précis et exclusif de "vénération par le baiser rituel".

L'ouvrage de G. Neumann (*Gesten und Gebärden in der Griechischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1965) qui néglige d'éclaircir comme il se doit le geste important, objet de cette étude, est dûment critiqué. Notre auteur est en droit d'attendre, après son étude soignée, que "le geste du baiser cultuel tombe dans l'oubli" (p. 18) trouve, dans l'interprétation des monuments figurés anciens, la place qui lui revient et ne soit plus dorénavant confondu, par exemple, avec une quelconque acclamation, interprétation particulièrement difficile à défendre dans le cas des monuments chrétiens (p. 63). L'interprétation des monuments figurés est, on le sait, une entreprise souvent délicate. Grâce à l'établissement de séries comparables et surtout grâce à une lecture attentive des contextes, l'auteur parvient, dans la plupart des cas, à des résultats convaincants, même dans les cas les plus ambigus, comme celui de l'index pointé.

Particulièrement intéressante nous est apparue l'inter-

prétation des personnages qui accompagnent l'Orphée-David, publié par H. Stern, dans C.R. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres (janvier-mars 1970) p. 51, présentée cependant avec beaucoup de modestie, comme une simple suggestion aux spécialistes de l'art religieux de l'antiquité chrétienne. Nous souhaitons à cet ouvrage, muni d'une bonne bibliographie, l'audience qu'il mérite.

Nimègue, novembre 1974

E. M. J. M. CORNELIS

EGYPTOLOGIE

Ibrahim HILMY, *The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885 inclusive* (avec appendice complémentaire). A Bibliography, 2 vols., Londres, 1886-1888, Reproduction anastatique Kraus Reprint Ltd., Nendeln (Liechtenstein), 1966.

Quel est l'égyptologue en quête d'une référence ancienne ou rare qui n'ait été amené à recourir en dernier ressort à la bibliographie du Prince Ibrahim Hilmy? ¹⁾ Qu'il s'agisse de tel "incunable" de l'égyptologie, de telle publication de l'époque de Champollion tiré à peu d'exemplaires, de tel article enfoui dans l'une ou l'autre revue peu répandue de l'ancien ou du nouveau monde, de telle ancienne relation de voyage, ou même de tel fonds de manuscrits laissé au British Museum ou à la Bibliothèque Nationale par l'un ou l'autre pionnier de l'égyptologie, c'est dans l'ouvrage de Hilmy qu'il a des chances d'entrouver le signalement et parfois une brève analyse.

C'est ce qui explique que, actuellement encore, *The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan* (qui avait, dès son apparition, surclassé la *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* de H. Jolowicz, parue en 1858-1861) reste un des ouvrages de référence les plus indispensables pour tous ceux qui, à un titre quelconque, s'occupent du passé lointain ou plus proche de l'Egypte: notons, en effet, que l'auteur de cette précieuse compilation n'a pas limité son enquête à la littérature proprement égyptologique, mais a voulu y intégrer tout ce qui avait été imprimé ou écrit sur l'Egypte et les pays qui en dépendent à toutes les époques de l'histoire.

Comme c'est l'ordre alphabétique des noms d'auteurs (et des titres d'ouvrages, dans le cas des écrits anonymes) qui a été adopté par l'auteur, nous voyons voisiner dans les colonnes de sa *Literature*, des livres et des manuscrits de nature et d'époque fort diverses, des titres de papyrus d'époque pharaonique (en transcription phonétique approximative) et des intitulés d'ouvrages en arabe qui alternent souvent avec des titres de livres et d'articles plus modernes et de nature plus strictement égyptologique. Ce bariolage de matières, de langues et d'écritures qui déconcerte au premier contact, ne constitue cependant pas une gêne trop grande pour le lecteur

¹⁾ Le prince Ibrahim Hilmy (1860-1927) était le fils du khédive Ismail et arrière-petit fils de Mehemet-Ali. Exilé de son pays par le khédive Tewfik, son frère, et réfugié en Angleterre, il occupa ses loisirs à composer l'ouvrage dont il est question ici. A sa mort en 1927, ses héritiers eurent le beau geste d'offrir sa très riche bibliothèque à l'université égyptienne du Caire (CdE III, 1927-28, p. 209).

qui voit transparaître malgré tout le classement alphabétique par noms d'auteurs qui sert de fil conducteur.

Nous n'avons pu savoir quel avait été le tirage de l'édition originale; toujours est-il que l'ouvrage était devenu assez rare et que les bibliothèques de création récente ne parvenaient qu'à grand-peine à s'en procurer des exemplaires. Nous estimons donc que la maison d'édition Kraus a été heureusement inspirée en faisant paraître une reproduction anastatique de l'ouvrage devenu presque introuvable.

Les rééditeurs ont tenu à garder à la *Literature of Egypt and the Soudan* sa présentation et son format, reprenant même pour la couverture la couleur flamboyante que présentait l'édition originale.

Dorénavant tous ceux qui voudront avoir à leur disposition cette source toujours utile de références, auront la possibilité de l'acquérir à des conditions somme toute assez abordables.

Bruxelles, mars 1976

BAUDOUIN VAN DE WALLE

* *

Alexandre PIANKOFF, *The Wandering of the Soul*. Texts translated with commentary. Completed and prepared for publication by Helen JACQUET-GORDON. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1974 (1 vol. in-4^o, XVIII-124 pages; 47 planches et 1 dépliant hors-texte) = Bollingen Series XL. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, vol. 6. Prix: U.S. \$ 25. - ISBN 0-691-09806-9.

Lorsque la mort emporta brutalement, en 1966, Al. Piankoff, il laissa derrière lui nombre de manuscrits, dont l'état d'achèvement était plus ou moins avancé. Le sixième et dernier volume de la luxueuse collection, consacrée aux textes égyptiens par la Fondation Bollingen, livre au public la substance de l'un des plus élaborés d'entre ces dossiers. Avant de remettre l'ouvrage aux presses, il s'est avéré nécessaire d'y apporter des compléments, des explications et des arrangements matériels. Ceux-ci sont dus à Mme H. Jacquet-Gordon qui, ayant rédigé l'introduction, s'est efforcée, sans toujours y parvenir complètement, de mettre en ordre puis d'organiser sous une forme cohérente l'assemblage de textes disparates que l'A. avait réunis.

Sous le titre vague de *Wandering of the Soul* (Migrations ou Tribulations de l'Âme), il semble que l'intention de Piankoff ("General Introduction", p. XVII-XVIII) ait été de montrer, à travers certains documents religieux spéciaux, le trajet que, selon les conceptions funéraires de l'Egypte Ancienne, l'âme (*baï*) des défunts devait parcourir pour aboutir à la béatitude céleste du paradis solaire. Pour sa démonstration, il prenait donc pour base les éléments textuels connus pour contenir une description de l'itinéraire dans l'Autre-monde, de ses étapes et dangers ainsi que des moyens de les franchir ou de les surmonter.

Le choix étant limité, l'A. avait retenu trois documents d'époques différentes. Le premier, indiquant les voies à suivre sous la forme d'un "plan" commenté et illustré, est le "Livre des Deux Chemins" (Book of Two Ways)

copié sur certains sarcophages du Moyen-Empire. Les deux autres, censés fournir une aide et un guide à l'âme dans les endroits difficiles du périple souterrain, ne sont attestés qu'au Nouvel Empire ou postérieurement. L'un d'entre eux n'est autre que la composition connue comme formant les chapitres 168 A et B du *Livre des Morts* et désignée ici sous le titre ambigu de "Qererts"; le dernier est une version incomplète d'une sorte de "règle du jeu" à contenu mythique, relative au jeu de *senet*, utilisant le damier égyptien. Tout naturellement, l'ouvrage se trouve divisé en trois parties; chacune est précédée d'une bibliographie et d'une brève introduction explicative.

La *Première Partie* (p. 2-37 et pl. 1-9), après un court exposé sur la conception égyptienne en matière de destinée des morts et qui s'attache à remonter aux origines, à l'aide de quelques extraits traduits de textes d'ailleurs bien choisis, livre une traduction sans commentaire et pratiquement sans annotations du contenu très difficile du "Livre des Deux Chemins". Pour l'A., il semble que cette traduction se soit justifiée d'elle-même, sans qu'il soit besoin d'y insister plus avant. Car, partant du fait, exact d'ailleurs et en accord avec l'opinion de L. Lesko, à qui l'on doit une traduction de ce même "livre" parue avant 1974¹⁾, que la composition est un *guide* du voyage des âmes dans l'Au-Delà, il s'en tient à la lettre du texte. Celui-ci trouve son origine dans les *Textes des Pyramides* et la description qui y est faite du périple solaire que le roi accomplit en compagnie du soleil, s'associant étroitement à son devenir et à sa renaissance quotidienne²⁾. A partir du début du Moyen Empire, ce périple est réglé par un itinéraire défini, tant textuellement que visuellement, par l'établissement d'une "carte" commentée et légendée (bonnes illustrations, associant le dessin au trait et la photographie aux pl. 1-9, d'après les sarcophages d'El-Bersheh, Caire C.G. 28083 = De Buck B 1 C, et Berlin 14385 = B 1 Be), publiée dans le corpus des C.T.

Véritable "carte" mythique, on peut y trouver un balisage des routes, des points délicats à franchir, des obstacles à éviter, avec indication des palliatifs ou des procédés à employer, en l'occurrence la connaissance de maître-mots ou de formules adéquates, qui relèvent surtout de la magie par le verbe. Le principe du "Je connais vos noms" y règne et constitue un infailible viatique.

C'est donc l'ensemble de ces indications topographiques et de ces formules qui est traduit; mais, étant donné l'esprit selon lequel était conçue la collection des "Bollingen Series", l'A. n'a pu faire figurer les variantes, en indiquant toutefois (p. 12, n. 21) qu'il a établi sa traduction à partir des meilleurs éléments de toutes les versions parallèles. Il n'a pas, non plus, recherché un ordre particulier dans le déroulement des étapes de l'itinéraire, suivant seulement pas à pas l'enchaînement des

¹⁾ L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways* (Near Eastern Studies 17, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1972), p. 134 sq. Voir, entre autres, les C.R. sur cet ouvrage donnés par P. Baret, *Chr. d'Eg.* XLVIII/96 (1973), 284-287 et D. Müller, *JARCE* XI (1974), 95.

²⁾ Les vues de P. Baret, *Rd'E* 21 (1969), 7-17, sur l'interprétation possible de la composition ont été contrées par L. Lesko, o.c., p. 136 et n. 2, mais sans que les arguments opposés puissent emporter totalement la conviction.

spells, tel qu'il est donné dans l'édition de De Buck. Cette remarque, toutefois, n'est nullement un reproche.

On sait que le "Livre des Deux Chemins" comporte, en gros, deux versions fondamentales: une "longue" (A et B, De Buck) et une "abrégée" (C). Et même si la réorganisation en sections adoptée par L. Lesko a pu être discutée³⁾, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'elle avait l'avantage de faire ressortir ce qui appartenait à chaque type défini, ainsi que de donner la totalité des éléments constitutifs de la composition. Or, et c'est là que l'entreprise d'Alexandre Piankoff soulève la critique, le choix de ses exemplaires de base n'a pas été heureux, de sorte que sa traduction ne donne qu'une vue partielle du "livre". Pour rendre compte de l'ensemble de la version "longue" (A-B), il faut bien partir, comme l'a fait le traducteur, de l'exemplaire Caire 28083 (B 1 C), mais en le combinant avec le texte de Caire 28085 (B 3 C)⁴⁾. Or, seule la version de B 1 C a été suivie!

Quant à la version "abrégée" (C), copiée sur le fond du sarcophage Berlin 14385 (B 1 Be), qui, pourtant, si l'on suit l'interprétation de L. Lesko, fournit un élément important de l'itinéraire souterrain⁵⁾, elle n'intervient à aucun moment dans la traduction et le document ne semble être présenté que pour les besoins de l'illustration (p. 12 et pl. 8-9).

Du fait que l'A. a suivi un exemplaire unique du "plan" et des légendes découle, pour le lecteur quelque peu averti, un inconvénient majeur. Il ne dispose que des cent-une formules du "livre" proprement dit (C.T. VII, spells 1029 à 1130 + 1030), alors que pour avoir sous les yeux la totalité des trois parties essentielles du "Livre des Deux Chemins", il lui aurait fallu pouvoir également lire la traduction des spells 1132 à 1185. Plus encore: comme le sarcophage Caire 28083 (B 1 C) fait partie d'un groupe comportant un certain nombre de "formules" étrangères à la composition des "Deux Chemins"⁶⁾, ce sont leurs traductions qui paraissent à la suite (p. 36-37), au lieu et place des paragraphes de clôture de la version "longue" (A-B), que l'on était en droit d'attendre à cette place!

Tout en le regrettant vivement, il est cependant inutile d'épiloguer sur ce fait. Il trouve probablement son origine dans le choix limité des illustrations, et, peut-être, dans un souci louable de ne pas alourdir les difficultés que présentent, pour un lecteur profane, à la fois l'abord de tels textes et les fastidieuses comparaisons de versions. Paradoxalement, pourtant, on verra que ce procédé a été mis en oeuvre tout au long du chapitre consacré aux *Qererts*.

Nous laisserons à d'autres, beaucoup mieux qualifiés que nous le soin de faire la critique philologique de ces textes d'une extrême difficulté. D'ailleurs un jugement impartial en ce domaine est des plus malaisés, dès lors que la traduction proposée ne se fonde pratiquement que sur une version "rétablie", sans qu'un appareil critique ait été adjoind, faisant la part exacte de ce qui appartient

³⁾ P. Baret, *Chr. d'Eg.* 96, 285-286.

⁴⁾ P. Baret, *Rd'E* 21, 7; L. Lesko, o.c., p. 134.

⁵⁾ L. Lesko, o.c., p. 25-39 = C.T. VII, spells 1132-1149.

⁶⁾ C'est à dire les formules autres que les *bottom texts* proprement dits, donnés d'ailleurs dans l'ordre de la liste dressée par De Buck, C.T. VII, p. XVII (lettres A à E).

à l'une ou l'autre des versions. Nous nous bornerons donc à constater que, dans son rendu, la traduction d'Al. Piankoff est agréable à lire et que, le plus souvent, elle semble témoigner d'une bonne intelligence du texte égyptien. Elle se rapproche en effet beaucoup sur certains points⁷⁾ des améliorations à la traduction de L. Lesko, proposées, entre autres, par P. Barguet et D. Müller.

La *Seconde Partie* (p. 40-114 et pl. 10-42) traite d'une très curieuse composition à qui l'A. a donné le nom de *Qererts*, mais qu'il faudrait bien se garder de confondre avec le "Livre des *Qererts*" (ou des *Cavernes*) des tombes royales du Nouvel Empire. Bien qu'on en trouve les premières attestations vers cette époque (Aménophis II, pour le témoin le plus ancien), cette composition s'est perpétuée beaucoup plus longtemps que le "livre des *Cavernes*", jusque pendant la période ptolémaïque. Ce, surtout grâce au *Livre des Morts*, où elle fut insérée très tôt. On connaît en effet mieux ce texte des *Qererts*, dans ses deux versions, sous l'appellation de chapitres 168 A et B qui lui fut donnée par Naville.

L'introduction de Piankoff (p. 41-44) se limite à quelques remarques essentielles sur la signification du mot *krty.w* "caverne" dans le domaine mythologique et à signaler la présence, dans presque tous les ouvrages funéraires, de mentions de ces "cavernes". Ce sont des éléments constitutifs des espaces souterrains, parfois topographiques, étroitement liés à certains domaines du parcours nocturne du soleil. Au nombre de douze dans les exemplaires complets, ces *krty.w* sont gardées par des divinités spécifiques. Les textes qui les décrivent tranchent, comme le souligne le traducteur, sur les formules que l'on rencontre habituellement dans le *Livre des Morts*. C'est donc à juste titre qu'il considère que les *Qererts* doivent être envisagées comme pouvant être traitées hors du contexte où on les intègre depuis Naville.

Une liste développée, mais, on le verra, incomplète des sources, classées selon les versions A et B du *Totenbuch*, fait suite aux remarques précédentes. Deux de ces sources sont monumentales: l'exemplaire de l'Osiréon d'Abydos et celui, très partiel, du tombeau de Pétoisiris; sept autres ont été copiées et illustrées sur papyrus, et ont, en majeure partie été utilisées par Naville pour son édition du *Livre des Morts*⁸⁾. Une dernière, enfin, est la statue Caire C. G. 624 de *Min-nht*, où un très bref extrait a été gravé. Tout ce corpus est traduit et commenté ensuite, pratiquement *in-extenso*. Ceci est dû à l'infinité des variantes, des changements de position des vignettes et des légendes, des interférences ou erreurs diverses que l'utilisation à des fins funéraires d'un ouvrage (ou d'un extrait) rituel entraîne inévitablement. Il semble en effet prouvé, maintenant, que les *Qererts* appartenaient à l'origine à un cérémonial du culte royal et qu'ayant valeur de talisman, elles furent remaniées pour être introduites artificiellement au *Livre des Morts*.

⁷⁾ Ainsi, par ex., pour la spell 1129 (p. 34), traduite par P. Barguet, *Chr. d'Eg.* 96, 286-287.

⁸⁾ Deux sources étaient inédites: les papyrus Ermitage 1113 (fragmentaire) et M.M.A. 35.9.19 (p. 43, notes 20-21).

L'édition de semblables "pots pourris" — qu'on veuille bien nous pardonner l'expression qui, seule, paraît ici adéquate — n'est pas chose facile si l'on ne dispose pas, à la base, des éléments indispensables pour l'établissement d'une version commune, suffisamment claire pour que l'on puisse organiser, à partir d'elle, l'ensemble des variantes tout en faisant le tri de ce qui n'est pas original. Mais, en raison de la méthode utilisée, les A. (et ici, surtout Mme Jacquet-Gordon), bien qu'ils aient multiplié les diagrammes, les renvois et les essais d'éclaircissement, et s'en soient tirés avec honneur, n'ont obtenu qu'un maigre résultat, bien loin de récompenser à leur juste valeur les efforts méritoires accomplis. La traduction, claire en soi, manque totalement d'âme; dans sa complication (toutes les variantes se succèdent) et par son manque de cohérence, elle décourage rapidement le lecteur, même averti. De ce fait, tant la véritable signification du texte que son intérêt lui échapperont s'il ne persévère pas.

Que l'on n'aille pas voir dans cette remarque, ni, non plus, dans celles qui suivront, un souci tatillon de vaine critique. Il faut en effet reconnaître que l'échec partiel de l'entreprise d'Al. Piankoff et Mme Jacquet-Gordon provient de ce qu'au départ une erreur d'interprétation, à nos yeux fondamentale, a été commise, à propos des *Qererts*. Cette erreur doit trouver son origine dans le fait que seuls des documents à destination funéraire ont servi de base à l'étude.

Il est indéniable que, dès le Nouvel Empire, le "chapitre des offrandes" (*LdM* 168 A et B) s'était vu détourné de sa destination première, comme en témoigne la copie faite pour le roi Aménophis II (papyrus Caire 24742 = A II, p. 43 et n. 17) et qui fut placée dans sa tombe, à l'intérieur d'une statuette osirienne en bois creux. Mais, dans ce cas, et la chronologie semble le confirmer totalement, cet emploi "magico-funéraire" n'est encore qu'un privilège royal. Et toutes les extensions ultérieures, toutes les "dérivations", ne doivent pas venir masquer le véritable caractère, tant rituel que royal, de la composition.

Aussi, avant d'aller plus loin dans l'examen de cette nature réelle des *Qererts*, convient-il d'allonger la liste des sources établie par Piankoff. Si certaines d'entre elles ont manifestement échappé à sa vigilance, la plus élémentaire honnêteté exige de préciser que la plus importante pour la compréhension n'avait pas encore été publiée lorsqu'il mourut. Les cinq documents complémentaires dont on peut disposer actuellement sont tous de basse époque. Un seul allie l'iconographie aux légendes, le sarcophage Caire C.C. 29301 de Ankh-Hâpy et fournit, en deux parties organisées selon un ordre peu canonique, l'énumération des *Qererts* et des dieux-*krty.w* sans les formulaires d'offrande qui les accompagnent ailleurs⁹⁾. Viennent s'y ajouter les stèles Caire C.G. 22018 et 22050, toutes deux originaires d'Hassaïa, la nécropole ptolémaïque d'Edfou, et qui reproduisent partiellement le début de la version A du chapitre 168 Naville¹⁰⁾. Ces témoins monumentaux

⁹⁾ Maspéro, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque I* (CGC, 1914), p. 43-45 (1ère liste) et p. 54-55 (2ème liste).

¹⁰⁾ Daressy, *Rec. Tr.* 17 (1895), 116 (CXXX-CXXXI) = Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (CGC, 1905), p. 19-20; 46 et pl. VII.

incomplets sont à joindre à deux intéressantes versions des *Qererts*, copiées sur papyrus dans une perspective totalement rituelle et en aucun cas funéraire.

La première se trouve dans le "Livre d'heures" (*Book of Hours*) du papyrus B.M. 10569, XXXI, 20 sq., avec la liste — aisée à rétablir, bien qu'en lacune — des Huit premières "Cavernes", suivie de XXXII, 1 à XXXIII, 15 de l'énuméré des divinités censées les occuper, ainsi que de tout ce qui concerne les quatre dernières, y compris le refrain général de l'offrande litanique¹¹⁾.

La seconde version fait partie du rituel de la *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An* du papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50, XVII, 1 à XX, 1. C'est cet exemplaire du "chapitre des offrandes" qui, en raison de son contexte général et des précisions connues sur ses circonstances d'utilisation, doit constituer le point de départ fondamental pour tout essai de compréhension¹²⁾.

Bien qu'en son temps un commentaire succinct ait été consacré à cet épisode d'une des cérémonies majeures du culte royal¹³⁾, il est important d'y revenir rapidement. Comme la plupart des éléments constitutifs du rituel très complet de perpétuation de la royauté, divine aussi bien que terrestre, conservé par le manuscrit de Brooklyn, le "chapitre des offrandes" ou *Qererts*, qui fait intervenir leurs dieux dans un but bien déterminé, est un formulaire typique des rites de passage¹⁴⁾. Il correspond à une nécessité impérieuse: celle de rendre hommage aux ancêtres, dieux ou rois, de se les concilier par l'offrande, afin qu'ils favorisent l'entreprise de renouvellement dans la continuité qui se déroule sous leurs auspices, et dont ils sont les garants et les juges. Dans sa forme originelle, la composition des *Qererts* n'est rien d'autre qu'une litanie d'offrande (*wdn*). C'est bien pourquoi le titre n'existe pas à proprement parler dans le rituel de Brooklyn où figure seulement une indication scénique du déroulement de la cérémonie: "Le roi s'avance pour consacrer les offrandes...". Quant aux récipiendaires (statues ou enseignes), ils sont les "dieux des cavernes (*ntr.w krty.w*)", les "guides de la Douat (*šsm.w Dw3t*)", les "compagnons d'Horus (*šms.w Hr*)", mais, surtout, les "Rois du Sud (*nswty.w*)" et les "Rois du Nord (*bity.w*)", c'est à dire tous les prédécesseurs de la lignée divine en même temps que royale, et qui participent encore ailleurs, par exemple lors des fêtes de Min, aux actes essentiels de la perpétuation de la monarchie¹⁵⁾. La psalmodie était à leur intention: à chaque

¹¹⁾ R. O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours* (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569), Oxford, 1958, p. 49* (7 sq.)-50* à 52* (14); la parenté avec les ch. 168 A et B du *LdM* n'avait pas été reconnue par l'éditeur.

¹²⁾ J. C. Goyon, "Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An" (IFAO Bd'E 52, 1972), texte p. 75-77 et n. 320; *idem* (Wilbour Monographs VII, 1974), planches, XIII-XIII A et XIV-XIV A (1).

¹³⁾ J. C. Goyon, *o.c.*, p. 29-30.

¹⁴⁾ Le souvenir de ce fait, bien entendu adapté aux exigences de l'emploi funéraire, est encore perceptible dans la vignette d'introduction du pap. B.M. 10478 (Piankoff BM I), comme le signale d'ailleurs Mme Jacquet, p. 46, n. 30, mais à titre purement anecdotique.

¹⁵⁾ Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.50, XVII (1) = texte, p. 75 et pl. XIII A. 1. Pour les "ancêtres royaux" à la fête de Min, voir Gauthier, *Fêtes du dieu Min* (IFAO Rech. 2, 1931), p. 204 sq.

invocation du ritualiste prononcée, semble-t-il, à un arrêt de procession, et où était dit: "Offrandes aux dieux N et N", correspondait un répons du chœur, revenant sans cesse en refrain: "Il leur est consacré une part (d'offrandes) sur terre en don de Pharaon, V.P.S., éternellement et à jamais! 16)"

Le papyrus de Brooklyn nous livre cette litanie d'offrande à l'état pur, probablement dans sa forme la plus ancienne, vraisemblablement antérieure au Nouvel Empire dans ses origines. Les dieux *krty.w* ne sont pas encore, à ce stade, de vagues entités infernales guettant dans leur trou le passage d'une âme. Ils sont, comme on l'a suggéré plus haut, le symbole des prédécesseurs défunts, les "réunis à Osiris" 17) qui résident dans les lieux saints (les *iats*, *i3.w.t*) voisins des grands sanctuaires. Ils sont censés y assurer, moyennant une réversion régulière d'offrandes, le maintien de Maât 18) et c'est à ce titre qu'ils doivent obligatoirement être partie prenante dans toute cérémonie monarchique. Les textes qui les concernent, par le fait même qu'ils se trouvent inclus dans des rituels de passage, donc de protection en des moments périlleux de l'année, ont dû acquérir très tôt une valeur talismanique. De là découle l'accommodation aux besoins d'une utilisation funéraire, réservée, au départ, au seul souverain qui rejoint ses semblables (Aménophis II, Osiréon). La démocratisation est ensuite un phénomène normal et secondaire. Dans la litanie du rituel, les *krty.w* n'intervenaient pas directement, on les invoquait et c'est tout. Il en allait de même au "livre d'heures". Mais dès lors qu'on entre dans le contexte funéraire, le texte est modifié. On y introduit artificiellement la mention de tel ou tel bienfait accordé par la divinité (ou le groupe divin) invoquée à celui qui lui présentait l'offrande (Élément IV de Piankoff, p. 90-114 à rejoindre à l'Élément III, p. 51-88, selon les versions).

De ce fait, il n'est plus question, après ce transfert, de ranger parmi les dieux *krty.w* les rois morts divinisés. Ils ne sont plus que les "dieux" de la Douat, compagnons de Rê-Osiris qui "jugent les baïs, qui discernent l'équité de l'iniquité", des sortes de juges des morts 19). On les appellera encore "les dieux-*krty.w*, guides de la Douat, dieux qui sont à la suite d'Osiris..." 20). Et, progressivement, le souvenir du sens premier s'effaçant, tout devenait possible dans l'interprétation du texte, selon la fantaisie ou l'érudition du copiste sacré.

C'est pourquoi une édition critique ne partant pas de ce critère s'avère, la preuve en est sous nos yeux, pratiquement impossible. Il aurait été, de loin, préférable d'éviter trop de regroupements factices, suscitant à chaque pas de nouvelles difficultés. Il sera nécessaire, qu'un

¹⁶⁾ Pap. Brooklyn, XX, 1 = texte p. 77 et pl. XIV A, 1; cf. également le refrain, copié verticalement, correspondant à la première partie, col. XVIII, 1 = p. 76 et pl. XIII A.

¹⁷⁾ Voir Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, p. 516, n. 3 et 519.

¹⁸⁾ Voir Sander-Hansen, *Sarg des Anchnesneferibre* (1937), p. 9; Grapow, *ZAS* (1936), 35; les textes, entre autres, d'Edfou III, 332 (6 sq.) et VI, 311 (5 sq.) ainsi que Chassinat, *Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, p. 277 sq.

¹⁹⁾ Pap. B.M. 10010, vignette 1 (exemplaire BM II, pl. 41 Piankoff), qui, contrairement à l'opinion exprimée par les A. (p. 54, n. 38), donne ce passage de l'intitulé rituel à la place exacte qu'il doit occuper, comme l'indiquent les parallèles non funéraires.

²⁰⁾ Sarcophages Caire 29301, Maspéro, *Sarcophages I*, p. 59 et doublet p. 62.

jour un chercheur patient reprenne l'étude fondamentale de tous ces documents, en donnant une copie hiéroglyphique en parallèle, outil indispensable et qui fait cruellement défaut dans les ouvrages du type de ceux de la collection Bollingen.

Aussi, nous ne nous étendrons pas sur la question du commentaire philologique qui, également, serait à reprendre et compléter. Un tel commentaire avait dû être projeté par Al. Piankoff et recevoir un commencement de réalisation²¹⁾; mais après son décès, les notes prévues, et vraisemblablement non encore rédigées, ont été abandonnées. Le fait est, une fois encore, regrettable, car le lecteur se trouve privé de bien des possibilités, ne serait-ce que pour une meilleure compréhension de certains noms divins difficiles ou pour établir les comparaisons qui s'imposent avec les autres grandes compositions funéraires royales, essentiellement l'*Amduat* et le *Livre des Portes*, où apparaissent des dénominations similaires, dénotant par là nombre d'emprunts et d'interférences, dont il serait intéressant d'établir la chronologie.

La *Troisième Partie* (p. 117-124 et pl. 43-47) est, à nos yeux, la mieux traitée et la plus digne d'intérêt. Elle s'attache à mettre en valeur une conception égyptienne assez mal connue qui voulait que, lors de son voyage vers le Pays des Bienheureux, l'âme-*baï*, après bien des tribulations, puisse se trouver, à un certain moment, obligée de jouer tout ou partie de sa destinée sur "un coup de dé". Dans l'Au-delà, de même que sur terre, ce défi au hasard utilise comme instrument un des jeux favoris des Anciens Egyptiens, celui du "damier à trente cases" ou de *senet*. On connaît bien les modèles de damiers réservés à cet usage (Bibliographie, p. 116 et pl. 47); les règles d'utilisation sont, dans leurs grandes lignes, assez bien établies pour qu'il ne soit pas besoin de s'y attarder²²⁾.

Un texte à portée magico-religieuse, heureusement conservé, rend compte de l'utilisation funéraire du jeu; à défaut de fournir le mode d'emploi dans la vie quotidienne, il est précieux pour comprendre le fonctionnement, tout chargé de difficultés qu'il soit. Deux sources incomplètes (les formules relatives aux cases 28 à 30 manquent), toutes deux du Nouvel Empire, en livrent la teneur: le papyrus Caire J.E. 58037 (donné uniquement en photographies aux pl. 43-45, sans transcription du hiératique) et une inscription, peinte en hiéroglyphes cursifs, dans la tombe n° 359 de Deir-el-Medineh. Un manuscrit de Turin aujourd'hui perdu (pl. 46, donné

d'après la reconstruction de Seyffarth, 1833) fournissait seulement un plan de jeu détaillé et illustré²³⁾.

La traduction donnée par Piankoff est d'agréable lecture; elle est claire et, apparemment très fidèle, en dépit des abondants points délicats que soulèvent les emplois très spécialisés du vocabulaire. Le rendu aurait cependant peut-être gagné à être réparti (selon la méthode adoptée par Roeder)²⁴⁾ en répliques attribuées à tour de rôle aux antagonistes. Quoiqu'il en soit, il ressort très vite de la lecture que le participant obligé, l'âme du défunt, table sur son adresse, sa chance, et, surtout, sa connaissance des mots et moyens magiques appropriés²⁵⁾, pour déjouer les ruses et l'opposition d'un adversaire habile, mais, au fond, vaincu d'avance. Cet opposant (dieu, démon? on ne sait exactement) s'efforce de lui "gagner" sa possibilité d'arriver à la trentième case, la "Demeure de Perfection", et donc de participer au devenir osirien. Le parcours est ardu, le *baï* doit faire appel à toute sa science magique afin d'acquiescer les 360 points de la victoire, mais il gagne s'il est juste aux yeux des dieux. Le total obtenu par l'accumulation des coups heureux est notable en soi, et suggère une référence à une mystique beaucoup plus solaire qu'osirienne; le jeu pourrait bien, par là, être compris comme un rappel, en bref, du cycle annuel de l'astre et de ses trois cent soixante victoires journalières²⁶⁾. L'enjeu de la partie, dans cette hypothèse, est la solarisation bien plus que l'accès au "paradis".

Un important appendice (p. 120-124), rédigé par Siadhal Sweeney, est consacré aux survivances dans le folklore universel de thèmes analogues à ceux du jeu de *senet* égyptien, et où, chaque fois, un humain remet au hasard (et à la tricherie!) le sort de son âme et joue celle-ci avec le Diable ou un être surnaturel. La plupart du temps, il réussit d'ailleurs à tromper son adversaire et à gagner. La liste déjà longue de M. Sweeney pourrait encore être augmentée de toutes les légendes qui ont cours en France, par exemple, dans les lieux où existe un "pont du diable", ou encore de l'histoire de l'homme qui vendit son ombre, immortalisée par Chamisso dans sa *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*. Là n'est pas notre propos, mais nous croyons bon de souligner qu'il existe une différence, une nuance de sens, entre les thèmes. La conception égyptienne est tout empreinte de mysticisme: elle n'a pour enjeu que la destinée de l'âme, sa survie, sans contrepartie terrestre. En revanche, dans le folklore occidental, asiatique ou américain, même si l'enjeu essentiel est bien, la plupart du temps le salut ou la damnation de l'âme du joueur humain, selon qu'il perd ou gagne, il y a toujours à la clé un enjeu, tout aussi important et, souvent, basement matériel; tel, par exemple, l'achèvement d'une construction comme ces "ponts du diable" évoqués naguères ou, encore, l'obtention de

²³⁾ Ce n'est pas, du moins dans l'état connu actuellement, un "exemplaire du texte" comme indiqué p. 118, n. 6, mais tout au plus une aide à la compréhension.

²⁴⁾ Roeder, o.c., p. 258 sq.

²⁵⁾ L'âme jette les dés en humain mais "combat en dieu" (p. 120), il connaît les "noms", Mehen le "guide", ses doigts déliés sont semblables aux "chacals qui halent la barque solaire", etc.

²⁶⁾ En ce sens, Roeder, o.c., p. 253-254; B. Peterson, *Lexikon*, col. 854 et n. 23.

la fortune (P. Schlemihl) ou de celle-ci et de l'éternelle jeunesse (Faust).

Il est dommage que le contenu d'un volume aussi luxueusement présenté, imprimé²⁷⁾ et illustré, ne soit pas mieux représentatif de la science indéniable de son auteur. Le choix des documents, en soi, était, dès le départ, source de difficulté. Ils sont trop disparates dans leur origine et leur signification, ils présentent trop de problèmes délicats dans le domaine philologique. A ce handicap s'ajoutent les limites générales de la collection où devait paraître l'ouvrage, ainsi que son esprit. Ces conditions ne favorisaient aucunement les notes développées qui se seraient imposées, en même temps qu'elles supprimaient la possibilité de donner les textes hiéroglyphiques eux-mêmes. Enfin, on sent trop souvent, peut-être moins dans les traductions que dans les rares commentaires, la marque d'un inachèvement que les efforts de Mme Jacquet-Gordon, aussi louables soient-ils, n'ont pu effacer. C'est une tâche ingrate et ardue que de publier les travaux d'un savant mort prématurément, cela devient presque impossible quand il s'agit de ceux d'Al. Piankoff, dès lors qu'il est évident qu'il n'en avait pas achevé la maturation. Il aurait probablement été préférable de publier ce manuscrit des "Wandering of the Soul" tel quel et, surtout, ailleurs que dans la collection de la Fondation Bollingen.

Si nous nous sommes permis d'émettre les longues remarques que l'on vient de lire, c'est parce que nous les estimions absolument nécessaires. Elles doivent être comprises et senties, à la fois comme un hommage à la mémoire de cet homme qui, malgré notre jeunesse, nous honora de son amitié, et comme une incitation pour d'éventuels chercheurs à une reprise des deux premiers éléments de ce travail de pionnier (*Livre des Deux Chemins* et *Qererts*) en prenant pour base les données fournies par Al. Piankoff et en utilisant avec profit les précieux documents iconographiques que son livre posthume met à leur disposition.

Lyon, février 1976

JEAN-CLAUDE GOYON

Chargé de recherche au C.N.R.S.

* *

Gerhard FECHT, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den „Mahnworten des Ipu-wer“*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag, 1972 (8vo, 240 S.) = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1971-1972, 1. Abhandlung. Preis: DM 68.—.

Teil A dieses Buches enthält die Folgerungen, die der Verfasser aus seinen Analysen zieht mit Bezug auf Datierung und Komposition.

I: Das Textgut einiger Passagen stammt aus der Ersten Zwischenzeit, anderer aus der 13. Dynastie. Der Grossteil der „Mahnworte“ weist auf die 1. Zwzt zurück.

²⁷⁾ Seules deux fautes d'impression ont échappé à la vigilance des correcteurs: p. 45, ligne 1, il faut lire *representations* et pl. 46, droite, légende de la pl. ligne 1 fin, *Seyffarth*.

II: Die Textstücke 9, 8-10, 3; 10, 6-12 und 10, 12-11, 10 wenden sich an Re (-Atum), von anderen Göttern umgeben. So auch der Zentralabschnitt 11, 11-13, 8 und die zweite Rede des Ipuwer (15, 13 ff.); dazwischen antwortet der Schöpfergott ihm.

In B gibt Fecht eine Neubearbeitung (Übersetzung und Kommentar) von 11, 11-13, 8, der anklägerischen Rede des Ipuwer. C beschäftigt sich mit den Antworten auf diesen „Vorwurf an Gott“, wie Otto in 1951 formulierte.

In den Nachträgen konnten, dank Infrarotfotos, neue Lesungen verarbeitet werden.

Fechts Schlüsse sind wiederholt überzeugend und wichtig, sein Buch ist immer anregend. Ich unterstreiche dies dankbar, obwohl ich seinem metrischen Verfahren gegenüber Reserven, bzw. Bedenken habe wie Lichtheim sie *JARCE* 9 (1971-1972), 103-110 in Worte gefasst hat.

Voorschoten, Juli 1975

M. HEERMA VAN VOSS

* *

Erik HORNUNG und Elisabeth STAEHELIN, *Studien zum Sedfest*. Unter Mitarbeit von Barbara Begelsbacher, Bertrand Jaeger und Christine Seeber. Genève, Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1974 (gr.4vo, 103 pp.) = *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 1.

Subject of this book is not the nature of the Egyptian sed-festival, but the historicity of the numerous sed-festivals attested by various sources for the time between the beginning of Egyptian history and the end of the Saite Period. Using inscriptional evidence as well as reliefs and statues showing the king in the attire typical of these jubilees and their rites, the authors have compiled a list of sixty-two alleged occurrences ascribed to forty-five different kings (pp. 16-42). This list is then checked against five criteria in order to determine whether these festivals were actually celebrated. These criteria comprise (1) references in contemporary inscriptions; (2) records of deliveries made for their celebration; (3) attested participation of officials in the preparation or celebration of a jubilee; (4) exact dates for the celebration or repetition of a jubilee; (5) consecutive numbering of jubilees under kings who celebrated more than one.

The application of these criteria quickly reduces the long list of forty-five kings to thirteen: Qa'a, Pepi I, Pepi II, Mentuhotep-Nebtawyre, Sesostri I, Amenemhet III, Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, Ramses II, Ramses III, and Osorkon II. Of these, Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut, and Akhenaten are very doubtful, while Mentuhotep-Nebhepetre, and probably Adjib may have to be added to the list because their (first) jubilee is attested in non-contemporary sources or shown on reliefs from their monuments. In all other cases, considerable doubt remains, because it lay in the nature of Egyptian historiography to substitute the word for the fact whenever actual compliance with the binding norm was impossible.

One example must suffice to illustrate the difficulties

involved in interpreting the evidence. The four inscriptions left by the vezier Amenemhet in the quarries of the Wadi Hammâmât include one reference to the "first occurrence of the *sed*-festival" dated to the 3rd day of the 2nd month of Inundation of the 2nd year of his king Mentuhotep-Nebtawyre (Couyat-Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Quâdi Hammâmât*, No. 110). After the introduction of dating by regnal years, the jubilee was normally celebrated in the 30th year, with repetitions every three or four years thereafter; but this does not invalidate the claim, because Mentuhotep may have counted the thirty years from the re-unification of Egypt under Nebhepetre in 2027 B.C. However, a closer examination shows that the date is part of Amenemhet's report about the occurrence of a miracle during his expedition, and has no connection with the reference to the jubilee. The latter forms part of a relief which is set off from the rest by two *w3s*-scepters supporting the hieroglyph *pt*. The relief shows the king (not in the ornate typical of the *sed*-festival!) offering two vases to the god Min. As there is no mention of the festival in any of the other texts of this year, not even in the inscription recording the purpose of the expedition in Mentuhotep's own words (*op. cit.*, No. 192), the insertion of *zp tpy sd* behind the figure of the king was probably prompted by Amenemhet's explanation that Min granted the miracle to Mentuhotep "in order that his heart might be glad as long as he lives on his throne in all eternity celebrating myriads of *sed*-festivals" (*op. cit.*, No. 110, 8-9). The inscription thus attests only the hope that Mentuhotep would eventually reach his jubilee, not that he was about to celebrate it.

This sober and well-balanced investigation of the role of the *sed*-festival in Egyptian history is a model of historical research. It is also an auspicious inauguration of this new series of Egyptological studies to which we wish the "myriad of jubilees" which it so well deserves.

Lethbridge, August 1975

DIETER MUELLER

* *

J. LECLANT, avec la collaboration de GISELE CLERC, *Inventaire Bibliographique des Isiaca (IBIS)*. Répertoire analytique des travaux relatifs à la diffusion des cultes isiaques, 1940-1969. A-D. EPRO 18. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972 (xvii + 191 pages, frontispiece + 21 plates.) 80 g. Second volume. E-K. (x + 272 pages, frontispiece + 28 plates + 2 maps.) 1974. 112 g. - ISBN 90-04-03981-3 (refers to second volume).

The subtitle indicates the scope of this bibliography, and the Preface, as well as the actual practice of the work, shows that it is liberally interpreted to include Egyptian cults other than that of Isis and the gods associated with her. After each title comes an objective summary and analysis, so that the work is much more than a mere list of books and articles. Most of the studies included deal naturally with the diffusion of Egyptian cults in the Graeco-Roman era, but occasionally they refer to previous eras and to the diffusion of

Egyptian material by peoples such as the Phoenicians.

In some matters it was not easy to draw the line, but a wise decision was made to include studies relating to Egyptianizing themes even up to the Middle Ages and Renaissance; similarly the dividing line between cultural and religious significance has been ignored, for the truth is that in particular cases it is often the subject of debate. Another helpful feature of the general policy is the provision of more generous space for analyses of studies that are less accessible.

Jean Leclant is an Egyptologist with a wide range of interests which extend from the Pyramid Texts to the area of the present work and also to Meroitic studies; and his calibre is such that every theme he touches is adorned with the most thorough scholarship. For some years he has been publishing in *Orientalia* an invaluable annual survey of excavations and work in Egypt and the Sudan, and there he has devoted one section to discoveries of Egyptian objects outside Egypt — a compilation which must have helped considerably with the present task in which he has been aided by Mme. Gisèle Clerc, a researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. The reviewer has a special interest in this field, and many items are naturally at once familiar. But there are many too which are not so, and one is delighted at the embarrassment of riches which are proffered in these two volumes with such a wealth of precise information. To be as complete as possible without claiming to be exhaustive, that is the modest aim proclaimed in the Preface, and it has been achieved with a great measure of success. Occasionally only can a few additional titles be suggested, such as those that follow:

Ahmed Aly Abdullatif, *Egypt and the Roman Empire in the Light of the Papyri* (in Arabic; Cairo, 1961, repr. 1965). See esp. the second part of Part IV, 'Isis in Rome'.

Ilse Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur*. (Akad. Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 51. 1966.)

Ugo Bianchi, editor and contributor, *The Origins of Gnosticism* (Leiden, 1967).

id. ed. *Studi di storia religiosa della tarda antichità*. (Messina, 1968).

S. G. F. Brandon, 'A problem of the Osirian judgment of the dead', *Numen* 5 (1958), 110-127.

id. *The Judgment of the Dead*. (London, 1967).

id. editor and contributor, *The Saviour God*. (FS. E. O. James; Manchester, 1963).

Martin Dibelius, 'Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und verwandte Initiationsriten', in his *Botschaft und Geschichte*, II (Tübingen, 1956), 30-79.

László Kákósy, 'Krokodil mit Menschenkopf', *ZAS* 90 (1963), 66-74.

id. 'Nubien als mythisches Land im Altertum', *Ann. Univ. Sc. Budapest. Sect. Hist.* 8 (1966), 3-10.

id. 'Prophecies of Ram Gods', *Acta Orient. Hung.* 19 (1966), 341-358.

id. 'Pythagoreus hatás Apuleius Metamorphoses XI-ben?' *Antik Tanulmányok* 15 (1968), 243-245.

id. 'Augustus és Egyiptom', *ibid.* 14 (1967), 307-315.

id. 'Zu einer Etymologie von Philä, "Insel der Zeit"', *Acta Ant. Acad. Sc. Hung.* 16 (1968), 39-48.

It should be said, however, apropos of this little list, that the study by Dibelius was first published in 1917 and in that sense is outside the date-limits of the bibliography; but cf. no. 271, a reprint of Cumont. Again, the work edited by Brandon is cited on p. 51 of the first volume under C. J. Bleeker. On the other hand there is no mention of Bleeker's contribution to *The Origins of Gnosticism* which is entitled 'The Egyptian Background of Gnosticism', although Kákósy's study in the same volume, 'Gnosis und ägyptische Religion', is given (no. 654). Items have been omitted from studies by Campbell Bonner, O. E. Briem, Emma Brunner-Traut, F. Daumas, Ph. Derchain, Max Guilmet, Hans Georg Gundel, A. Henrichs, Hans Jonas, and Emil Kiessling. Details of these can be found in the bibliography given in my *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book* (EPRO 39; Leiden, 1975).

Gaps of this kind scarcely lessen one's respect for the scope of the work, and it is pleasing to note that the labours of epigraphists and papyrologists have not been neglected. A mild protest may be registered against the term 'égyptomanie' (pp. xii, 1, 20, 21); V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales à Herculanum* (EPRO 17; Leiden, 1971), 7, uses a more acceptable word — 'égyptophilie'. I have noticed only one misprint: 'Leizig' for 'Leipzig' on p. 115 n. 1 of Vol. I. The attractive plates are well annotated and are equipped with references to the bibliography. In the second volume there are two maps relating to the Iberian Peninsula and to Britain which conveniently and ingeniously, if somewhat intricately, set out the information available for these areas. Finally, each volume has a full and comprehensive Index which adds immeasurably to the usefulness of this excellent work.

Swansea, Wales, June 1976

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

* *

Marek MARCINIAK, *Les inscriptions hiératiques du temple de Thoutmosis III*. Warszawa, Zakład Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej, 1974 (4to, 266 S., XCII Tafeln) = Deir el-Bahari I.

Als das polnische Zentrum für die Archäologie des Mittelmeerraumes die im Auftrage der ägyptischen Altertümerverwaltung vorgenommenen Räumungsarbeiten im Talkessel von Deir el-Bahari zur Restaurierung des Hatschepsut-Tempels im Jahre 1961 begann, konnte man damals nicht ahnen, dass der Tempel Thutmosis' III. in dem zwischen Hatschepsut-Tempel und Mentuhotep-Tempel herumliegenden Schutt dem Zahn der Zeit zu entgehen vermochte. Von diesem Tempel lagen erhebliche Überreste da versandt! Sodann wurden im Laufe von mehreren Kampagnen freigelegt u.a.: Wanddarstellungen, Statuen, Särge, Amulette, Ostraka und

Papyri — freilich meistens fragmentiert — in unzähliger Menge, ebenso 9 bis zu 2m hoch in situ erhaltene Säulen, deren Oberfläche von hieratischen Inschriften bedeckt sind; hinzu kommen Blöcke mit hieratischen Inschriften, die einst in den Tempelwänden ihren festen Platz hatten. Zur wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung dieser Inschriften wurde Herr M. Marciniak von der Universität Warschau gewonnen. In jahrelanger Arbeit konnte er zuerst Faksimiles anfertigen, dann die Inschriften auf ihren Gehalt hin untersuchen. Von seiner Beschäftigung mit dem Material hat er uns in den letzten Jahren durch Aufsätze in verschiedenen Zeitschriften berichtet. Nunmehr legt er uns in der hier zu besprechenden Monographie die besterhaltenen Inschriften — es sind 142 aus ca. 500 — aufgearbeitet vor, so dass weitere Untersuchungen unternommen werden können.

Es handelt sich um Inschriften, die Tempel-Besucher auf die Tempelwände angebracht haben, und in denen diese sich mit Wünschen und Gebeten an die Göttin Hathor — weniger an den Gott Amun bzw. andere Götter — wenden. Solche Besucher-Inschriften kennen wir zwar aus verschiedenen Orten und Zeiten, z.B. aus Saqqarah, Abusir, Dahschur und auch aus Theben selbst. Der neuentdeckte Tempel bescherte uns aber zum ersten Male mit einer solchen Fülle von Inschriften, die sowohl örtlich als auch zeitlich (Ramessidenzeit) zusammengehören, wodurch sie an Bedeutung um so mehr gewinnen. Diese Inschriften hat Verf. nach gewissen Gesichtspunkten in Gruppen unterteilt, wobei die Grenzen dazwischen selbstverständlich nur fließend sein können; Kriterien für die Gruppierung sind äusserliche Merkmale wie sprachliche Formeln oder thematische Inhalte.

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass das neugewonnene Material nicht nur bekannte Gegebenheiten bestätigt, sondern auch neue Erkenntnisse liefert, sowohl auf sprachlichem bzw. paläographischem Gebiete als auch über die Verhältnisse der damaligen Zeit. So erfahren wir z.B., dass das Fest vom Wüstental auch Anfang des 3. Monats der Sommerzeit stattfinden konnte — also zu einer späteren Zeit als die bisherigen Überlieferungen es uns zu vermitteln vermochten. Berichtet wird ferner vom *hb-sd*-Jubiläum eines Königs namens Ramses, das dieser in seinem 32. Regierungsjahr beging; ob es sich um Ramses II. oder III. handelt, hat Verf. (schwankend in pp. 33; 37; 41; 42) nicht entscheiden können, zumal die Inschrift nur lückenhaft auf uns gekommen ist. In Nr. 66 haben wir ein Gelübde, in dem sich ein Schreiber die Verewigung seines Namens von der Göttin Hathor erwünscht; dafür würde er ihr ein bestimmtes Opfer darbringen (cf. O. Gardiner 310; Allam: Ostraka und Papyri, 190 f.). Die Sorge des Ägypters um die Verewigung seines Namens sowie seine Angst vor einer etwaigen Namenstilgung durch andere Personen zeigen uns viele Gebete (z.B. Nr. 1,31; 9,4; 50,3; 51; 67; 68,1). Interessant ist auch die Vorstellung von den Menschen als Vieh des Gottes (Nr. 12) (Allam: Beiträge zum Hathorkult, 139), ferner dass mancher Besucher nach Liebe bei den Menschen mit Hilfe der Gottheit trachtete (z.B. Nr. 11,4). In dem Wunsch eines Besuchers (Nr. 11,11) kommt die Drohformel vor: „Ein Esel soll ihn (den Zuwiderhandelnden) schänden, ein Esel soll (seine) Frau schänden“

(Allam: Ostraka und Papyri, 261 Anm. 34). Schliesslich sei die Schreibung *m-s3* (eigentlich „als Sohn“) mit der Bedeutung „hinter“ (Nr. 50, 5-6) erwähnt; es handelt sich um eine phonetische Schreibung.

Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Frage nach der Anbringung dieser Inschriften mit ihrem privaten Charakter auf die Wände des Tempels eines Königs. Dass sich die Göttin Hathor in Deir el-Bahari, wo sie seit geraumer Zeit beheimatet war, während der Ramesidenzeit zu einer Volksgöttin entpuppte und somit weiten Bevölkerungsschichten zugänglich geworden ist, ist anzunehmen. Ihre Volkstümlichkeit wird durch unser Material erhärtet; stammen die Inschriften doch von Personen aus verschiedenen Schichten, z.B. Wesir (Nr. 51), Vorsteher des Heeres (Nr. 69; 129), hohen Beamten, Arzt (Nr. 47), Tempel-Sängerinnen, Priestern und Schreibern verschiedenen Rangs u. dgl. [Dass sich mancher Besucher der Gottheit gegenüber als „Diener“ (*b3k/hm* bezeichnet (z.B. Nr. 6,5; 24,6; 31,6; 37,4; 39,3; 40; 47,2; 53,4; 73; 74; 77; 119), bedeutet keineswegs, dass er etwa „Sklave“ im sozialen Sinne (p. 50) war.] Zudem haben wir es mit einem religionshistorischen Phänomen zu tun: die im Laufe des Neuen Reiches neu aufbrechende oder nur neu in die Öffentlichkeit drängende persönliche Religiosität; insofern können die Ausführungen des Verf. in dieser Hinsicht (p. 43 ff) erweitert werden. Andererseits ist Verf. zuzustimmen, wenn er die Tatsache, dass Inschriften von Privatpersonen in einem Königstempel angebracht sind, auf den Umstand zurückführt, dass der Tempel Thutmosis' III. zur Ramesidenzeit zweckentfremdet war, so dass Private nunmehr ihre Inschriften dort hinterlassen konnten. Wissen wir doch, dass der Tempel Thutmosis' III. — entgegen vielen thebanischen Tempeln — im Papyrus Wilbour (aus der Zeit Ramses' V.) nicht aufgeführt ist, so dass Gardiner (Papyrus Wilbour, II, 12) Zweifel darüber hegte, ob der Kult im besagten Tempel zu dieser Zeit noch gepflegt wurde. Das Schweigen des Papyrus Wilbour wird somit durch unser Material erklärlich: der einst dem Königs kult geweihte Tempel war zur Ramesidenzeit bereits — sit venia verbo — umfunktioniert. Zu dieser Gegebenheit passt die Beobachtung Helck's (Materialien, 118), dass die letzten sicheren Nennungen von Priestern am Thutmosis-Tempel *Hnkt-nh* (dies lag am Wüstenrand) aus der Zeit Ramses' II. stammen.

Für alle weiteren Untersuchungen ist es von grundlegender Bedeutung, dass den Originalen äusserst getreue Faksimiles angefertigt werden, eine vordringliche Aufgabe, da die Originale — einmal freigelegt, aber nicht mit Nylonschicht u.ä. konserviert — in absehbarer Zeit verblässen und sich somit jeglicher Nachprüfung entziehen können. Dieser Aufgabe hat sich M. Marciniak mit Akribie und Ausdauer unterzogen. Umschriften in Hieroglyphen hat er ausserdem beige steuert, ein willkommener Beitrag, zumal er in der Lage war die Originale immer wieder einzusehen. Wenn nun im folgenden einige Bemerkungen vorwiegend zur Transkription anzuführen sind, so sind sie als Vorschläge aufzufassen.

Nr. 2: Der Königsname *Hq3-M3't-R' stp-n-Jmn* (Ramses IV.) ist in Z. 11 nicht mit Sicherheit zu lesen.

R' könnte der Kartusche-Anfang sein; *stp-n-R'* wäre auch zu lesen.

Nr. 3: Das Wort *nw* „sehen“ in Z. 5 hat im Faksimile das Zeichen Möller, II 480. Davor steht wohl die Buchrolle. Das letzte Wort in Z. 14 zeigt das Zeichen Möller, II 142.

Nr. 5: Das Wort *hs* in Z. 6 ist über der Zeile geschrieben; in der Umschrift sollte es auch dort stehen.

Nr. 8: Zwischen *juj* und *šms* in Z. 4 ist etwas übersehen worden. Anfang Z. 6 könnte das Zeichen *jt* (Möller, II 529) sein.

Nr. 9: Die Lesung *Knr* in Z. 3 und 5 mag stimmen, jedoch zeigt das Faksimile kein *r*.

Nr. 11: Hierzu Taf. XA. In Z. 11 fehlt in der Umschrift etwas. Ob *j3wt* „Amt; Vieh“ (Wb I 29) in Z. 12 zu lesen?

Nr. 12: Hierzu Taf. XI-XIA. Man könnte das Wort *wb3* (Wb I 291) „Vorhof des Tempels“ in Z. 6 erkennen und deutlicher umschreiben. Die Umschrift von Z. 7 scheint mir in *Etudes et travaux* 6 (1972), 78 richtiger zu sein.

Nr. 13: Hierzu Taf. XII-XIIA. In Z. 12 ist R' ausgeschrieben.

Nr. 14: Hierzu Taf. XIII.

Nr. 15: Hierzu Taf. XIII A.

Nr. 21: Ob nicht nur *ht* am Ende der Z. 1 zu lesen ist? Der Personennamen am Anfang Z. 2 ist *nomen rectum* dazu.

Nr. 22: In Z. 2 ist das Gott-Determinativ nach *nswt* hinzuzufügen. Das zweite Wort in Z. 3 wäre *zš* zu lesen; cf. Nr. 48,3. Ob *Jmn* im Namen des *w'b*-Priesters in derselben Zeile so zu lesen?

Nr. 23: In Z. 2 ist *hm-nfr* verkehrt umschrieben.

Nr. 25: In Z. 2 wäre statt *nfr* etwas anderes zu lesen.

Nr. 28: In Z. 3 ist *zš n Hrj* sinnlos; der Personennamen *Hrj* folgt unmittelbar auf *zš*, wobei das vermeintliche *n* die Verlängerung des Striches unter *Hr* ist. Am Ende der Zeile ist der geographische Name so zu umschreiben: Möller, II 334 + *p* ...

Nr. 29: Die versuchsweise in der Lücke ergänzte *t3* in Z. 4 steht mit dem Faksimile nicht in Einklang. Die Jahreszahl in Z. 7 ist wohl 5. Das Wort *nfr* in Z. 8 sieht in dem Faksimile anders aus!

Nr. 31: Das Datum zeigt die Tageszahl 2. Der Personennamen in Z. 2 ist nicht mit *hr*, sondern *ht* gebildet (Ranke: PN I 71, 12). In Z. 5 ist *jnt* mit dem Fisch-Zeichen zu transkribieren.

Nr. 33: In Z. 3 ist *ršwt* mit dem Kücken-Zeichen + *t* geschrieben; cf. 53,3. In Z. 4 ist *hr* nicht mit dem schlagenden Mann determiniert. Am Ende Z. 5 ist *Jmn-R'* schwerlich zu lesen.

Nr. 34: In der Lücke Z. 2 zeigt das Faksimile Spuren, die die Ergänzung zu *hq3* nicht rechtfertigen.

Nr. 36: Es fehlen einige Zeichen am Anfang Z. 3.

Nr. 41: Ob der Personennamen am Ende Z. 2 als *Mn-ms* (Ranke: PN I 152,4) zu lesen?

Nr. 43: Die Umschrift Mitte und Ende Z. 2 wäre nachzuprüfen.

Nr. 44: Das Attribut der Hathor *nbt Dsrt* ist in Z. 2 zu vermuten.

Nr. 45: Das Wort *nw* in Z. 3 ist mit dem Zeichen Möller, II 480 zu umschreiben; cf. Nr. 3,5. In letzter Z. fehlt nach *m-šs* die Buchrolle; *zp-sn* ist sechsmal geschrieben!

Nr. 47: Das erste Wort in Z. 2 ist *sjnw* (mit dem Pfeil-Zeichen) „Arzt“ zu lesen. Dieses Zeichen ist Möller, II 439 und nicht 571; insofern ist es in die Zeichen-Liste p. 228 (statt p. 237) aufzunehmen. Es handelt sich um einen Arzt vom Tempel des Thot, Herrn von Aschmunein. Zwischen Z. 1 und 2 sind einige Zeichen übersehen worden. Das Wort *m3't* am Anfang Z. 3 zeigt vor dem Gott-Determinativ die Buchrolle über dem *t*.

Nr. 49: In Z. 1 ist ein *jr* schwerlich zu erkennen, ebenso *p3 r'* in Z. 2 und *t3* in Z. 4. In Z. 3 fehlt *hpr* im Faksimile; als Ergänzung müsste es als solche gekennzeichnet sein.

Nr. 50: Z. 4 Mitte ist zu überprüfen, ebenso Z. 5 am Ende.

Nr. 52: In Z. 4 ist *hn'* im Faksimile nicht zu erkennen.

Nr. 54: In Z. 6 ist *dt* im Faksimile kaum erkennbar.

Nr. 60: Hierzu Taf. XLVIIA, 3. *Mntw* wird mit dem Zeichen Möller, II 401 umschrieben. Nach *Dsrt* in Z. 2 fehlt in der Umschrift ein Zeichen.

Nr. 63: Das erste Zeichen in Z. 9 ist sicherlich kein *h3*.

Nr. 66: Das erste Wort in Z. 4 ist wohl *w3h* zu lesen; *w3h rn* ergibt einen guten Sinn (Wb I 255, 10).

Nr. 68: Im Faksimile Z. 1 sieht man kein *f* nach der Kopula; als Ergänzung sollte es markiert sein.

Nr. 79: In Z. 2 sollte *nb* eingeklammert sein. Das Datum in Z. 3 zeigt den Montagstag 19!

Nr. 90: Ob in Z. 2 *šd* zu lesen?

Nr. 93: Für die Schreibung *zš-wdhw* in Z. 1 cf. Nr. 22,3 und 48,3. Ein 3 fehlt in dem bestimmten Artikel in Z. 2.

Nr. 96: Das Verbum *jj* „kommen“ nach dem Datum ist im Faksimile kaum erkennbar.

Nr. 98: In Z. 1 ist *ms* kaum zu erkennen.

Nr. 117: In Z. 1 gibt es wohl Plural-Striche nach *qnw*. Z. 3 beginnt mit dem Wort *w'w*; für *w'w-n-jst* als Bezeichnung für Handwerker cf. Allam: Ostraka und Papyri, 90 Anm. 3.

Nr. 134: Die Zeichen nach Osiris in Z. 2 sind zu überprüfen.

Nr. 136: Im Faksimile sieht man keine Zeichen vor *hh* in Z. 1.

Zur Transkription im allgemeinen bemerkt man ferner, dass Verf. manche abseits stehende Zeichen in der Umschrift nicht berücksichtigt hat. Zwar können solche Zeichen nicht mit dem laufenden Text zusammengehören; sie sind trotzdem in der Umschrift wiederzugeben. Fälle solcher Art sind in folgenden Texten festzustellen: 6, oben; 7, die oberen Zeilen; 11, Ende Z. 2; 18,4; 28, oben links fehlt ein Wort (*mj* „Komm!“); 41, oberhalb Z. 1 rechts; 48, unterste Zeile; 54, ausserhalb der Markierung; ebenso 58; 62, oben; 74, unterste Z., wo *qw(?)* zu lesen ist.

Im Anschluss an den Katalog hat M. Marciniak seine Faksimiles nach dem Muster Möller: „Hieratische Paläographie“ in einer Zeichen-Liste verwertet. Allerdings wirken einige Zeichen auf den ersten Blick zweifelhaft. Folgende Zeichen bedürfen deshalb der Überprüfung:

p. 178: Das Zeichen 39,6 ganz oben entspricht wohl Möller, II 2.

p. 187: Einige Zeichen Möller, II 99 und 105 sind durcheinander geraten; der Unterschied sollte auch bei der Umschrift berücksichtigt werden, z.B. 2,6; 2,8 usw.

p. 192: Die Zeichen Möller, II 158 und 159 wären auseinander zu halten.

p. 193: Der vermeintliche Tier-Schlauch in 3,14 ist sicherlich Möller, II 142. Bei 98,1 könnte es sich um ein beschädigtes *ms*-Zeichen handeln.

p. 197: Die Zeichen Möller, II 193 und 194 sind voneinander zu scheiden; 13,8 ist im übrigen *gm*.

p. 200: Ganz unten links wäre 117,3 zu streichen.

p. 202: Für das Zeichen Möller, II 240 kommt 31,2 in Betracht, wobei 12,1 (*šd*) Möller, II 517 ist.

p. 208: Bei *h3* wäre 63,9 zu streichen.

p. 212: Für Möller, II 284 ist 96,1 zweifelhaft.

p. 218: Für Möller, II 335 ist 90,2 zweifelhaft.

p. 222: Unter Möller, II 383 sind 1,25; 70,1; 116,2 aufgeführt; diese Belege entsprechen vielmehr dem Zeichen Gardiner, List U 40. Es handelt sich um eine weniger übliche Schreibung für Osiris (Wb I 359).

p. 228: Unter Möller, II 439 ist 47,2 anzugeben.

p. 230: Unter Möller, II 480 sind 3,5 und 45,3 anzuführen, wobei 2,11 zu Möller, II 481 (eine Zeile tiefer) gehören könnte. Ferner entspricht Möller, II 589 dem Zeichen Gardiner, List N 34; die Hieroglyphe *t3* ist entsprechend zu korrigieren.

p. 232: Versehen ist 11,8 unter *h* geraten.

p. 237: Das Zeichen Möller, II 571 ist unrichtig; es handelt sich vielmehr um das Zeichen 439.

p. 241: Möller, II 562 und 563 wären auseinander zu halten.

p. 246: Monatstage und allgemeine Zahlen sollten voneinander geschieden werden; dies sollte auch bei der Transkription geschehen. Im übrigen stellen 79,3 und 28,1 nur Varianten dar.

p. 263: Die Zeichengruppe für *mwt* „Mutter“ enthält kein Geier-Zeichen, sondern einfaches *m* (cf. Möller, II, p. 64); dies sollte entsprechend in der Transkription berücksichtigt werden.

Manchmal verfährt Verf. beim Transkribieren nach einer uns etwas ungewohnten Schreibweise. So ist das Baum-Zeichen z.B. in 23,3; 24,5; 121,1 nur mit Schwierigkeit zu lesen.

rigkeit zu erkennen; ebenso ungewöhnlich ist seine Schreibweise für *w'b*, z.B. in 6,2; 18,2; 22,2 usw. Auch sind einige Zeichen in verkehrter Richtung geschrieben (z.B. das Zeichen *hw* in 13,13 und das Zeichen *mr* in 39,1). Dies sind aber unwesentliche Schönheitsfehler. Schliesslich hätte der Leser es begrüsst, wenn die Tafeln mit den entsprechenden Text-Nummern versehen wären, zumal Tafel-Nr. und Text-Nr. im Buch nicht immer identisch sind.

Diese Bemerkungen vermögen die Bedeutung des vorliegenden Corpus in keiner Weise zu schmälern. Wir haben ja vor uns eine Fundgrube, in der manches noch zu entdecken ist. Das zeigen die Indices p. 159 ff, wo Marciniak Personennamen und Titel zusammengetragen hat. Für seine inhaltreiche Veröffentlichung möchten wir ihm an dieser Stelle aufrichtigen Dank sagen.

Tübingen, Januar 1976

S. ALLAM

* *

A. Rosalie DAVID, *The Egyptian Kingdoms* (The Making of the Past). London, Elsevier-Phaidon, 1975 (8vo, gebunden, 152 Seiten, mit vielen, meist farbigen Abbildungen). Preis £ 3,95.

Laut Vorwort ist dieses Buch der neuen Serie „The Making of the Past“ bestimmt „for the layman, young people, the student, the armchair traveler and the tourist“. Sein Autor, Miss R. David, ist bereits mit einem Buch über *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (1973) hervorgetreten (vgl. die Literaturangaben S. 137). Der nicht-ägyptologische Leser hat also die Gewissheit, dass der Autor — im Unterschied zu anderen Verfassern ähnlicher Werke — eine ägyptologische Ausbildung genossen hat. Er darf also mit Recht erwarten, dass die Zahl allfälliger Fehler im Vergleich zu denjenigen, die nichtägyptologischen Autoren, die über Ägypten schreiben, unvermeidlicherweise mehr oder weniger zahlreich entschlüpfen, sich in vernünftigen Grenzen hält. Diese Erwartung wird, um es gleich zu sagen, im grossen und ganzen auch durchaus erfüllt; der Text ist solide und zuverlässig (ein Lapsus ist auf S. 45 passiert, der Kalif heisst nicht Mahmūd, sondern Ma'mūn; auf S. 55 begegnet die Uniform Hathor-Sat, die einem Ägyptologen eigentlich nicht über die Feder kommen dürfte), die Abbildungen gehen über das, was man in ähnlichen Büchern findet, weit hinaus. Die Verfasserin hat nicht damit gespart, durch mannigfache Reproduktionen alter Stiche den Zustand verschiedener Denkmäler in früheren Zeiten zu verdeutlichen.

Nun zur Anlage des Buches: Sechs Kapitel berichten über „Ancient Egypt“ (geschichtlicher Überblick), „Explorers and Travelers“, „Pioneers of Egyptology“, „Art and Religion“, „King and Commoner“ und „Building and Planting“. Dazwischen eingestreut sind vor allem in pädagogischer Hinsicht wertvolle und instruktive Bildkapitel, sinnigerweise „visual story“ genannt, die über „The Egyptian Pyramid“, „Tutankhamun's Tomb“, „The Egyptian Temple“ und „Tell el-Amarna, An Egyptian City“ unterrichten.

Das Buch dürfte vor allem bei solchen Personen An-

klang finden, die sich über das „alte Ägypten“ als Ganzes rasch, aber zuverlässig informieren wollen, ohne viele Seiten langwieriger Lektüre konsumieren zu müssen. Freilich werden dies — was der Autor in Kauf nehmen musste — eher flüchtige Interessenten sein, für die das Thema „Ägypten“ nach der Lektüre dieses Buches mehr oder weniger erledigt ist. Gerade bei Berücksichtigung dieses Umstandes hätten in gewissen Fällen ausführlichere Informationen geboten werden können und sollen, etwa im Falle der Hieroglyphenschrift. Man hätte ruhig einen kurzen Text zum Ausgangspunkt für eine wenn auch nicht sehr tiefgehende Erläuterung der Prinzipien des hieroglyphischen Schriftsystems nehmen können (die Schriftproben auf S. 53 sind entschieden unzureichend).

Wir wollen aber nicht unbillig kritisieren; es ist ja durchaus nicht auszuschliessen, dass mancher junge Leser bei der Lektüre dieses Buches und dem Betrachten seiner Bilder zu intensiver Beschäftigung mit der Welt des alten Ägypten angeregt wird.

Wien, September 1976

GÜNTHER VITTMANN

* *

M. L. BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (c. 1300-664 B.C.). A genealogical and chronological investigation. With a foreword by K. A. Kitchen. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1975 (4to, XVI + 160 pp.) = Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies, published for the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, The University of Liverpool. Preis: £ 7.50.

Das ägyptische Neue Reich ist durch das Sothisdatum des Papyrus Ebers aus der Zeit Amenophis' I. und überlieferte Neumondtage aus den Regierungen Tuthmosis' III., Amenophis' II. und Ramses' II. in ziemlich engen zeitlichen Grenzen datiert. Danach jedoch klappt eine chronologische Lücke, die bis zum Beginn der Spätzeit im 7. Jh. v. Chr. reicht. Die Erforschung der Zeit der XXI.-XXV. Dynastie, der sog. Dritten Zwischenzeit, ist jetzt durch K. A. Kitchen¹⁾ auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt worden. Aber auch die davor liegende Ramessidenzeit seit der Regierung Ramses' II. muss trotz des reichlich vorliegenden urkundlichen Materials immer noch dieser chronologischen Lücke zugerechnet werden. Diese zu überbrücken hat sich M. L. Bierbrier, der Autor der hier besprochenen Untersuchung, zur Aufgabe gemacht, und zwar aufgrund der rekonstruierten Genealogien leitender Priester und hoher Beamter, aber auch von Schreibern und Kunsthandwerkern aus der Siedlung von Deir el-Medina. Er hat dabei eine überwältigende Fülle von Material gesammelt und sorgfältig bearbeitet. Die Ergebnisse sind auf verhältnismässig knappem Raum dargestellt, für den Benutzer übersichtlich durch die stets beigefügten genealogischen Tafeln. Ein durch die (an sich begrüßenswerte) preisgünstige Art der Herstellung des Buches bedingter Nachteil für den Benutzer, der auch andere Fachliteratur und Originaltexte

¹⁾ *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster 1973).

heranziehen will, ist die Schreibung der zahlreichen Eigennamen in vereinfachter und meist recht willkürlicher, vokalisierter Form²⁾. Hier hätte wenigstens ein gewisser Ausgleich geschaffen werden können durch Beifügung der korrekten Transkription in dem umfassenden Personen-Index.

Für die Zeit der XXII.-XXV. Dynastie bieten die genealogischen Angaben in den Inschriften der hohen Beamten und Priester dieser Zeit eine überreiche, wenn auch oft verwirrende Quelle, die auch Kitchen bereits ausgiebig ausgeschöpft hat. Seine Ergebnisse werden durch Bierbriers Untersuchungen im wesentlichen bestätigt, abgesehen von einigen Umstellungen in der Herrscherfolge der XXIII. Dynastie³⁾. Die aufgrund zahlreicher gleichzeitiger Genealogien für diese Periode ermittelte Generationsfolge liess sich theoretisch auch in einem noch etwas kürzeren Zeitraum unterbringen. Dagegen erweist es sich jetzt klar, dass eine Verlängerung desselben kaum mehr möglich wäre, womit auch von dieser Seite her die bereits von Hornung⁴⁾ mit Hilfe der alttestamentlichen Chronologie festgestellte Datierung des Beginns der XXII. Dynastie auf 945 (± 1 Jahr) gestützt wird.

Für die Zeit der XXI. Dynastie besitzen wir nur wenige genealogische Quellen. Sie beschränken sich nahezu auf die Familie der thebanischen Hohenpriester, für die zweite Hälfte auch die der Hohenpriester des Ptah von Memphis. Weiteres Material liegt in den leider niemals ausreichend veröffentlichten sog. „Priesterannalen“ aus Karnak⁵⁾ vor, und auch die eine oder andere Familie aus Deir el-Medina lässt sich noch bis in die Zeit verfolgen, als das Versteck der Königsmumien oberhalb von Deir el-Bahari endgültig verschlossen wurde. Die Dauer der XXI. Dynastie wurde von Hornung und Kitchen nahezu übereinstimmend mit 125 bzw. 124 Jahren angenommen. Auch hier kann B. feststellen, dass die Genealogien eher eine Verkürzung, kaum aber eine wesentliche Verlängerung zulassen würden.

Am interessantesten sind seine Ergebnisse für die Zeit des späten Neuen Reiches, die Ramessidenzeit. Er hat dafür hauptsächlich die grossen thebanischen Familien herangezogen⁶⁾, denen Hohepriester und Wezire entstammten, daneben die von Deir el-Medina, bei denen die Stelle eines Obersten der Mannschaft (*hrj-jst*) oder eines Nekropolenschreibers erblich waren. Das Material ist hier z.T. lückenhaft, und zur Rekonstruk-

tion einiger Genealogien waren Konjekturen erforderlich, deren Haltbarkeit sich erst noch erweisen muss. Es reicht jedoch aus, um eindeutig Höchstgrenzen festzulegen, über die hinaus jeder Zeitansatz unwahrscheinlich wird. Für die XX. Dynastie ergibt eine Addition der Mindestdaten 111 Jahre; die maximale Dauer kann kaum mehr als etwa 120 Jahre betragen haben. Ebenso zeigt sich jetzt, dass der zeitliche Abstand des Beginns der XX. Dynastie vom Tod Ramses' II. kaum grösser gewesen sein kann als die Summe der Minimalzahlen für die letzten Könige der XIX. Dynastie⁷⁾, dass die Königin Tewosre keine eigene Jahrzahl hatte sondern die des Siptah weiter benutzt, und dass er vor allem kein Interregnum zwischen ihrem Ende und der Thronerhebung des Sethnachte gab⁸⁾. Hier werden B.s Ergebnisse bestätigt und ergänzt durch eine neue Untersuchung von R. Krauss⁹⁾, der m.E. endgültig erwiesen hat, dass Amenmesse ein oberägyptischer Gegenkönig Sethos' II. war und seine Regierung daher chronologisch ausscheidet, ferner dass Merenptah vermutlich bereits in seinem 10., dem letzten belegten Jahr seiner Regierung, starb.

In einer abschliessenden Betrachtung untersucht B. die Konsequenzen seiner genealogischen Feststellungen für die Chronologie des Neuen Reiches und kommt dabei, ebenso wie vor ihm schon Kitchen, zu dem Schluss, dass von den drei astronomisch möglichen Ansätzen für die 67-jährige Regierung Ramses' II.¹⁰⁾ der früheste, dem chronologischen Schema der Cambridge Ancient History¹¹⁾ zugrunde liegende von 1304-1237 nunmehr unhaltbar geworden ist. In Frage käme dagegen neben den Jahren 1290-1223 auch noch der bisher kaum in Betracht gezogene Ansatz in 1279-1212. Die Synchronismen mit der babylonischen, assyrischen und hethitischen Geschichte vermögen hier keine Entscheidung zu bringen, da die neuerdings von J. A. Brinkman¹²⁾ ermittelten Grenzwerte für die gleichzeitigen babylonischen Daten und die daraus resultierende Möglichkeit, auch alle assyrischen Daten vor 1180 um zehn Jahre später zu setzen, sämtliche Datierungsmöglichkeiten für Ramses II. zulassen.

Geht man von den genealogischen Untersuchungen B.s aus, so lässt sich zweifellos der letztgenannte Spätansatz Ramses' II. auf 1279-1212 am zwanglosesten in Übereinstimmung mit ihren Ergebnissen bringen. Das

⁷⁾ Merenptah Jahr 10, Sethos II. Jahr 6, Siptah mit Tewosre Jahr 8; für Amenmesse siehe unten, Note 9.

⁸⁾ Bereits von Helck, *ZDMG* 105, 1955, 44-52 eindeutig nachgewiesen. Der neuerliche Versuch, aus dem Wortlaut der Elephantine-Stele des Sethnachte einen Hinweis auf ein vorausgegangenes Interregnum herauszulesen (*MDIK* 28, 1973, 200; Nachsatz zu der von D. Bidoli hinterlassenen Übersetzung der Stele), ist in keiner Weise überzeugend.

⁹⁾ Erscheint in *SAK* 3, 1976. Der Verfasser hat mir freundlicherweise sein Manuskript übersandt, wofür ich ihm auch an dieser Stelle danken möchte.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. dazu Parker, *JNES* 16, 1957, 42-43. Es sind volle 67 Jahre zu verrechnen (gegen die 66 J. 2 M. bei Josephus, wo die Monatszahl wohl verderbt ist), da das Thronbesteigungsdatum etwa in den II. 3½t-Monat fiel (siehe vorläufig *JNES* 34, 1975, p. 158, n. 8).

¹¹⁾ Second edition, vol. I, chapter VI von W. C. Hayes und M. B. Rowton.

¹²⁾ „A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia“ (*Anal. Or.* 43, Roma 1968), p. 88-93 und n. 494; *BiOr.* 27, 1970, 305-07.

²⁾ Beim Zeilenwechsel kommen dann sinnwidrige Trennungen wie Kenherk-hepeshef, Usermaaren-akht, Amene-mopet, Bute-hamun etc. vor.

³⁾ Von Kitchen selbst in seinem diesem Buch vorangestellten Vorwort korrigiert.

⁴⁾ Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches (Wiesbaden 1964), 24-29.

⁵⁾ Cf. Legrain, *RT* 22, 1903, 51-63.

⁶⁾ Seine schon in *JE* 58, 1972, 303 vorgetragene Ansicht, die Zahlenangaben der bekannten Biographie des thebanischen Hohenpriesters Bakenchons (auf seiner Statue in München) erforderten eine mindestens 15jährige Regierung Sethos' I., hat Widerspruch hervorgerufen (W. J. Murnane, *JNES* 34, 1975, 188-89). In der Tat gibt es keinen Hinweis dafür, dass Roma-Roy ihm noch unter Ramses II. im Amt folgte, doch dürfte die Inschrift jedenfalls noch vor dem Tod dieses Pharaos abgefasst worden sein. Andererseits sind die Jahreszahlen wohl aufgerundet; zieht man von jeder durchschnittlich ein halbes Jahr ab, so ergibt sich für Sethos I. eine Mindestregierungsdauer von nur 11 Jahren.

würde aber bedeuten, dass wir auch mit der gleichfalls astronomisch festgelegten Regierungszeit Tuthmosis' III. (13) auf 1479-1425 heruntergehen müssten (14). Da andererseits das Ebers-Datum allerspätstens in das von Hornung (15) vorgeschlagene Jahr 1517 fällt, würde sich in diesem Fall der Zeitraum für die Regierungen der beiden ersten Tuthmosis auf mindestens 26 Jahre verlängern, was bereits zu gewissen Schwierigkeiten mit den Angaben gleichzeitiger Beamten-Biographien führt (16). Ganz ausgeschlossen wäre es dann auch, die lange und recht wenig belegte Regierungszeit des Haremhab zu kürzen, wie das in letzter Zeit wiederholt vorgeschlagen wurde (17).

Aber auch die frühere Datierung Ramses' II. in 1290-1223 wird von B. nicht ausgeschlossen. Es sei hervorgehoben, dass damit die Jahre 1490-1436 den frühestmöglichen Ansatz für die Regierung Tuthmosis' III. darstellen; das in der Cambridge Ancient History für diesen König angenommene Datum 1504-1450 ist astronomisch unmöglich, das nächsthöhere 1515-1461 historisch ausgeschlossen. Somit kann nunmehr Hornungs Ergebnis, dass das Sothisdatum des Papyrus Ebers auf thebanischer (und nicht auf memphitischer) Beobachtung beruhen muss (18), wohl als endgültig bewiesen gelten.

Ergibt die Datierung Ramses' II. in 1290-1223 befriedigendere Möglichkeiten für die Chronologie des Neuen Reiches, namentlich der XVIII. Dynastie, so hat man andererseits bei ihrer Anwendung grösste Schwierigkeiten, die Zeit bis hinab zum Beginn der XXII. Dynastie um 945 v. Chr. mit belegten Regierungszeiten auszufüllen — ein Problem, das von Bierbriers überaus anregendem Buch aufgeworfen wird und zu dessen Lösung es die Grundlagen bietet, aber auch die Grenzen aufzeigt.

Münster, November 1975

J. VON BECKERATH

* *

Dorothy DOWNES, *The Excavations at Esna 1905-1906*. Warminster, Aris & Philips Ltd., 1974 (1 vol. in-40, XII - 136 pp., 103 fig. et dessins au trait et 1 carte) = Modern Egyptology Series. Prix: £ 6.95.

L'information parcimonieuse concernant certains sites antiques incite aujourd'hui les chercheurs à reprendre l'examen d'anciens dossiers archéologiques. Ceci nous a valu récemment d'excellentes contributions, notamment celles de E. J. Baumgartel (*Petrie's Naqada Excavation -*

(13) Zu den astronomisch berechenbaren Ansatzmöglichkeiten für seine Regierung cf. Parker, o.c., 39-42.

(14) Bereits einmal vorgeschlagen in der 1. Auflage von W. Helck und E. Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden 1956); in der 2. Auflage (1970) durch 1490-1436 ersetzt.

(15) ZDMG 117, 1964, 14-15.

(16) Z.B. die Inschrift des Ahmose-Pennechab (*Urk.* IV 32-39), der bereits unter Amosis und noch unter der Regentschaft der Hatschepsut diente (ähnlich *Urk.* IV 52, 53-74, 78).

(17) Harris, *JEA* 54, 1968, 95-99; Helck, *CdE* 48, 1973, 253-64. Auch eine Koregenz Amenophis' III. mit seinem Sohn, die eine chronologische Verkürzung seiner Regierungszeit bewirken würde, ist natürlich ausgeschlossen.

(18) Hornung, *Untersuchungen*, 56-61.

A Supplement - 1970), de B. Adams (*Ancient Hierakonpolis* - 1974) ou encore celle de D. Dunham-W. Simpson (*The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* - 1974). L'ouvrage de D. Downes s'inscrit dans une perspective analogue. L'Auteur s'est attachée à faire connaître le résultat des fouilles entreprises par le Prof. J. Garstang, en 1905 et 1906, dans le cimetière de Hagar Esna. Le site livra de nombreuses sépultures datées du Moyen Empire, de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire et du début du Nouvel Empire. Une seconde occupation de la nécropole, attestée par des structures de briques, eut lieu sous les XXème-XXIIème Dynasties.

Le lecteur perçoit d'emblée l'intérêt de la publication, d'autant que les éléments architecturaux provinciaux et le matériel historique de ces époques demeurent incomplètement connus et exploités. Malheureusement, la tentative de l'Auteur est entièrement subordonnée aux anciennes méthodes de fouilles et aux aléas que l'on connaît. Le travail sur le terrain fut hâtif, le Prof. J. Garstang étant lui-même occupé sur d'autres chantiers et les relevés systématiques furent pratiquement inexistantes. Les matériaux utilisés par l'Auteur consistent en un résumé publié par J. Garstang (*ASAE* 8 (1907) 141-148) et en rapports mensuels adressés par le fouilleur à son commanditaire. En outre, le Department of Egyptology de l'Université de Liverpool conserve deux plans du site (levés en 1905), deux plans de tombes (dont l'identification est incertaine), des plaques photographiques et des fiches.

L'aspect architectural étant ainsi sacrifié, il était permis d'espérer un meilleur traitement du matériel funéraire découvert. Hélas, sa dispersion commença dès la fin de la première campagne. Les objets gagnèrent les collections des souscripteurs de l'expédition, puis, continuèrent leurs pérégrinations au hasard des ventes. Certaines pièces, acquises par des musées, reçurent de fausses attributions de provenance; d'autres furent détruites dans un séisme, d'autres encore disparurent pendant la guerre. Ceci dit, on mesurera mieux le travail de D. Downes qui, malgré tout, est parvenue à dresser un inventaire (p. 114-132), regroupant près de 400 lots de pièces diverses.

Le plan de son livre comprend une description du site (chap. 1, p. 1-2), suivie d'un dossier de notes et d'observations émises à partir de l'inventaire du fouilleur (chap. 2, p. 3-24). Ses commentaires concernent indifféremment un objet, une série de pièces ou même une tombe. Les développements sont fonction des fiches de l'inventeur. La partie centrale de l'ouvrage (chap. 3 à 11, p. 25-112) est consacrée au catalogue typologique des trouvailles. On y trouvera successivement: la poterie, les perles et amulettes; les scarabées, sceaux et coquillages inscrits; les stèles funéraires; les statuettes humaines et les figurines; les objets d'argile et les terres cuites; la vaisselle de pierre; les objets en métal et en faïence.

Une brève conclusion (p. 113) précède l'inventaire des trouvailles signalé et le livre s'achève sur un index des noms propres et des titres (p. 133-136).

Au chapitre des critiques, avouons que l'impression générale laissée par ce volume n'est pas excellente. Une telle entreprise comporte évidemment un caractère ingrat, inhérent aux méthodes de travail et à la qualité des

informations disponibles. Passons donc sur la carence d'indications muséographiques habituelles et sur la médiocrité de l'illustration photographique et au trait, pour déplorer la présentation peu soignée du matériel publié.

Relevons l'absence systématique de notes en bas de page; seuls quelques renvois apparaissent dans le texte, venant interrompre parfois une traduction (p. 76, par exemple). Plusieurs citations sont incorrectes et omettent de signaler la provenance des études mentionnées (ex. p. 59: H. E. Winlock, *Pearl Shells of Se'n-Wosret I* (1932), que l'on trouvera in *Griffith Studies*, p. 388-392; p. 76: A. H. Gardiner, *The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess*, publié in *JEA* 24 (1938) 83-91). Le chapitre des stèles funéraires, l'un des plus importants du recueil, est présenté d'une façon très sommaire. Les documents, il est vrai, ne livrent que des formules courantes; néanmoins, leur contenu administratif offre un intérêt que l'Auteur nous paraît sous-estimer (cf. *infra*). En outre, la banalité des textes n'excuse pas les petites divergences de traduction d'épithètes, telles que *nb im3h* (cf. p. 68 et 71) ou des omissions dans celle de *m3'-hrw*, par exemple (cf. p. 71 et 78). Enfin, des analyses onomastiques ou des enquêtes prosopographiques susceptibles de préciser une datation sont extrêmement rares. Si l'Auteur avait tenu compte de certains travaux parus ces dernières années, elle eût donné à ses notices une valeur scientifique considérable et évité des erreurs regrettables.

Quelques sondages rapides suggèrent les corrections et additions suivantes:

p. viii Lire *ASAE* 8 (1907) 132-148 et non p. 1-17, qui est la pagination du tiré à part.

p. xi Sur la dispersion des objets dans les différentes collections, l'Auteur renvoie à son *Appendix 1*.

Cependant, la Table des Matières ne contient aucune mention d'un tel appendice; il doit s'agir de l'Inventaire, placé en fin d'ouvrage. A cet endroit (p. 115), on lit: For Museum abbreviations, see page 1; mais celle-ci contient la description du site. Bref, l'index muséographique et la liste annoncée sont absents.

p. 18. Le plan reproduit ne comporte aucune orientation.

p. 56, No. 169E Le scarabée de *Nbw-hpr-r'* (Antef V) n'appartient pas à la XIème Dynastie, mais à la XVIIème. Cf. J. von Beckerath, *Äg. Forsch.* 23 (1964), 280-283.

p. 57, No. 266E La figure correspondante (p. 64) ne comporte pas le *t* final dans le nom propre *'Imn-m-h3t*.

p. 57, No. 178E Ce scarabée ne désigne pas Antef VII, mais Antef V (*Nbw-hpr-r'*). Cf. *supra*, sous 169E.

p. 58, No. 198Ei Lire *hm-ntr n 'In-hrt* ... au lieu de *in-hrt*, var. *in-hrt*.

p. 58, No. 223E Lecture incomplète. L'exemplaire reproduit p. 62 livre: *nḥw(n)niwt Bbi m3'-hrw*. Sur le titre, cf. l'importante étude de O. D. Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971) 23-48.

p. 59 Concernant les huitres perlières inscrites au

nom de Sésostris Ier (Nos 36 et 263), cf. également J.-P. Corteggiani, *BIFAO* 73 (1973) 144-146 et pl. xiii A. Il convient de signaler que le cartouche de *S-n-wsrt* (No. 36) ne désigne toutefois pas obligatoirement Sésostris Ier. A. J. Arkell (*JEA* 30 (1944) 74) signale, en effet, une coquille analogue inscrite au nom de Sésostris III.

p. 68, No. 32E2 Le titre *nḥw n niwt*, comme l'a montré O. D. Berlev (cf. *supra*), n'a pas de rapport avec la vie urbaine d'une cité, mais désigne une organisation militaire. En outre, le nom du propriétaire de la stèle peut être lu *Mntw-htp.i* (Ranke, *PN I*, 155,2), d'autant que le roseau fleuri est suivi du déterminatif de l'homme assis (le *yod* n'est donc pas à considérer ici comme déterminatif).

p. 73, No. 172E Le titre féminin *ḥkrt-nswt*, gravé au premier registre (droite) a été étudié récemment par D. Nord in *Serapis* 2 (1970) 1-16. Au second registre, le nom propre qui accompagne la figure de gauche est à lire *S3-Hnmw* (cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 248, 6).

p. 76, No. 224E Au dernier registre, les titres de deux personnages debout ne sont pas à lire *w'rtw n tt ḥk3*, mais *3tw n tt ḥk3*, comme l'a montré G. Posener, in *RdE* 15 (1963) 127-128.

p. 80, No. 267E Le texte de la stèle commence par l'invocation habituelle suivante: *ḥtp di nsw Gb psdt ntrw '3t ndst Wsir ḥnty imntyw* ... que l'Auteur traduit: *A gift which the king gives to Geb, to the gods of the Ennead and to Osiris Khenty-imentiu* ... La juxtaposition *'3t/ndst* (var. *wrt*) est connue dès les *Pyr.* (cf., par ex., *Pyr.* 1689 c) et désigne "La Grande et la Petite Ennéade" (cf. J. G. Griffiths in *Or* 28 (1959) 42-45).

Sur le titre du propriétaire de cette stèle qui était *imy-ht s3w-prw* ("contrôleur des gendarmes"), cf. les études de J. Yoyotte, *RdE* 9 (1952) 139-151 et H. Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1959-1960) 299-310.

Enfin, dans la généalogie, le nom de l'*nḥw n niwt* est à lire *S3-Mntw* (cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 282,7).

p. 83, No. 340E A la 1ère ligne de la stèle, remplacer dans la figure le signe *nd* (Aa27) par *3b* (U23), visible sur la photographie pour une lecture correcte de *3bdw*.

En conclusion, disons que tel qu'il se présente, et malgré ses imperfections, cet ouvrage comble une lacune et il rendra service à tous ceux qui sont attachés à l'examen des questions provinciales antérieures au Nouvel Empire.

Le Caire, mars 1976

MICHEL VALLOGGIA

* *

Elisabeth-Christine STRAUSS, *Die Nunschale — Eine Gefäßgruppe des Neuen Reiches*. München, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974 (8vo, 95 pp., 15 pls., 72 figs.) = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 30.

This 30th volume in the Münchner Ägyptologische Studien represents the Magisterarbeit of E.-C. Strauss

at Munich's Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. Ostensibly it is the publication of the local collection of "Egyptian-faience" saucers or small bowls with dark line decoration in plant and animal motif. The standard work on such objects was done by Krönig in the 1930's, and all the pieces under discussion fall into his categories of design. There are three complete bowls and fifteen fragments in the Munich collection. Each of the pieces is presented, not only in black and white photo, but in facsimile drawing with measurements and other available data accompanying these. They are all dated to the New Kingdom, but the provenience of most pieces is unknown. Others are said vaguely to have come from Deir el Bahri.

Beginning with a discussion of the composition of the pottery and glaze and its color, the author soon turns to the patterns of decoration and uses these as a means for determining the original purpose of the bowls. The motifs used were mainly of the lotus and Tilapia (Nile perch). Unfortunately, Strauss relies heavily (and uncritically) upon a group of writings of varying worth, some of conjectural, indeed quite controversial and imaginative nature, for her interpretation of the significance of these motifs. She even exceeds the authors of such theories, as when, for instance, she concludes that the bowls are to be seen as primeval oceans, thus the embodiments of the god Nun. The supposed liquid that the saucers held, when placed in the tomb, would serve the dead who, by drinking from it, would receive the animation and creative strength of the primeval god and become reborn (p.71). From this understanding the author can only credit her own imagination; there is absolutely nothing concrete to support it, certainly no original written documentation. Oddly, even the lack of evidence that all of these bowls were found in tombs does not concern Strauss. The possibility (that she herself earlier states) of some having possibly been used at the Hathor shrine at Deir el Bahri is not recalled.

There are long excursuses into the symbolism of the lotus, papyrus and Tilapia fish and on the roles of Nun, Nefertem, Re and Hathor. The author posits that the saucers in the tomb represented these last deities (p. 89).

One must wonder why statues of the gods themselves or more precise renderings in ceramic of the lotus blossom would not have been more efficacious for the dead? From published excavations of cemeteries it is obvious that only a very few persons were buried with such fine pottery bowls. One blue saucer found at Sedment was recorded and apparently found with a group of toilet objects including kohl pots, a bronze razor and mirror, and the little box that held them (Petrie and Brunton, "Sedment II", *BSAE* 35, pl. 63). From W. v. Bissing's volume in the *Catalogue Général on Fayencegefäße* (Vienne 1902) it is obvious that the bowls vary widely in size and shape, and one might expect greater consistency in a cult object. Some bowls clearly do have Hathor-associated designs, others much less so. Is it indeed unusual that the Egyptian, who lived so close to nature, chose to decorate his better pottery with the motives of the world of nature around him? Further,

unglazed vessels are porous and unattractive when filled with a liquid. Can we really say that the Egyptians devoted all wealth and talent for creating only religious implements and tomb furnishings and did not enjoy attractive pieces in their homes? Why should unglazed, undecorated bowls have been tolerated by those who could have afforded better?

Strauss can no more marshal solid evidence in support of her theories than I can prove she is incorrect. However the lack of balance and scientific objectivity in her writing, her uncritical acceptance of the printed word, together with the carelessness of her presentation — to the point of deleting series, forgetting co-authors, and incorrectly stating authors names in her bibliographic references — help to render my verdict on this book as not very useful and sadly misguided.

Berkeley, September 1975

BARBARA S. LESKO

GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE

Jacques SCHWARTZ, *Papyrus Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg*, nos. 301-500. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 1973 (8vo, pp. 283) = Publications de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg III.

This third volume of papyri from Strasbourg, which, oddly, appeared after volume IV (nos. 501-560), contains two hundred documents. Nos. 301-400 are texts which appeared between 1963 and 1968 in the *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres* of the University of Strasbourg; nos. 401-500 are, with a few exceptions, here published for the first time. Since the *Bulletin* has now ceased to exist, papyri from Strasbourg will in future be published in monograph form. In this volume, papyri nos. 301-400 have been edited by Jacques Schwartz, Paul Bureth and a number of their pupils; of the remainder, Schwartz is responsible for 401-469 and Bureth for 470-500. These two scholars also compiled the indices to the 200 papyri which conclude the volume. One minor complaint about these — there is no index of official terms and titles which one would expect to find in a modern edition of texts.

Most papyrologists will now be familiar with the virtues and faults of the method of publication employed by the scholars of Strasbourg. The major virtue is that texts are presented without undue delay and in large quantities; we must all be grateful for their accessibility. On the other hand, it is inevitable that much material of interest is left with only very brief comment and, in some cases, inadequate or out-of-date references. In view of the number of scholars involved in such a publication, it would be desirable to impose a greater degree of editorial uniformity which would perhaps remove the considerable number of obscurities which remain in the notes (e.g. at 304.6 we read *μὲν τὸν* and in the note simply "lire *μὲντοι*") and the lack of consistency as between text and notes in the resolution of abbreviations and restoration. Sometimes one must look in the notes for obviously correct restorations when, in other instances, much more dubious supplements are inserted in the texts. It is per-

haps unfair to complain about this in the cases of nos. 301-400 which are simply photographically reprinted here, but a more consistent policy might be adopted for future publications. More serious perhaps — though a traditional feature of publications of papyri from Strasbourg — is the complete lack of translations; editors should in general be encouraged to state what they understand a text to mean, except where it is obviously too fragmentary.

Any attempt to gauge the reliability of the readings is hampered by another traditional feature of Strasbourg editions — the lack of plates. Users of the volume therefore have no easy way of checking improvements they might wish to make and errors of reading and interpretations can lurk undetected for a longer period of time than is desirable. It is also, of course, impossible to check on texts (of which there are quite a few in this collection) to which dates are assigned solely on palaeographical criteria. In most of these cases the absence of plates is matched by the absence of helpful description or comment. For example, 344 is assigned to the first half of the second century A.D. and the writing is simply described as "écriture cursive assez fine".

Of the papyri in the first section (301-400) somewhat over two thirds come from the first three centuries A.D.; the rest are later in date, the latest being from the sixth or seventh centuries. They include texts which come, as their content shows, from the Arsinoite, Hermopolite, Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes and elsewhere. The editors do not indicate provenance and we must assume that, in cases where the text contains no clue, it is unknown. The content is a miscellany of documents including receipts for a variety of taxes and other payments, leases of land and other property, lists of people and places, private letters, accounts, documents relating to population registration and control, oracular questions and contracts of various kinds. It is worth noting that some papyri appear twice in the volume. 311 is re-edited on pp. 161-2 with some improvements; 307 reappears as 463 *bis* and 335 as 469 *bis*. The state of preservation of the texts varies considerably as does the amount of comment made upon them. There are several documents of particular interest. 301 has been republished as *CPJ* 515. It contains a fragmentary list of people, designated as *Ιουδ()*, who are *ἐν ἀναχωρήσει*. The document can only be assigned a *terminus ante* of A.D. 161-9 from the date of the text on the verso, but it is possible that it was compiled as early as the reign of Trajan and it might therefore be connected with the Jewish revolt of A.D. 115-7. 318, a land lease of A.D. 590-6, contains the first evidence for a temple of Zeus at Heracleopolis. 341 is a contract for the engagement of musicians in A.D. 85 by two presbyteroi of the synod of priests of Socnopaïos. 345 contains some interesting military accounts which perhaps relate to the army's medical services (for recent bibliography see G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, 1969, 248ff.). The text is assigned to the first half of the second century on the basis of the evidence of the price of oil, a rather risky criterion. 357, a tax receipt of A.D. 210, contains an example of the erasure of the name of Geta (see now *BGU* 2056). To the collection of evidence for the term *ἐπαίτων* in sitologos re-

ceipts (*ad* 369) should be added *BGU* 2025-6. The text of 324 has been substantially improved by Youtie (*Essays in Honour of C. Bradford Welles, American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 34-5).

The remainder of the texts in this volume (401-500) fall into three groups. The first consists of documents of A.D. 124-40 relating to the weavers of Bacchias, Petesouchos and his sons Hareotes and Zoilos (nos. 401-37), who are attested in other Strasbourg papyri and in *P. Ryl.* 210. Most of the texts are tax receipts and the majority of these relate to either *γερδιακόν* or *συνταξιμόν* and associated impositions. Papyrus no. 437 is of particular interest since it concerns a loan of money made to Petesouchos by a certain L. Valerius Priscus, a soldier of *legio XXII Deiotariana*; this appears to be the latest attestation (A.D. 123) of this legion in Egypt — it is normally assumed to have disappeared during the Jewish War of A.D. 132-5.

The second group of documents (438-69) relates to Polydeukia in the Arsinoite Nome and consists mainly of tax receipts of the years A.D. 210-231, some of which have been published before. Payments to the officials responsible for collection of *νομαρχικά* are made through the account of the *βουλή* of the metropolis. 459 is particularly noteworthy since it mentions Valerius Titianus, a former *praefectus vigilum*, whose career has recently been re-examined by J. F. Gilliam (*Mélanges W. Seston*, 1974, 217-25).

Finally, we have a group of Byzantine documents from Hermopolis (nos. 470-500) edited by Bureth, of which the most substantial contribution is a group of 11 texts, mainly leases of land and other property, relating to the Church of the Resurrection at Hermopolis and dated between A.D. 497 and 553.

University of Manchester,
April 1976

ALAN K. BOWMAN

CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

H. S. SMITH, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt: Life at Memphis & Saqqara (c. 500-30 B.C.)*. Warminster, England, Aris & Phillips Limited, 1974 (8vo, VIII + 92 pp., 1 frontispiece, 36 pls.). Price: £ 1.95 - ISBN 0 85668 024 9.

This collection of three lectures given by Smith is a good introduction to the results of the work at North Saqqara conducted first by the late Walter B. Emery and, since his death, by Smith. The lectures were published to give the public a "general view of what the Egypt Exploration Society's excavations have to contribute to Egyptian history" and "to give to the general reader and to visitors to Egypt an idea of the picture of life at Memphis and Saqqara in the late period" ¹⁾. This goal has been achieved quite gracefully.

The first lecture, "Memphis Under the Last of the Pharaohs", given as Smith's Inaugural Lecture at University College, London, presents the history of Egypt in the fourth century B.C., just prior to Egypt's conquest

¹⁾ Preface.

by Alexander the Great, summarizes our knowledge about the physical layout of the city of Memphis, and describes "Life in Memphis and its Necropolis" during this last period of Egyptian independence before the incorporation of Egypt into the Hellenistic world. This third part of the lecture is drawn in large part from the texts actually found in the Saqqara excavations, documents written for the most part by priests and workers in the necropolis which, directly or indirectly, indicate much about the life and concerns of such people.

Lecture two, "The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara", given to the Royal Asiatic Society, describes the actual discoveries of the excavations: Ibis catacombs within a third dynasty necropolis, suggesting a connection with Imhotep; a Coptic village over a temple complex the central shrine of which was probably dedicated to the mothers of the Apis bulls; catacombs off the shrines of this temple complex for the burial of mothers of the Apis, of baboons, and of falcons, the catacombs, especially that of the mothers of the Apis, containing many of the stelae and inscriptions by priests and workers which Smith drew on for the first lecture; foundation deposits from the time of construction of the temple complex; caches of worn out or broken temple vessels and statues which were no longer used in temple service but, being sacred, could not be destroyed and therefore were buried within the sacred precinct; situlae and bronze and faience statuettes of various deities, including many intended to carry petitions from an individual to a god, which had been offered to the shrines by individuals and then buried under the enclosure wall of the temple; papyri, a few in Aramaic, a few in Greek, mostly in Demotic from the period between Darius and Alexander, including accounts, legal and administrative documents, letters, and assorted literary and magical texts; ostraca, including accounts, notes, dedications, and drafts for formal petitions, including a series by a man who had prophetic dreams, recounting the dreams he had had whose interpretations foretold success for the reigning king; and hieroglyphic inscriptions on offering tables, stelae, and the like. This lecture ends with a short discussion of the historical importance of the animal catacombs. The inclusion of several maps and plans and eight plates of photographs of the necropolis area and objects therefrom greatly aids the understanding of the adjoining text.

The third lecture, "Two Athenians at the Funeral of a Mother of Apis", attempts to integrate the architectural, archaeological, and textual data in a sketch of life, or, rather, aspects of life, near Memphis about 300 B.C. This Smith does by describing, from the point of view of two outsiders, Athenian merchants who travel to Egypt just after the death of Alexander the Great, the activities surrounding the burial of one of the Mothers of Apis. The two fictitious Athenians quickly describe the city of Memphis, then are introduced to an Egyptian in the service of the mothers of the Apis who leads them through and explains to them the preparations for the burial and then the actual burial ceremony. His description is "largely a work of imagination" ²⁾ and

he adds "the setting of this lecture is purely imaginary, and much of the local colour invention" ³⁾. But it is based on fact, especially the combined evidence of the stelae of the mothers of the Apis. It presents as good a picture as we are likely to get for some time of sections of people's lives and of their feelings towards their religious ceremonies.

Smith writes clearly and smoothly and has certainly succeeded in giving the general reader a glimpse at life in late period Egypt. The only criticism of the book, its physical appearance — a typed manuscript, including the inevitable typographical errors ⁴⁾, with footnotes all together at the end and photographs which are rather crowded together and not as sharp as they would have been if they had been printed on glossy paper — results from the fact that this is a "popular rather than scholarly" ⁵⁾ publication and printing costs were kept as low as possible. The price has been kept below £ 2, and thus the criticism can be turned into a compliment. This small volume is a welcome addition by a scholar to popular literature. Those already interested in late period Egypt will find the book both interesting and informative. In addition, it will arouse interest in this period of Egyptian studies, both among Egyptologists, who too often ignore it, and among the general public to whom the volume is addressed.

Chicago, April 1976

JANET H. JOHNSON

* *

Jadwiga KUBIŃSKA, *Faras IV. Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes*. Warszawa, Editions scientifiques de Pologne, 1974 (4to, 194 S., 116 Abb.).

Im Rahmen der von der UNESCO finanzierten Unternehmungen zur Rettung der durch den Nilhochdamm bei Assuan bedrohten nubischen archäologischen Denkmäler hat unter der Leitung von K. Michałowski das Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de Varsovie au Caire die Ausgrabung des wenige Kilometer unterhalb des zweiten Kataraktes im Sudan gelegenen Platzes Faras, des alten christlichen Bischofssitzes Παχωρας, übernommen. Im Verlauf von vier Campagnen in den Jahren 1961-1964, die besonders durch die Freilegung der Kathedrale mit ihren erstaunlich gut erhaltenen Fresken weltweites Aufsehen erregten ¹⁾, sind auch

³⁾ P. 92, n. 1 to part 3.

⁴⁾ P. 86, n. 21, giving a date of 71 B.C. for Piankhy; p. 34, end, referring to a subsequent discussion as being on p. 32 (I believe it is on p. 41).

⁵⁾ Preface.

¹⁾ Man vergleiche die Grabungsberichte: K. Michałowski, *Faras. Fouilles Polonaises 1961*, Warschau 1962; ders., *Faras (II). Fouilles Polonaises 1961-1962*, Warschau 1965; St. Jakobielski, *Faras III. A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions*, Warschau 1972. Ferner: K. Michałowski, *Faras, die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Einsiedeln-Zürich-Köln 1967. *Das Wunder aus Faras* (Katalog der Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel, Essen, vom 14.5-14.9.1969), Essen 1969. E. Dinkler (Herausgeber), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*, Recklinghausen 1970. J. Vantini, *The Excavations at Faras, a Contribution to the History of Christian Nubia*, Bologna 1970.

²⁾ Preface.

zahlreiche Schriftzeugnisse gefunden worden, nämlich einige Stelen, eine grosse Anzahl von Graffiti in der Form von Beischriften zu den Fresken und einzelne kleinere Inschriften anderer Natur. J. Kubińska publiziert in diesem Bande eine Sammlung der darunter befindlichen griechischen Texte; aufgenommen worden sind dankenswerterweise auch solche, die schon vor Beginn der polnischen Grabungen bekannt geworden waren. Dagegen fehlen ein paar „brèves inscriptions concernant des fresques“ und — besonders bedauerlich und unverständlich — „des prières liturgiques assez longues“ (S. 13).

A. Zum Plan des Buches

Die Beschränkung auf allein die griechischen Inschriften, die aus persönlichen Gründen zwar naheliegen mochte, ist sachlich nicht vertretbar und hat üble Folgen. Im christlichen Nubien lebten nämlich drei Sprachen, Griechisch, Koptisch und Altnubisch, nicht nur nebeneinander, sondern geradezu ineinander. Für alle drei Sprachen benutzte man dasselbe griechische Alphabet, das für Koptisch und Nubisch nur um ein paar Zusatzzeichen vermehrt war. Sofern nun, wie bei der Mehrzahl der Graffiti, die Inschrift nur aus der Beischrift von Namen zu den Fresken besteht, lässt sich folglich nicht mehr erkennen, welche Sprache gemeint ist. Falls man eine Auswahl trifft, muss diese zwangsweise willkürlich bleiben. Mit welchen noch ernsthafteren Gefahren man aber zu rechnen hat, wenn man sich aufs Griechische beschränken will, sei an einem Beispiel aufgezeigt: Die Texte 117 und 120, zwei Graffiti mit Anrufungen des Erzengels Michael, lauten in der Edition wie folgt. 117: † Μιχαήλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος ἀρχιστράτηγος (καὶ) Φιλάν(θρωπος) (καὶ) ἀγαθ[ὸς] βο[ή]θει ἔρον, und 120: † [Μιχαήλ ... ἀρχιστράτηγος Φιλάν(θρωπος) Α... ΘΕ βο[ή]θει ερον. Die beiden itazistischen Verschreibungen von ἀρχιστράτηγος sind leicht zu korrigieren, und in Α...ΘΕ sollte doch auch wohl ἀγαθός stecken. Was aber heisst βο[ή]θει ἔρον? Kubińska sagt dazu unter 117: „Le mot dernier est-il pour ἔργον?“. Auf Griechische müsste es statt dessen dann doch wohl heissen βο[ή]θει τοῦτ' ἔργον oder ähnlich. In Wirklichkeit ist vielmehr EPON koptisch, nämlich die Präposition E- im Status pronominalis mit dem Personalsuffix der 1. Person des Plural; EPON steht hier für ἡμῖν, BOHΘEI EPON heisst „hilf uns“ ²⁾. Mir scheint dieser Fehler der beste Beweis dafür zu sein, dass die Edition aller Inschriften, nicht nur der griechischen, in Zusammenarbeit eines Gräzisten, eines Koptologen und eines Kenners des Altnubischen hätte erfolgen müssen; zumindest der Koptologe wäre in Warschau in der Person St. Jakobielskis zur Hand gewesen.

B. Zur Anlage

Die Inschriften sind nach inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten auf einzelne Kapitel verteilt worden; so sind zusammengefasst die Gründungsinschriften (Kapitel I; Nr. 1-2), die Grabstelen (Kapitel II; Nr. 3-13), Beischriften

der Namen von Bischöfen auf den Fresken (Kapitel V; Nr. 14-20), Namen anderer Kleriker (Kapitel VI; Nr. 21-46), Inschriften zur Ehre Christi (Kapitel VII; Nr. 47-59), der Jungfrau Maria (Kapitel VIII; Nr. 60-74), der Heiligen (Kapitel IX; Nr. 75-89), von Anachoreten (Kapitel X; Nr. 90-95), der Engel und Erzengel (Kapitel XI; Nr. 96-128).

Unterbrochen wird die Abfolge der Texteditionen von drei Abschnitten resümierend-darstellenden Charakters. Im ersten (S. 62-68) versucht die Verfasserin unter der Überschrift „Commentaire grammatical“ eine Beschreibung aller in den grösseren Inschriften auftretenden grammatikalischen Unregelmässigkeiten zu geben, sowohl der morphologischen als auch der syntaktischen. Dabei ist sie auf den unglücklichen Einfall gekommen, die Darstellung nicht systematisch, sondern alphabetisch anzuordnen, verteilt auf alle Wörter, an denen die fraglichen Erscheinungen zu beobachten sind. Das hat zur Folge, dass man sich z.B. die Belege für die verschiedenen Typen von itazistischen Verschreibungen aus diesem Vokabelverzeichnis zusammensuchen muss. Noch grotesker ist das Verfahren natürlich bei den syntaktischen Erscheinungen: Niemand erwartet die Behandlung des Fehlers „Akkusativ statt des Genitivs“ etwa unter dem Stichwort αἰών. Hinzukommt, dass dieser Katalog weit davon entfernt ist, vollständig zu sein; so findet man beispielsweise die Erklärung, dass in Nr. 4, 6 επαιρεώσας für περαιώσας steht, weder hier noch im Kommentar zum Text selbst. Dagegen hätte man auf Eintragungen wie „Θεός-Dieu. La forme de ce mot est toujours correcte“ (S. 65) getrost verzichten können.

Der zweite dieser Abschnitte (= Kapitel III, S. 69-86), „Commentaire de la 'prière nubienne'“, beschäftigt sich in sehr ausführlicher Form mit der Frage nach der Herkunft des für die nubischen Grabstelen charakteristischen liturgischen Totengebets. Die Autorin analysiert das Gebet zu diesem Zwecke auf seine zahlreichen biblischen Anklänge hin und zieht Parallelen zu den Liturgien anderer Kirchenregionen. Sie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass keine besondere Wahrscheinlichkeit für eine direkte Herkunft des Gebetes aus der konstantinopolitanischen Liturgie besteht, was vielfach angenommen und als Beweis für die Abhängigkeit der nubischen Kirche von Byzanz gewertet worden ist, sondern dass man eher an palästinensische Einflüsse denken kann. Dieser Schluss wird besonders durch den aus Palästina stammenden Papyrus P. Nessana 96 nahegelegt, auf dem ebendieses Totengebet mit nur geringen Varianten gegenüber den nubischen Grabstelen erhalten ist. Obwohl das meiste Parallelenmaterial, das Kubińska hier heranzieht, schon in älteren Publikationen benutzt ist ³⁾, mag es doch sein, dass sie sich mit der Klärung dieses Problems, für dessen Beurteilung ich mich selbst für inkompetent halte, die grössten Verdienste dieses Buches erworben hat.

Kapitel IV (S. 87-89) hat die Liste der Bischöfe von

³⁾ Insbesondere bei W. Weissbrodt, *Ein ägyptischer christlicher Grabstein mit Inschrift aus der griechischen Liturgie im Königlichen Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg und ähnliche Denkmäler in auswärtigen Museen I* (Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen Braunsberg WS 1905/6) und II (ebendort, SS 1909); H. Junker, *Grabsteine Nubiens*, Zeitschr. äg. Spr. Alt. 60, 1925, 111-148.

²⁾ Richtig übersetzt übrigens schon in *Kathedrale* S. 149.

Faras zum Gegenstand, die durch ein Graffito an der Ostwand des sogenannten Bischofsraums in der Südost-ecke der Kathedrale erhalten ist. Die Verfasserin gibt aber unter Verweis auf die Unleserlichkeit der ihr zugänglichen Photos dieser für die Geschichte der Stadt und auch die Chronologie der Grabstelen eminent wichtigen Inschrift keine Transkription und verschweigt darüber hinaus unverständlicherweise auch die Publikationen, durch die diese Inschrift schon früher der Wissenschaft zugänglich gemacht worden ist (zuletzt in *Faras III* S. 190-195). Sie druckt nicht einmal eine Übersetzung ab, aus der man die in der Liste enthaltenen Angaben über Lebensdauer und Amtsdauer der Bischöfe hätte entnehmen können — Daten, die mit den aus den Grabstelen selbst ablesbaren Informationen in Einklang zu bringen wären —, sondern beschränkt sich auf einige meist triviale Bemerkungen zu den Namen der Bischöfe, etwa „Le nom de Mathaios est tout simplement tiré de l'Evangélisme“.

Den Abschluss des Buches bilden spärliche Indices, und zwar der im französischen Text vorkommenden geographischen Namen und der Personennamen der Inschriften. Dass auf ein allgemeines Wörterverzeichnis verzichtet worden ist, das doch in keiner modernen Textedition fehlen sollte, ist sehr zu bedauern.

C. Zur Edition der Texte

Den griechischen Texten der Inschriften sind — soweit möglich — französische Übersetzungen, ein Kommentar und — besonders begrüßenswert — sehr zahlreiche Photographien beigegeben worden. Leider sind die erklärenden Bemerkungen oft recht mangelhaft; so werden bei den datierten Grabstelen regelmässig nur die julianischen Jahre angegeben, auf eine Umrechnung der Tage und Monate aus der ägyptischen Zählung in die uns geläufige wird verzichtet, geschweige denn, dass ein Wort darüber verloren würde, wie weit die Angaben über Wochentage und den Stand des Mondes, die die Inschriften enthalten, sich verifizieren lassen. Ferner hätten im Kommentar die Angaben der Bischofsliste über Lebensjahre und Amtsdauer der Bischöfe zum Vergleich herangezogen werden müssen (s.o.). Dagegen liest man bisweilen seltsame Bemerkungen wie die zu Nr. 4 A 3-4 auf S. 29: „Dans les lignes 3-4 on lit la tournure suivante: *ἐκοιμήθη ὁ παμμικαὶνός ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις*“. Tatsächlich liest man in den betreffenden Zeilen nichts anderes.

Was die Präsentation der griechischen Texte selbst angeht, die eigentliche Aufgabe des Buches doch wohl, so ist die Verfasserin hierbei teilweise mit einer geradezu erstaunlichen Leichtfertigkeit vorgegangen. Ein Ausfall einer ganzen Inschriftenzeile, der nicht etwa, wie man an der Zeilenzählung erkennen kann, erst beim Druck zustande gekommen ist, scheint mir einfach unverzeihlich (s. unten zu Nr. 6). Die Zahl der Druckfehler und anderer kleinerer Versehen ist überdurchschnittlich hoch.

Allein in der 26 Zeilen zählenden Inschrift Nr. 1 habe ich deren 11 gefunden, darunter mindestens drei gravierende (s. unten). Bei den nachfolgenden Einzelbemerkungen übergehe ich alle Akzentfehler und leicht erkennbaren Druckfehler stillschweigend.

Nr. 1. In Z. 2 lies *δμουσιού* statt *δμουσιου*. Z. 4 *θεοστέπου* statt *θεοσέπτου*. In den Zeilen 9, 14 und 17 *κ(α)* statt *κα*. Z. 23 *ἀπολαῦσαι* statt *ἀπολῦσαι*.

Nr. 2. Unterhalb der abgedruckten Inschrift steht auf dem Stein noch ein Monogramm, das wohl zu *Παύλου ἐπισκόπου* aufzulösen ist (vgl. auch *Faras II* S. 164).

Nr. 3. Die Verfasserin nennt diese Grabstele „inédite“, in Wirklichkeit ist sie aber schon von St. Jakobielski in *Faras III* S. 202 publiziert worden, einem Buch also, das die Herausgeberin von *Faras IV* auch hätte kennen müssen, und zwar in vollständigerer und richtigerer Weise als es hier geschieht: Z. 1 *θεῖα προνοία* statt des unsinnigen *Θεῖα προνοία*; Z. 4 *Μαθθαίου* statt *Μαθθαῖον*. Die Zeilen 5-7 lauten mit Jakobielskis Lesungen und Ergänzungen⁴⁾: *ἐν μ[η]ν[η] (= μηνί) Παῦ[νι] [ἡμέρᾱ] ε[στ] [ου]ς ἀπὸ / Δ[ι]οκλ[η] (τιανού) υπ[α]. [κ]ύριε θ[ε]ς / κτλ.* Dadurch ist die Stele auf den 31. Mai 765 datiert. Es ist mir ein Rätsel, wie Kubińska das Jahr 765 ebenfalls als Datum angeben konnte, obwohl sie doch ein Datierung auf der Inschrift nicht entziffert hatte. — Die Z. 8 nach Kubińskas Zählung existiert nicht, so dass sich von hier an die Zeilenzählung verschiebt. Zeile 15 (16 nach K.) ist nicht transkribiert; erhalten ist *ετ.*, was man zu *ἐτη [τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ...]* ergänzen könnte (vgl. z.B. Nr. 7, 15).

Nr. 4. Ebenfalls bereits ediert in *Faras III* S. 202-205. In Z. A 5 ist *μηνί* und *εσϗ* zu lesen statt *μενί* und *εβϗδ*. In Z. A 7 liest Jakobielski statt *ἐνκαλῶς καὶ θεαρέστ(ως) λειτουργήσας* wohl zu Recht *ἐν καλαῖς καὶ θεαρέστ(οις) λειτουργικ(αῖς)*. Einen Teil der in Z. A 12 von der Verfasserin als „abréviations indéchiffrées“ bezeichneten Buchstaben hat Jakobielski immerhin mit Sicherheit entziffert, nämlich *μ(ε)τ(ᾱ) τ(ῶν) π(α)τ(ε)ρων*. Am unteren Rande des Steines steht noch die zusätzliche Datierung nach Christi Geburt *ἐπὶ χ(ριστοῦ) ψϗδ*, deren Wiedergabe in der Edition und der Übersetzung fehlt, auf die aber seltsamerweise im Kommentar auf S. 31 Bezug genommen wird.

Nr. 5. In Z. 5 ist zu lesen *μηνὸς* und *εἰς* statt *μενὸς* und *εἰς*. In Z. 14 möchte ich, gestützt auf die Angabe *ἐτη κ ἡμέραι* id in Z. 17 der „Bischofsliste“ (vgl. *Faras III* S. 194), statt *σ(ε)λ(η)ν(η)ς* lesen *κ(α) ἡμέραι*; dazu gehört dann die in der Zeile darunter stehende Zahl *ιδ*. Zu Beginn der Zeile 15 vor *ξβ* (der Summe der Lebensjahre, 42 + 20 = 62) könnte man vielleicht die Abkürzung für *(γίνονται)* finden.

Nr. 6. *ἡμέρα παρασκευή* (Z. 5) ist in der Übersetzung fälschlich mit „samedi“ wiedergegeben; es ist „Freitag“, was auch mit den Berechnungen übereinstimmt: der Todestag des Stephanos, der 14.7.926, war ein Freitag. Nach Z. 13 ist eine ganze Zeile der Inschrift (also Z. 14) bei der Transkription ausgefallen: *ἀπὸ τε τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ*. Danach verschiebt sich natürlich die Zeilenzählung.

⁴⁾ Nur in Z. 7 liest J. υπβ statt υπα.

Nr. 7. Das Datum ist nicht 1006, sondern der 21.9.1005 n. Chr. Die erste Zeile, die in der Edition nicht gezählt ist, sollte wohl lauten: [A 'I(ησοῦ)ς] † ὁ χ(ριστός) Ω. In Z. 5 hat der Stein nicht *Ἰακώβ*, sondern *Ἰακκώβ*. In Z. 6 ist nach */τινῶ* die Präposition *ἐν* ausgefallen. Z. 8 *ἐν* ist zu tilgen. Z. 14 statt *ἐκοιμή(σ)α(το)* lies *ἐκοιμήθ(η)*. Z. 15 statt *ἐτη † κβ* lies *ἐτη ψκβ*.

Nr. 8. Z. 7 hat der Stein *ἀρχημανδρίτης*. Z. 10 lese ich *ἐν τω χλοη* (Verschreibung für *ἐν τόπῳ χλόης*). Z. 11 statt *ἐντὶ* lies *ἐντ'* (für *ἐνθα*). Z. 23 statt *ἄθ[ω]ρ: εἰ* lies *Ἀθ[ύ]ρ: ιε*.

Nr. 9. Diese Grabstele des Bischofs Jesus II. enthält kein absolutes Datum; dennoch datiert die Verfasserin sie auf 1169, ohne eine Begründung dafür zu geben. Man erhält diese Jahreszahl, wenn man zum Todesjahr des Bischofs Georgios (1097), das aus einer koptischen Grabstele bekannt ist (vgl. *Faras IV* S. 58) die aus der „Bischofsliste“ ersichtlichen Amtsjahre seiner Nachfolger Chael II. (27 Jahre) und Jesus II. (45 Jahre) hinzuaddiert. Bei dem Resultat kann es sich aber nur um einen Näherungswert handeln. Z. 9 statt *ἀνατὸς* hat der Stein *ἀναθὸς* (für *ἀγαθὸς*). Z. 20 ist statt *μβ* nach der „Bischofsliste“ Nr. 28 *με* zu lesen.

Nr. 10 ist eine Stele, die nicht erst bei den polnischen Ausgrabungen ans Licht gekommen ist, sondern schon länger bekannt ist. Sie hat eine recht ausführliche Diskussion hervorgerufen, über die Jakobielski in *Faras III* S. 166-168 referiert. Aus der Formulierung der Zeilen 19-20 *συ γὰρ οἱ ἀναπαυσης την δουλ() σ(ου) / Ταμὴρ ἐπισκ'() (= σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἀναπαυσίς τῆς δούλ() σ(ου) Ταμὴρ κτλ.)* hat man geschlossen, es handele sich um die Grabstele eines Bischofs von Faras namens Tamer; die weibliche Form *την δουλ()*, die vorher auch schon in Z. 6 steht, sei ein Fehler des Steines. Griffith hielt demgegenüber dafür, Tamer sei eine Frau gewesen, vielleicht die Tochter eines Bischofs, und ganz von der Hand zu weisen ist dieser Gedanke nicht. Bei Kubińska erfährt man nichts von dieser Diskussion; für sie ist es eindeutig die Stele des „évêque Tamer“, wobei zu Verwunderung Anlass gibt, dass dieser Bischof allem Anschein nach nur 70 Tage alt geworden sein soll (vgl. die Übersetzung von Z. 26f.: „Les années de sa vie sur la terre, jour 70“).

Nr. 11. Das Jahr nach der Märtyrerära in Z. 33 ist im Text mit *ω[.]ζ* unergänzt geblieben, in der Übersetzung aber steht 847, also *ω[μ]ζ*, was auf eine Berechnung Grumels in Byzanz 35, 1965, 86-87 zurückgeht. Das daraus resultierende julianische Datum 18.1.1131 wird auf S. 46 gegenüber der Alternative 18.1.1181 (*ω[q]ζ*) als „rectification“ bezeichnet, aber am Kopf des Textes steht als Datum dennoch 1181.

Nr. 14. Statt *π(α)τήρ* hat das Graffito *πρς = π(α)τ(ρ)ῶς*, also Genitiv statt des Nominativs, falls man nicht mit der neugriechischen Form *π(α)τ(ρ)ας* rechnen will.

Nr. 77. Ein Bild des Apostels Petrus hat die Beischrift *ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος κορυφαίους (= -Φαῖος) τῶν ἀποστόλων*. Dazu bemerkt die Verfasserin: „Notre lecture diffère de celle de la première édition (*Kathedrale*, p. 112, pl. 30). Nous

ne voyons guère les trois derniers mots, c'est-à-dire *κ(α) τ(ῶν) οὐ(ρ)αῶν* et ne savons non plus sur quoi repose cette lecture“. Auf dem beigegebenen Photo ist in der Tat nichts zu erkennen, aber das Fresko ist inzwischen restauriert worden und befindet sich jetzt im Nationalmuseum zu Warschau(!). Auf einem neueren Photo in *Das Wunder aus Faras*, Taf. 5, liest man deutlich *κ(α) κλειδοῦχος(ος) τ(ῶν) οὐ(ρ)αῶν*. Für *κλειδοῦχος* als Epitheton des Petrus genügt ein Verweis auf Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v.

Nr. 79. Auch von diesem Fresko gibt es ein neueres und besseres Photo in *Das Wunder aus Faras*, Taf. 14. Dort lassen sich alle Lesungen der Erstedition verifizieren, die die Verfasserin auf ihrem Photo nicht finden konnte. Wiederum befindet sich das restaurierte Original in Warschau.

Korrekturzusatz:

[Die Bildbeischriften und Graffiti aus Faras sind inzwischen in einer vollständigeren, vorzüglichen Bearbeitung durch St. Jakobielski zugänglich in dem Kapitel „Inscriptions“ des neuen Buches von K. Michałowski, *Faras. Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw*, Warschau 1974, S. 277-309.]

Köln, Juni 1975

DIETER HAGEDORN

* *

Tito ORLANDI, *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico, edizione e traduzione in italiano*. Wien, in Kommission bei Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1974 (4to, 219 pp. + 3 plates) = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrusammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) Neue Serie, IX. Folge. Price: DM 76.80.

In 1934, W. Till published in this same series his *Koptische Pergamente theologischen Inhalts*. Professor Orlandi's work is the companion volume. Professor Orlandi has confined his attention to the Coptic literary papyri of the very rich collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. In his Introduction, he deals at some length with the provenance of the manuscripts here edited and comes to the conclusion that it is very probable that the literary papyri as well as the parchment manuscripts of the collection originated in the White Monastery near Sohag, not far from Achmim. None of the papyri is dated and, in the difficult task of dating on palaeographical grounds alone, the editor has had the assistance of Professor G. Cavallo. The dates assigned range from the 6th century to the 12th century, although most papyri fragments here edited can be dated in the 9th century.

It must be emphasized that the material presented in this book is derived from papyri fragments, often very small, and that therefore the editor's skill in patiently sorting and assembling the fragmentary material deserves our admiration. In presenting it, he subdivides it into the works which he has succeeded in identifying and those which have remained unidentified. In the first group there are fourteen items; in the second seven. The

first four fragments contain biblical texts. IV Kings 1, 6-17, 15, though the text is broken, is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of the Coptic version of this book of the Old Testament, as the manuscript attestation for it is particularly poor. The editor notes the divergences of the text from the Septuagint and provides a translation. In an appendix some further fragments are published which may belong to the same manuscript but contain a homiletic text. Psalm 144 and Mark 11, 8-14, 58 is again very fragmentary. Textual notes comparing it with the Sahidic standard editions are given. There follow a bilingual fragment of Matthew 3 in Greek-Coptic and the Sahidic text of Hebrews 3, 6-5, 9 with textual notes. In all these cases the textual notes, although illuminating and valuable, are not exhaustive.

Among the identified patristic works are fragments of the following: Cyril of Jerusalem's Catechetical Lectures; John Chrysostom, On Compunction; John the Faster (Jejunator), On Penitence and Abstinence; John Rufus of Maiuma's Plerophoriae; a synaxary containing the Acts of Peter and Paul, a Life of Athanasius, (and two unidentified works); the Martyrdom of St. Mercurius; the Martyrdom of the Persians Gobidlaha and Caxo (Gobdelaas and Kasdoa); the Martyrdom of Ter and Erai (Apater and Erai); a synaxary containing the Life of Paul of Tamma and the Life of Onnophrios by Pappoute of Scetis; the Life of Shenoute. The treatment of this varied material is masterly. The identification itself, in many cases, demanded much skill and knowledge. The editor's presentation makes all this available to the student. Where the Coptic version of a work is translated from the Greek, this is either printed in full in parallel to the Coptic, or dealt with in notes to the text. Coptic text parallels are fully listed and, where appropriate, referred to in the textual apparatus. Even material in Syriac is included in this conspectus.

The seven texts that have remained unidentified are, for the most part, homiletic in character, although they also include fragments of the Life of a monk and the Martyrdom of an unnamed martyr. Throughout, the editor draws attention to biblical quotations and allusions in the patristic material, although here additional references occasionally spring to mind. There are also useful indices of biblical references, proper names, and Greek loan-words.

A special feature of the book are the numerous palaeographic examples of the manuscript material contained in the thirty-three folding-plates. They are of excellent quality and, moreover, arranged in such a way that the reader can consult conveniently any given Coptic text simultaneously with the relevant plate. Any student of Coptic palaeography will be grateful for the wealth of material made accessible to him. The reader will also be able to see for himself the high standard of accuracy which the editor has achieved in transcribing the texts. Occasionally it would appear that not all supralinear strokes and diacritical signs have been noted. The Italian translation of the texts is, as far as I can judge, equally reliable.

In conclusion, one or two corrections and suggestions may be offered: p. 69, line 26, $\alpha\theta\eta$ should be trans-

lated 'before'; similarly translate p. 74, line 2, 'go on a little'; p. 117, line 19, add to the translation, 'while he

was in Beirut'; p. 134, fragment 2, line 5, $\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ should not be emended to read $\beta\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$, the reference is to the burning bush (cf. Exodus 3, 2); p. 152, fragment 2, line 3, read $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varrho\omega\pi\epsilon$; p. 153, fragment 2, line 3, read

$\eta\alpha\iota$; p. 170, following the reference to John 4, 34 (not 4, 24) note the allusion to Luke 24, 42 in a text form unusual in the Sahidic tradition, and note that a text related to this fragment may, I suspect, be contained in Paris 131³, 1 (see Porcher, *Revue d'Égyptologie* I, p. 147); p. 172, fragment 2, line 8, although the reading is far from clear, it must, I think, be $\zeta\upsilon\mu\eta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$;

p. 174, fragment 2, line 4 (not 5), delete $\omicron\gamma$; p. 194, fragment 1, lines 3-4, add to the translation, 'in thy name'.

To sum up, this is an excellent book.

Durham, September 1975

K. H. KUHN

* * *

NAG HAMMADI CODICES. Facsimile Edition. Published under the Auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Codices XI, XII and XIII. Leiden, Verlag E. J. Brill, 1973 (4to, XVIII, 120 Lichtdrucktafeln). Preis: Ganzleinen f 195.—.

Nun sind auch jene Handschriftenmaterialien, welche nach der Zählung des Koptischen Museums zu Alt-Kairo als Codex XI, XII und XIII bezeichnet werden und bisher eher am Rande des wissenschaftlichen Interesses gestanden hatten, der breiteren Fachwelt in Lichtdruckreproduktionen zugänglich gemacht worden.

Das Vorwort (S. V-XVIII), von J. M. Robinson verfasst, gibt eine äussere Beschreibung des Materials, wie bekanntlich schon vorher M. Krause (M. Krause und P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*, ADAIK, Koptische Reihe, Bd. II, Glückstadt 1971, S. 2 ff).

Der schlecht erhaltene Codex XI besitzt einen stark beschädigten Lederumschlag (Tafel 1-4), auch ein Rest des vorderen Vorsatzblattes ist erhalten (Tafel 5 und 6). Die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Codexseiten beruht auf Rekonstruktion, da nur eine einzige Seite, nämlich pag. 19, paginiert ist und der Codex keine Schriften enthält, die uns bereits bekannt wären.

Die Seiten 1-56 sind auf den Tafeln 7-62 reproduziert, während pag. 59-74 auf den Tafeln 63-78 zu finden sind. Zwischen pag. 56 und pag. 59 war ursprünglich ein unbeschrifteter schmaler Papyrusstreifen eingeschlo-

ben, was die Unterbrechung in der Abfolge der hypothetischen Paginierung erklärt (Vgl. S. XIII).

In Codex XI lässt sich die Hand zweier Schreiber unterscheiden: Pag. 1-44 sind vom ersten Kopisten auf Subachmimisch, Pag. 45-74 vom zweiten Kopisten in Sahidisch niedergeschrieben. Noch nicht identifizierte Fragmente aus der Hand beider Schreiber sind auf Tafel 79 und 80 bzw. 81 und 82 abgebildet. Auf S. XVIII sind jene Fragmente verzeichnet, die während des Druckes identifiziert werden konnten.

Der Codex XI enthält folgende Schriften:

1) „Die Auslegung der Gnosis“: $\Theta\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\tau\tau\eta\nu\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ (Pag. 1, 1-21, 37).

2) Ein Traktat ohne Titel (Pag. 22, 1-39, 39), gefolgt von einigen kleinen Anhängseln (Pag. 40, 1-44, 39).

3) „Der Allogenes“: $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ (Pag. 45, 1-71, 6).

Es sei hier angemerkt, dass die Bezeichnung $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ („fremd“) zu den Schlüsselworten gnostischer Religiosität gehört und die Seinsweise des Geistes in Konfrontierung mit der demiurgischen Welt bezeichnet. Epiphanius, pan. 39, 5, 1 bezeugt den Gebrauch von Schriften, die unter diesem Stichwort laufen, für die gnostische Richtung der Sethianer. Tatsächlich gehört eine grössere Anzahl der Schriften von Nag Hammadi zum Bereich des Sethianismus. (Vgl. H. M. Schenke, „Das sethianische System nach Nag Hammadi Handschriften“, in: *Studia Coptica*, Hrsg. P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, S. 165-172).

4) „Hypsiphron“ $\Upsilon\psi\iota\phi\rho\omicron\nu\eta$ (Pag. 71, 7-74, Ende). Der Name dieser Hypostase steht in den kargen Überresten dieser Schrift noch an einigen Stellen, = so 71, 8-9, 72, 9 und 74, 4.

Man wird den Titel „Hypsiphron“ den Vorzug vor dem älteren Vorschlag, die Überschrift des Traktates als

$\Upsilon\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = „Höchster“ zu lesen (Vgl. M. Krause und P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*, Glückstadt 1971, S. 12) gehen müssen.

Aus dieser Lesung ergibt sich aber, dass die Annahme von J. Doresse (*The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, London 1960, S. 144) und H.-Ch. Puech (*Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte* in: *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, Boston 1950, S. 105 f) die Schrift Nr. 3 (nach unserer Einteilung, für die genannten Autoren ist die betreffende Abhandlung die 2. Schrift des Codex) habe den Titel „der höchste Allogenes“ getragen, unhaltbar ist.

Ferner stellt sich heraus, dass jene Schrift, die J. Doresse (op. cit. S. 157) als „Offenbarung des Messos“

bezeichnet, mit der von ihm „Der höchste Fremde“ genannten Schrift identisch ist, die in unserer Einteilung lediglich, wie man sah, als „Der Fremde“ bezeichnet wird.

Der stark zerstörte Codex XII besitzt keinen Umschlag und besteht eigentlich nur mehr aus 16 sehr unterschiedlich erhaltenen Seiten, die auf den Tafeln 85-100 reproduziert sind, während sich auf Tafel 101 und 102 einige Fragmente befinden.

Die schon öfters geäusserte Vermutung, dieser Codex habe erst nach seiner Auffindung bei Nag Hammadi, während er sich in den Händen von Mittelspersonen befand und noch nicht im Koptischen Museum zu Kairo sicher gestellt war, erhebliche Zerstörungen erlitten, scheint sehr einleuchtend (Vgl. J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, London 1960, 118 und Seite XIII des Lichtdrucktafelbandes). Das Verdienst das Material des Codex XII identifiziert zu haben, kommt F. Wisse zu (Vgl. J. M. Robinson, in *NTS* 16, 1969/70, 189). Es stellte sich nämlich heraus, dass Bruchstücke einer sahidischen Version der griechischen Sprüche des Sextus (Tafel 85-94) und sehr stark zerstörte Fragmente einer sahidischen Version des im Codex I (Codex Jung) auf Subachmimisch überlieferten Evangelium Veritatis den Inhalt unseres Papyrusbuches ausmachen. Hierzu kommen zwei grössere Fragmente, die offenbar zu einer uns unbekannten Schrift gehören.

Wir wollen hier den Versuch unternehmen, die Reste der sahidischen Version des Evangelium Veritatis den entsprechenden Textstücken des subachmimischen Textes zuzuordnen.

Codex XII, Tafel	95	entspricht E. V. Pag. 30, 27-31,	3
„ XII, „	96	„ „ „ Pag. 31, 30-32,	3
„ XII, „	97	„ „ „ Pag. 34, 7 -33	
„ XII, „	98	„ „ „ Pag. 34, 34-35,	2
„ XII, „	99	„ „ „ Pag. 36, 15-26	
„ XII, „	100	„ „ „ Pag. 37, 7 -20	

Es zeigt sich schon beim Vergleich der beiden Texte prima facie, dass die sahidische Version von der subachmimischen stark abweicht.

Was schliesslich den Codex XIII anlangt, so besteht er lediglich aus 8 verhältnismässig gut erhaltenen Blättern, die offenbar bereits vor der Vergrabung der Schriftensammlung von einem anderen, nicht auf uns gekommenen Codex abgetrennt und unter dem vorderen Umschlagdeckel von Codex VI geschoben worden waren (Vgl. J. M. Robinson, *Inside the Front Cover of Codex VI*, in: *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhl*, *Nag Hammadi Studies* 3, Leiden 1972, 74-87). Da sich auf der letzten Seite des Codex XIII die ersten 10 Zeilen einer bereits aus Codex II bekannten Schrift befinden (Vgl. A. Böhl und P. Labib, *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung 58, Berlin, 1962), so

kann man Rückschlüsse auf den Umfang des Codex ziehen, welchem die uns erhaltenen 8 Blätter entstammen. Auf Grund des hypothetischen, sich auf 80 Seiten belaufenden Umfanges hat man die 16 Seiten des Codex XIII fortlaufend von Pag. 35-50 numeriert (Tafel 105-120). Auf Tafel 104 wird eine Photographie reproduziert, welche 3 Seiten des Codex in dem Erhaltungszustand des Jahres 1949 zeigt. Man kann an Hand eines Vergleiches sehen, welche Beschädigung diese Seiten im Laufe der Jahre erlitten haben.

Abgesehen von den bereits erwähnten 10 Zeilen am Schluss des Codex XIII besteht dieses Papyrusbuch aus einer einzigen Abhandlung mit dem Titel „Dreigestaltige Protенnoia, Drei, Heilige, vom Vater in vollendeter Gnosis geschriebene Schrift“

= ΠΡΩΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΤΡΙΜΟΡΦΟΣ Γ
ΑΓΙΑ ΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΑΤΡΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ
ΕΝ ΓΝΩΣΕΙ ΤΕΛΕΙΑ.

Diese Schrift (man vergleiche übrigens die Übersetzung von Gesine Schenke, in: *ThLz* 99, 1974, Sp. 731-746) gehört in den Umkreis der sethianischen Gnosis, wie auch etliche andere Schriften aus der Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi. Unsere Abhandlung besteht im wesentlichen aus drei Offenbarungsreden der Hypostase Protенnoia (auch „Barbelo“ genannt, vgl. Pag. 38, 9).

Diese Reden entsprechen dem dreimaligen erlösenden Eingriff der Lichtwelt in den auf das Eschaton zustrebenden Geschichtsprozess.

Wien, Juli 1975

ROBERT HAARDT

* *

E. A. E. REYMOND and J. W. B. BARNES, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973 (8vo, XII + 278 pp.). Price: £ 7.50.

The four literary works edited in the above mentioned volume belong to the great collection of Coptic MSS. of the St. Michael's Monastery in Phantow, discovered at Hamouli in the Fayūm in 1910. The bulk of this collection was acquired in 1911 by the Pierpont Morgan Library. These works (martyrologies) are the following:

S. *Coluthus* (Pierpont Morgan Codex M 591; photograph edition: H. Hyvernat, *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi* ... Romae 1922, t. 28, ff. 88v-92).

S. *Paese and Thecla* (M 591; Hyvernat, t. 28, ff. 49-88r).

S. *Shenoufe* (M 583; Hyvernat, t. 41, ff. 103-108).

SS. *Apaoule and Pteleme* (M 583; Hyvernat, t. 41, ff. 168-173).

The MSS. containing these martyrologies are dated by the editors in the middle of the IXth century.

The Introduction (pp. 1-21) gives a description of the material published here, discusses at some length the

historical and literary-critical aspects and outlines the method of publication. The text is autographed and spellings of the original are everywhere preserved (correct forms are indicated where necessary in subsidiary notes), but for convenience sake, the original punctuation has been replaced by that which is now generally accepted, always enabling the reader to consult Hyvernat's photographic edition where and whenever necessary.

The system of word division accepted here differs from that proposed by Till (*ZAS* 77, 48-52; *BIFAO* 60, 151-170): all prepositions are written as one word together with the nouns they refer to, and equally the verbs in *status constructus* together with the direct object depending on them. Although it can be conceded that all modern systems of word division are open to criticism, the one accepted here hardly seems preferable to the method put forward by Till, which is widely used and seems to be more 'mistakeproof' (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, S. 99, § 203 B), while texts prepared according to the latter's principles read with more ease and accuracy.

The closely and compactly written Coptic text takes up pp. 25-143, followed by translations (pp. 145-228). To each of the texts are appended indices of personal and geographical names, as well as of Coptic and Greek words (in translations Greek words are italicized).

The bibliography and the list of abbreviations are given at the beginning of the book. The Leningrad version of the Martyrology of S. Victor is mentioned under the title: "Lemm, O. von, *Das Martyrium des H. Victor und des H. Stephanon* (printed, but undated and unpublished)". This title is not quite correct, since *Stephanon* is a miswriting for *Stephanou* (cf. p. 12, n. 41) and it is thus clear that this is a woman, therefore "... der H. Stephanou". They thus refer to the proofs of a publication prepared by Lemm. This work, however, had not been published for the following reason: on receiving another version of this martyrology, based on the London MS. published by Budge (*Coptic Martyrdoms*), Lemm redeemed the whole edition which was ready to be bound and sent to sellers, evidently planning a new publication to be prepared with due regard to the readings and variants of the London MS. Thus a large number of restorations and emendations proposed by him previous to Budge's publication could be corrected. His untimely death, however, stopped the execution of this plan. In 1969 the MS. was published by the reviewer ("The Coptic Manuscripts of the Saltykoff-Schedrin Steat Public Library (in Russ.). *Palestinskii Sbornik* 20 (1969); rev. *Muséon* 82 (1969), 533-536) with due regard to Lemm's earlier work, but on the basis of a new collation of the Leningrad MS. (naturally Budge's publication had also been taken into account). This collation led to a number of corrections of Lemm's text, but many of his readings proved to be correct.

Other MSS. of the martyrologies are used by the editors in order to record all the variants in subsidiary notes.

Three of the four martyrologies published here, *Shenoufe* (Sh.), *Apaoule and Pteleme* (Ap. & Pt.), *Paese and Thecla* (P. & T.), are shown to belong to a fictional

or "epic" type, very characteristic of this category of literature, situations there described always tending to follow stereotype patterns. The editors note, for example, numerous parallels between Sh. and Epima's martyrdom (T. Mina, *Le martyre d'Apa Epima*, Cairo, 1937). Works of this sort abound in characters who resemble one another very much; not infrequently the protagonists of some of them act as minor *dramatis personae* in others. Such martyrologies can be grouped into a number of cycles based, for example, on members of Basilides's family being mentioned there, be it by their names only or as actually acting in the story, or on the alleged authorship of Julius of Khabs (Aq-fahs) (this is the case with Sh. and P. & T.). It is to be borne in mind, however, that the facts of life of the same personages may vary from one martyrology to another. Out of the wish to connect one story with another or to bring several characters together in one story, persons used to be put together who not only had nothing in common, but who belonged to different periods. Though by no means trustworthy from the historical point of view, such pieces are not without literary merits. For example, the description of Thecla's voyage to Alexandria in P. & T. contains passages revealing poetical inspiration.

The editors also underline that it is hardly justifiable for the historians to base their evaluation exclusively upon the blatantly unhistorical characteristics of these martyrologies. Firstly, they are interesting as evidence of the psychological state of early Christianity in Egypt, secondly, they contain valuable topographic and toponymic information and thirdly they are more trustworthy, historically speaking, than might be expected. For although the names of historical personalities are either unrecognizable or unknown from elsewhere, they are not, for that reason, fictitious. Some having been considered earlier as legendary, were subsequently found in the Greek documents and then, last but not least, there is a group of *Acta* of Egyptian martyrs which is rather different from that of the "epic" kind. Delehayé singled out the *Acta of Phileas and Philoromus* as being more in the line of a historical source. Until recently this martyrology has been considered unique, but the editors show that the first work they publish, the martyrdom of S. Coluthus, is itself very much of a historical source too. This judgement is borne out by the genuine description of the atmosphere at the court, the appropriate short interpositions of the two advocates and members of the governor's suit, and the very dialogue between Coluthus and the governor, which looks very much like a transcript of the actual proceedings in court. In this martyrology there are no Divine or angelic appearances so characteristic of the "epic" martyrological style, no miracles of any kind, no long sermons preached by a martyr. Even the very type of the governor is different, being remote from that of the traditional evildoer. Summing up, the general impression is that the story is so full of sundry small, but weighty details that the possibility of this martyrology being an outcome of someone's imagination, as is the case with the other three, is very slight indeed. This impression is confirmed by the fragment of another martyrology devoted to S. Coluthus

(*Coluthus* II, appended by the editors to the first one). Constructed on the same historical basis, this story abounds in the embroideries of the epic martyrological style: legendary images, Coluthus' prolixity, the governor as an evildoer. Moreover, a miracle takes place in the second version.

The editors conclude that "the final impression with which we are left is that, hard as it is to extract history from a literary form which has overlaid whatever factual foundations it may have had with pious and romantic fiction, there may still be enough to make the attempt worth while" and "that such a sceptical judgment on Egyptian martyr literature as O'Leary's (*Saints*, p. 20) that "many, or most, of the characters are fictitious" is unjustified" (p. 18).

In the editor's opinion *Coluthus* I is a translation into Coptic from a Greek original, whereas the other three may have been composed in Coptic.

As a specimen of documentary foundation on which *Vitae* and martyrologies of Saints were constructed the editors adduce a passage from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (they date it to about the IVth century), in which the prosecution of the Christians in Alexandria under Severus is depicted.

The translation of all the works published is thorough and accurate, by no means diminished in value by a certain amount of criticism in the reviews by Drescher (*Muséon* 87 (1974), 582-587), Godron (*Chronique d'Égypte* 98 (1974), 412-417), Quecke (*Orientalia* 43 (1974), 431-433) as well as in the interesting article by Browne (*Chronique d'Égypte* 97 (1974), 201-205), where a detailed analysis of the text of P. & T. is given.

Here are some more critical notes, which touch on the interpretation of the Coptic text only, without regard to the style of the English translation the merits of which a foreigner cannot judge.

In some cases one would wish more grammatical accuracy in the translation.

P. 25, 5-6 (88 V I, 17-23):

ΑΘΩΠΕ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΤΜΕΖΧΟΥΩΤΕ ΝΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΔΙΟΚΛΗ-
ΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΝΡΡΩΟΥ ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ

is translated as "It happened in the twentieth year of the emperors Diocletian and Maximinian (sic), the transgressors". In fact ΜΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΟΣ is an adjective with the meaning of 'lawless', qualifying ΝΡΡΩΟΥ which stands in apposition to the preceding names.

P. 88, 11-14 (107, R I, 25 - R II, 3):

ΑΙΤΩΩ ΓΑΡ ΝΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΠΒΟΗΘΟΣ ΠΚΩΜΕΝΤΑΡΗ-
ΣΙΟΣ ΠΡΜΚΒΑΖΕ ΕΤΡΕΦΕΙ ΜΠΕΤΝΡΟΥΩ ... ΑΥΩ
ΝΕΤΝΖΟΙΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ ΝQCZAI COY ΝQKAAZ ZM ΠΕQH

is translated as "I have appointed Julius the assistant and commentariensis, the man of Kbabs, to take care of you ... and your records he shall write down and keep in his house". The *coniunctivus* here continues the ε

+ causative infinitive construction denoting purpose (... that): "... that he may take care ... and write down ... and keep". In contrast with the *imperfectum* the *conjunctivus* should be written with a supralinear stroke over

n: not n̄ (< neq), but n̄q (cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 321).

P. 98, 2-3 (115 R II, 9-12):

ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΕΠΕΝΝΙΒΕ Ζ̄Ν ΝΕΦΒΙΧ ΑΥΩ ΕΓΓ ΜΠΩΝΖ
NAN is translated as "in Whose hands is our breath, and He gives us life". The *circumstantialis* (εγ ...) here continues the relative clause (ετ ...) (Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 486) and the phrase must be translated: "in Whose hands is our breath and Who gives us life".

P. 97, 28-29 (115 R I, 25-28): ῙC ΠΕΝΤΑΓΜΟΟΨΕ
ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΖΩΡΠ̄ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤ is trans-
lated as "Jesus, Who didst walk upon the water, and
Thy Feet became not wet". The phrase beginning with
ΜΠΟΥΖΩΡΠ̄ is an adverb clause with the circumstantial
negative perfect, and, moreover, ΝΕΦΟΥΕΡΗΤ means
"his feet", not "thy feet". The phrase is to be trans-
lated: "without His feet getting wet".

P. 88, 24-25 (107 V I, 7-11): ΑΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ Ζ̄Ν
ΟΥΖΟΡΟΜΑ ΝΤΕΙΟΥΩΗ ΕΡΕΙC † ΚΛΟΜ ΕΧΩΝ
ΜΠΜΝΤCΝΟΟΥC̄ is translated as "I saw a vision this
night, in which Jesus crowned the twelve of us". The
translation should be: "I saw myself in a dream ("in a
vision" is also possible, but δραμα is used in Coptic as a
designation of 'dream', vision during sleep, as opposed
to 'sleep', 'slumber' just as well) this night as Jesus
crowned us, (all) the twelve".

In Coptic the attribute expressed by an adjective (̄N
+ noun without an article, e.g. ̄NΡΩΜΕ 'human') may
serve as what may be termed as an 'attribute-determi-
native', classifying the noun as attributable to this or
that group of things or living beings. Thus ΠΖΛΛΟ
̄NΡΩΜΕ (Zoega, 314, 36) "the old man" literally means
"the male old one, human"; ΟΥΨΕΕΡΕ ̄NΣΖΙΜΕ (Crum-
Steindorff, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden*, 66, 48; cf. 66,
48-49; 76, 51) "a daughter", literally "a girl/daughter,
feminine"; ΝΕΦΩΝΕ ̄NΣΖΙΜΕ (αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ)
(Matth., 13, 56) "his sisters", lit. "his sisters, feminine";
ΝΕΥCΝΗΥ ̄NΣΖΙΜΕ (Crum-Steindorff, op. cit., 76, 28)
"their sisters". Nouns in apposition are also used as

determinatives, for example ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ (*Palestins-
kii sbornik* 20, 49, b, 32; also see n. 51 on p. 94) "my
brother"; ̄NΡΩΜΕ ΝΕCΝΗΥ (O. von Lemm, *Koptische
Miscellen*, LXXXIX, 1124, b, 12-13) "brothers". Such
translations as "a woman, a sister of theirs" for
ΟΥCΩΝΕ ̄NΣΖΙΜΕ ̄NΤΑΥ (p. 87, 2 = 106 R I, 18-19)
or "and also the woman, their sister" for Μ̄N
ΤΕΥΚΕCΩΝΕ ̄NΣΖΙΜΕ (p. 88, 21-22 = 107 R II, 30-
31) are not quite correct, the word 'woman' there being
superfluous.

P. 91-92 (110 R I, 20-22)

ΑΜΗΙΤ̄N Τ̄NΤΕΛΗΛ ΜΠΧΟΕΙC Τ̄N† ΛΟΥΛΑΙ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ
"Come, let us rejoice in the Lord, and let us exult
in God". ̄N- in ΜΠΧΟΕΙC and ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ is prep. dat.
̄N-, ΝΑ-, as is shown by the Greek text of Ps. XCV
(τῷ κυρίῳ, τῷ Θεῷ). The verbs ΤΕΛΗΛ and † ΛΟΥΛΑΙ
here mean 'to sing joyful hymns', 'to sing glory' to
someone.

P. 28, 2-3 (91 R II, 17-20) ΠΕΦΚΑΡΩΓ ΓΑΡ ΤΑΜΟ
ΜΜΟΝ ΕΠΑΙ ΖΙΤ̄M ΠΕΦCΜΟΤ: "for his silence tells us
this; (we know) from his demeanour". This insertion
seems to me artificial. The preposition ΖΙΤ̄N- is instru-
mental in meaning and ΖΙΤ̄M ΠΕΦCΜΟΤ means 'by his/
its behaviour', 'in his/its way'; ΠΕΦ in ΠΕΦCΜΟΤ
refers to ΚΑΡΩΓ, and the whole is to be translated
"for his silence tells us this in its own way", that is,
his silence is eloquent and easily understood.

P. 26, 26-28 (90 R II, 1-9)

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟC ΔΕ ΠΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟC ̄NΣΙΟΟΥΤ ΝΕΡΕΠΕΦ-
ΜΗΝΨΕ Ο ̄NΡ̄M CΒΩ ̄NΝΑΖΡΑΓ ΕΜΑΤΕ ΠΕ ΑΥΩ
ΝCΥΜΝΟC ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΦCΦΙΑ: ("There was) Apollo-
nius, the bishop of Siout; his people were most under-
standing about him, and took a dignified view of his
prudence". The preposition ̄NΝΑΖΡΑ= means "in pre-
sence of", "before", but not "about", and the phrase is,
in my opinion, to be understood differently: "Apollonius,
the bishop of Siut, — his people (i.e. "the people of
Apollonius, the bishop of Siut") were very learned with
(lit. "in front of") him and respected for their wisdom".

The possessive article in ΤΕΦCΦΙΑ refers to
ΠΕΦΜΗΝΨΕ.

P. 85, 1 (104 V I, 4-6): ΑΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΑΙΒΟΛΟC

ΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ̄NΖΗΤ̄K "the root(?) of the Devil
has taken root in thy heart". The word ΝΟΥΝΕ here
requires no mark of interrogation, being natural in this
context. In S. Victor's martyrology (11 a; *Pal. Sbornik*
20, 32 b) we find the following statement: ΑΠΚΑΡΠΟC
ΤΗΡ̄Q ΜΠΑΙΒΟΛΟC ΤΩΒ ΖΡΑΙ ̄NΖΗΤ̄K "the whole
fruit of the devil was planted in thee".

P. 131, 7 (168 R I, 25) ΕΥΖΙΟC "Euhius". While
commenting upon this name the Editors point out the
variant ΕΥΖΑΙΟC (Budge, *Martyrdoms*, p. 3), which
they compare to Εὐζιος doubtfully cited by Pape as a
proper name. Godron suggests *Aevius* as the Latin
original form, explaining its spelling with the help of
ΕΥΖΑ "Eve" (Chron. 98, 417). Thus it seems that
Lemm's discussion of the name has been totally over-
looked (*Kopt. Stud.*, VIII). He identified it with Εὐιος
cited by Pape without doubts, adduced the spelling of
ΕΥΖΑ for Εὐα to show the accuracy of rendering Εὐιος

by ΕΥΖΙΟC and found the Arabic equivalent for this
name in the Synaxary - Auhius (أَوْ هِيوس).

In conclusion I can only repeat what I have said at
the beginning of the review, namely that all this criticism
in no way diminishes the obvious high value of this
excellent work.

Leningrad, November 1975

A. I. ELANSKAYA

ASSYRIOLOGIE

GESELLSCHAFTSKLASSEN IM ALTEN ZWEI-
STROMLAND UND IN DEN ANGRENZEN-
DEN GEBIETEN. XVIII. Rencontre assyriologi-
que internationale, München, 29. Juni bis 3. Juli
1970. Herausgegeben von D. O. Edzard. München,
Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissen-
schaften in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen
Buchhandlung, 1972 (4to, 222 S., 10 Tafeln) =
Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philo-
sophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen. Neue
Folge, Heft 75. Veröffentlichungen der Kom-
mission zur Erschließung von Keilschrifttexten. Serie
A/6. Stück - ISBN 3-7696-0070-3.

The problem of social classes is considered to be one
of the most important by the school of historians to

which the author of present review belongs, that is, the
Marxist school*). Therefore the subject and the papers
read at the XVIII Rencontre awake a great interest in my
country — especially as among participants there were
a number of prominent Orientalists. In fact, the subject-
matter of the papers is broader than the title of the vol-
ume. This is partially due to a regrettable circumstance:
the majority of the participants did not even try to define
"Gesellschaftsklassen". But any discussion ought to be
started by defining its object. Probably (even certainly)
the definitions would arouse violent controversy. Most
likely the participants would have found it impossible to
reach a consensus, but it would nevertheless be worth
trying, while without definitions no scientific approach
is possible. In our case nearly all the authors called
"class" practically any group of people under consider-
ation. And no wonder, since such is the present state of
affairs in Western sociology.

Even the best contemporary Western encyclopaedias
(the Britannica, the Grand Larousse) give definitions of
class fitting anything you please, and the main stress
is upon "group psychology", but not upon any objective
social criteria. Thus there is at present only one defi-
nition of "class" meeting the demands of scientific
rigorousness, namely the Marxist one, quoted in I. M.
Diakonoff's paper in the volume under review: "a class
is a large group of persons distinguished from other
such groups by their specific position in a historically
conditioned system of socially relevant production, by
their specific relation to property in means of production
and their specific role in the social organisation of
labour, and hence by the methods of acquiring and by
the size of their share in public wealth, as well as by
their socio-political interests being different from those
of the other classes" (p. 42). Our Western colleagues
may of course disagree with this definition but then
they have to propose a definition of their own.

To what Diakonoff says in his paper I would like to
add that the social structure does not consist solely of
classes: its description in terms of classes is only a pre-
liminary approximation. Besides the economical category
of classes there are also estates i.e. the groups of people
whose social status is legally established (by written
law or by usage) and, as a rule, hereditary. The estates
may coincide with the classes but they may also (es-
pecially in transitional epochs) differ from them. Thus
the rich slaves mentioned in M. Dandamayev's paper
belonged, in the author's opinion, to the class of ex-
ploited (though I cannot agree with this notion), but,
in any case, they still belonged to slaves as an estate.

Lastly, the society is divided into even smaller groups
called 'strata' in modern sociology, which may include
profession, age, income etc. But even in these cases the
division is to be based upon objective criteria, and not
upon accidental and exotical ones. Taking all this into
account, and no offence to P. Naster being meant, I

*) The author had no opportunity to take part in the Rencontre.
This paper is intended to be not so much a review in the strict
sense of the word but rather as his participation in the discussion.
Therefore he will avoid extensive and detailed references: it is as-
sumed that the facts are generally known.

must say that the title of his paper, "Die Zwerge als Arbeitsklasse in bestimmten Berufen im Alten Ägypten", sounds rather strange, and in any case, this paper (though interesting in itself) does not fit into the general problem posited by the "Rencontre". The same is true of the subject-matter of the papers by G. Dossin "Le *madārum* dans les "Archives royales de Mari" and by A. Finet "le *ṣuḥārum* à Mari". Both papers are excellent lexicographical works providing substantial corrections to the Akkadian dictionaries and to our knowledge of the structure of the administration, but not of the social structure. Neither does the paper by S. A. Rashid (Eine frühdynastische Statue von der Insel Tārūt im Persischen Golf) fit here.

To my great regret, I am obliged not to take part in the discussion of the extremely interesting and useful paper by G. Steiner (Die Bezeichnungen von "Gruppen" und "Klassen" durch Abstrakta in Sprachen des Alten Orients): it requires more linguistic knowledge than I am in possession of. I dare to make only one minor remark. It would be preferable to quote Urartian texts not from the edition of F. W. König but from that of G. Melikišvili, the latter being more complete and accurate. I am also not in a position to discuss the paper by E. Porada (Gesellschaftsklassen in Werken altorientalischer Kunst): such discussion requires special knowledge. I shall also omit the paper by F. Cornelius (Das Hethiterreich als Feudalstaat) as out of date.

But, with this regrettable exception, all the published papers are highly interesting and important for further elaboration of the subject. Lack of space does not allow me to discuss each paper in detail. Therefore I shall confine myself to marginal remarks and questions as they arise.

M.C. Astour: *The Merchant Class in Ugarit*.

What was already said concerning the definition of class applies here in the highest degree. It is rather curious that M. Astour complains about "the tantalizing vagueness of the Ugaritic social terminology". The Ugaritians may have answered that neither has the progress in this respect been too significant since then. Further more, it remains doubtful whether *mkrm* is equivalent to *bdm*. It would seem that the text PRU III, 200 sets aside all doubts. Nevertheless, attention should be drawn to the following. This document is a list of the names of various professions or occupations, all of them written in Akkadian, while only one has an Ugaritic gloss: *lū.mešDAM. GĀR.meš: bi-da-lu-ma*. But just here a gloss is hardly needed. The Akkadian *tamkārum* = DAM.GĀR has an exact parallel in the Ugaritic *mkrm*, which means that it could easily be understood without a gloss. In the same time the Akkadian *šangū* = *lūSANGU.meš* (Ugaritic *khnm*) does require a gloss, but here there is none. Therefore, the question arises: might not in this case *bi-da-lu-ma* be not a translation of DAM.GĀR but a further definition of the term? On the whole, the paper provides the reader with a clear notion of the status of the merchants of Ugarit, though they certainly should not be called "the upper class" but only the upper stratum.

T. Beran: *Gesellschaftliche Veränderungen im Spiegel der Kunst: Uruk IV/Ĝemdet Naṣr-Zeit*.

The paper contains interesting and meaningful observations concerning the changes of architecture and plastic art in this period. It is quite logical to assume that behind these changes there lay some structural changes in economy and society. T. Beran conjectures that these changes indicate transition from the "System der sumerischen Tempelstadt — bei dem alle Immobilien und alle Produktionsmittel der Gottheit, d.h. dem Tempel, gehören und der Einzelne seinen Platz und seine Versorgung als integrierter Teil dieses kollektiven Systems findet" to the "stärkere Differenzierung ... in der das Individuum seinen eigenen, persönlichen, privaten Anteil beansprucht, zur rechtsfähigen Person wird". Soviet historians (and a good many of Western scholars) consider, however, that the temple (or the royal economy) never did (and especially at such an early period) encompass the entire society and that there always existed more or less extended community owned land with family allotments outside of the temple and palace. Consequently, the phenomena noticed by T. Beran would require some other explanation.

M. A. Dandamayev: *The Economic and Legal Character of the Slave's Peculium in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods*.

M. Dandamayev's paper contains most interesting information concerning the status of slaves in Late Babylonia. At this period there were in Babylonia some rather rich slaves running vast and manifold business. M. Dandamayev thinks that "the legal proprietor of the *peculium* was not the slave himself but his master" (p. 37). This conclusion is indisputable, and M. Dandamayev proves it quite convincingly. Nevertheless, there are some contradictions in his statements. Thus, enumerating the peculiarities of the status of Neo-Babylonian slaves, M. Dandamayev points out, that "2) ... In the legal sphere they had full rights to engage in litigation with each other or with free persons (but evidently not with their own masters). ... 5) Slaves concluded business transactions with their own masters, and it is stressed in the contracts that they were drawn up on a freewill basis". Here a question arises: what was the slave to do in the case of a breach of contract by his master? There are also some other questions. M. Dandamayev points out that so far no document has appeared testifying to deprivation of a slave of his *peculium* by his master. But must such documents exist? Was there any need of them, if the *peculium* was anyway the master's property? Finally, it is pointed out (and proved) by M. Dandamayev that the slave was usually sold and mortgaged together with his *peculium*. But was it always so? It seems to me that, in order to answer these questions, in addition to economical and legal aspects of the *peculium*, its "moral" aspect ought to be examined. It is the usual error of historians to take the legal prescriptions in a literal sense, i.e. in such a way as they are never applied in real life. The slave's master was certainly the owner of the slave's *peculium*. But there evidently existed some kind of moral obliga-

tion or usage not to take away this *peculium* (unless some major misdemeanour was committed by the slave). Otherwise no slave would strive to increase his *peculium* (and simultaneously his master's income). Therefore the *peculium* is to be considered as a kind of quasi-property. This perhaps is the answer to the questions put above.

I. M. Diakonoff: *Socio-Economic Classes in Babylonia and the Babylonian Concept of Social Stratification*.

I. M. Diakonoff's paper is a short digest of his numerous works on this problem (see the bibliography in footnote 1). Diakonoff's concept has been the subject of numerous and sometimes rather violent discussions in our country, but now (taking into account some alternations and addenda made by him) it is almost universally adopted by the Soviet Assyriologists. I myself belong to the partisans of this concepts. This, in fact, absolves me from making any remarks to Diakonoff's paper. I would only like to stress the basic importance of his observation, that it is necessary to distinguish between the concept of social structure as it was conceived by the Ancients, and the description of this structure in the terms of modern scholarship (p. 41). I would only like to make one point. Diakonoff thinks that the higher placed royal servants were able to acquire community land, thus becoming "proprietors and citizens" (p. 46). It seems to me that the opposite would be just as usual: a "proprietor and citizen" (i.e. an *awilum*) entered the royal service and, in addition to his hereditary land, obtained royal land as a service allotment, that is, the higher placed royal servants were born *awilū*. Therefore the citizens of Ur and Larsam mentioned by Diakonoff did in most cases not "acquire a right to the appellation *awilum*", but had this right from birth. It is hardly probable that many of the lower strata of royal servants had much opportunity to rise to the status of an *awilum*.

P. Garelli: *Problèmes de stratification sociale dans l'Empire Assyrien*.

P. Garelli's task is to elucidate, how the structure of their society was understood by the Assyrians themselves. His conclusion is the following: basic was the notion of the subject of the state, while the distinction between a slave and a freeman was of minor importance. In such a general form this statement is difficult to agree with. Quoting a series of texts in order to prove his point of view, the author loses sight of a very important circumstance: the aim of the different documents. The form and the tenor of each document depended upon its aim. Thus international treaties and "oaths" had to be extensive, detailed and pompous, and the list of men taking the oath as long as possible. At the same time, business documents, in accordance with their purpose, may as well mention the social status of persons involved (letter ABL 99 cited by author), as not mention it at all (the Harrān "Doomsdaybook"). Evidently, the same observation is valid for everyday life. If the point in question was taxes and corvée labour, the notion of 'subject' was of paramount importance. However, even there social status was taken into account (because there existed immunities). This was still more the case in business deeds, litigations, marriage contracts etc.

Finally, distinction between freedom and slavery was an important part of the social psychology.

To conclude, two final minor observations. It cannot be proved that the Assyrian king is to be regarded as a "propriétaire de l'État": Sargon II had to buy land from his own subjects. And it is not entirely clear what Garelli implies when speaking about the "idéologie théocratique" of the Assyrian State.

I. J. Gelb: *From Freedom to Slavery*

This interesting and erudite paper has already been discussed in Diakonoff's paper "Slaves, Helots and Serfs" (VDI, 1973, No 1; for an English translation see Acta Antiqua ... [Budapest] XXII [1974], 45-78. I have nothing to add to this discussion, except some very minor observations, hardly worth to be inserted here.

H. G. Güterbock: *Bemerkungen zu den Ausdrücken *ellum*, *wardum* und *asirum* in hethitischen Texten*.

H. Güterbock's paper is aimed to elucidate the meaning of these terms which are the subject of a prolonged discussion going on for several years. The most complete summary of the data concerning the producers in the Hittite state, and a most detailed analysis of these data, may be found in the book by G. G. Giorgadze "Essays on Socio-economic History of the Hittite State", Tbilisi, 1973; cf. review, Narody Azii i Afriki, 1976, 1, 190 sq. H. Güterbock's idea concerning the existence of different degrees of "unfreedom" is evidently sound, as well as his assumption that *ellum* means "noble" and not just "free". An approximately similar opinion has been expressed by G. G. Giorgadze in his report at a session held in Leningrad in February 1975.

B. Kienast: *Zu *muškēnum* = *maulā**.

The author supports W. von Soden's opinion that *muškēnum* is something like the Arabic *maulā*, that is, a kind of "client" or "freedman". B. Kienast tries to demonstrate that relations of this kind existed also in Babylonia, in particular between a slave manumitted through adoption, and his master. However, this attempt does not seem to be successful. First, it is necessary to note that the meaning of the term *muškēnum* changed from period to period (cf. Diakonoff's paper, p. 49). Secondly, there are no reasons to assume that there was any distinction between the adoption of a slave and the adoption of a freeborn, though a difference in the formula of the corresponding deeds was both necessary and natural. The more so since the aim of such adoption was to guarantee the sustenance of the adopter by the adopted: exactly of a similar kind were the contracts between parents and their own children. The only distinction is that the son is freed from the patriarchal authority still in his father's life-time and receives some property, while the adopted slave in a similar case receives as a "property" only his own self and, presumably, *peculium*. There are no grounds to speak about their relations being those between a patron and a client. Decisive is the fact that in all Old-Babylonian texts the *muškēnum* is mentioned only in connection with the palace or state administration, but never in connection with private persons.

V. Korošec: *Einige Beiträge zur gesellschaftlichen Struktur nach hethitischen Rechtsquellen.*

This paper touches upon so many subjects, that in order to study them in detail a book might be written. Neither the nature of this review, nor my knowledge allow me to do this work. Therefore, I am confined to the necessity of making only a few remarks. The "Teilhaber" mentioned in § 53 of the Hittite Laws is hardly identical with the "Lehensmann". Rather he is similar to the Babylonian *tahḫum*. We may recall that in Babylonia not only the warriors but also other official persons had their *tahḫū*. The same seems to be the case with LÚ ḪA.LA. For more detail see the review of the already mentioned book by G. G. Giorgadze. It is also impossible to agree to V. Korošec's statement that the position of the *hipparaš*-men was "besonders ungünstig" (this opinion has frequently been stated, cf. also Güterbock's paper, p. 96). But one must pay attention to the formulation of § 48: it does not prohibit the *hipparaš*-man to sell anything, but prohibits to buy from him (compare the Hammurapi's Laws, § 37, concerning the *rēdū*). It is hard to believe that the *hipparaš*-man could not alienate even his movable property: he had to buy or barter at least some items (tools, utensils etc.). As to § 49, its text is not sufficiently clear to serve as a ground for categorical conclusions. But one has to agree with the author when he qualifies the relations between slaves and his master as being of a patriarchal nature, and also with his statement that the sumerogram IR in Hittite texts means not only 'slave' in the strict sense but also diverse groups of semi-free people.

S. N. Kramer: *Modern Social Problems in Ancient Sumer: Evidence from the Sumerian Literary Documents.*

S. N. Kramer is setting forth his favourite theme with his usual splendence of erudition and eloquence. One may agree with him on many points. Indeed, there always were lazy schoolboys and wanton students, wars and economical disorders, avaricious rich men and corrupt judges, conflicts between beautiful illusion and austere reality. And it stands to reason that all this was reflected in the literature — from the time when literature came into being. But I dare say the task of a historian is not only to find out the resemblances of the different epochs, but also their divergences, and above all the causes of this resemblance and diversity (of course, unless one follows the rather trite thesis about the "inalterability of human nature"). Then, perhaps, the pessimism which S. N. Kramer's paper is capable to induce, may be overcome.

H. Limet: *L'étranger dans la société sumérienne.*

This paper is, as a matter of fact, an excellent little monograph practically exhausting all known evidence on this matter. Only in connection with a few of his interpretations I would express some doubt.

H. Limet thinks it possible that a "certain animosité entre cités" might have existed even in the time of Ur III. It seems to me that it certainly did exist. It was but relatively recently that each large city had been the capital of an independent kingdom and had struggled for the hegemony over the whole of Mesopotamia. Each

of these cities could with equal right claim the rôle of a metropolis of the united Mesopotamia, and would probably extremely reluctantly humble herself to the status of a "province". It was precisely the stubborn particularism of the ancient "nome centres" that probably was the main cause of the disintegration of the first unified kingdoms. At the same time it is extremely doubtful whether the "sentiment d'appartenir à une nation sumérienne" ever existed. The feeling of national (not religious, gentilic or cultural) community appeared much later. Examples of the Sumerian feeling of "certain supériorité" quoted by the author are not sufficiently convincing. The famous letter of Ibbi-Sîn (ZA 49, 1949, 61, 19) admits of (I should even say, requires) another interpretation than the current one. Numun KIE.N.GI-ra nume-a means only that Išbi-Erra was not a native of Sumer, where the population was mixed Sumero-Akkadian since long ago. And indeed, he came from Mari, and some members of his dynasty bore theophorous names devoted to the West-Semitic god Dagān. Maybe this explains also the fact that Išbi-Erra chose as his capital the provincial and insignificant Issin. In a large city he would meet a strong opposition from the indigenous aristocracy. Let us also note that in his letter Ibbi-Sîn himself does not dispute the legality of Išbi-Erra's kingship ("Enlil has given" (him) the kingship"). Lastly, Diakonoff turned my attention to a significant fact: this letter probably belongs to the é-dubba of the times of Issin. Already from this evidence one may conclude that Ibbi-Sîn's remark concerning Išbi-Erra is not pejorative: texts insulting the founder of the dynasty would hardly be allowed for school usage. As to the dialogues and proverbs, they all are, as the author himself remarks, of a later provenience, from the time when Sumerian was not any more a spoken language. They mean only that the scribe who does not know Sumerian is an ignoramus. The same may have been said in medieval Europe about a man, who could write only in his native language but did not know Latin.

It should also be noted that religious tolerance was typical not only of the Sumerians but of all ancient peoples. Religious intolerance is a product of dogmatical religions, i.e. again a phenomenon of a later time.

J. Renger: *Flucht als soziales Problem in der altbabylonischen Gesellschaft.*

The author is perhaps not entirely right when he states that there was no "nennenswerte Gruppe von unabhängigen 'Reichen' (šārū)" in the Old-Babylonian Period, but there were only royal officials completely depending from their lord's benevolence. At least, there certainly existed men whose main means of subsistence were derived from private enterprise and not from allotments from the palace and the temple (cf., e.g. Ea-nāšir and the family of Imlikum in Ur). And even as to the royal officials (e.g. Balmunamhe and the Sānum family at Larsam), the incomes received for their service allowed them (together with the incomes from trade, usury, tax-farming etc.) to accumulate capital in the course of generations, invested in private gardens, houses, slaves, in treasures and, of course, in new business operations. These "family fortunes" were already in a considerable degree independent from the king.

Having very convincingly shown the disastrous situation of the lower strata of the society and uselessness of flight, the author notes that flight was nevertheless forced on people by two circumstances: indebtedness and the burden of taxes and corvée labour. In connection with this, the author puts a question, whether the low prices of land characteristic to this period may be explained by the fact that sale of land was compulsory, and calls for a new investigation of the land prices. I have tried to do this in my paper "Some Problems Connected with the Rise of Landed Property (Old Babylonian Period)", BSSAV, 1971, pp. 35-37. My conclusion was that we should probably surmise a debtor-versus-creditor (or, in general, "weak-versus-strong") relationship behind nearly every deed of purchase of land.

I. M. Diakonoff (VDI, 1973, n° 1) has already noted that Renger is wrong when he regards the uru-DU and uru-rim₄ of Šuruppak as men flying from Šuruppak; such people were called lú-zaḫ; the uru-DU, on the contrary, were refugees arriving in Šuruppak.

E. Sollberger: *Ur-III Society: Some Unanswered Questions.*

It is hard not to comply with the author's assertions that "what we do not know about this epoch far outweighs what we do". This, however, may be referred to any epoch in the history of Ancient Mesopotamia, and I hope, together with the author, that this will not discourage the students but will inspire them to new efforts. As to me, I shall try to show that even the information usually regarded as generally known is not always beyond debates. Thus, E. Sollberger holds it for certain that the king of this epoch was a "hereditary monarch". In reality, however, until the very end of the history of Ancient Mesopotamia the kingship was ideologically based not on the right of inheritance but on a charisma given by gods (usually but not necessary "still in their mother's womb"). The legitimist principle was not known in Mesopotamia, though, of course, in practice the kings tried to keep the royal power within their own single family. But theoretically everything depended upon the will of the gods, and therefore there were no real 'usurpers' in Mesopotamia. Even Ibbi-Sîn, though reluctantly, acknowledged that the kingship had been given to Išbi-Erra by Enlil, and the Qutī were booked in the "King List" without any reservation (cf. also the story of Erra-imitti). The same notion of the nature of kingship is mirrored in the legend of Sargon of Akkad. And the king of Babylon had to "renew" every year his investiture by means of a rather unpleasant rite. Finally, there are some grounds to believe that in Assyria the heir to the throne was appointed through the medium of an oracle. Asarhaddon reports that his father had "respected the weighty word of the gods" (ARAB II, 500). As to the limitations of the power of the Ur III kings, the fact that they did not try to impose a common calendar does not at all demonstrate that this power was indeed limited: Maybe there just was no great need of such a calendar. We must remember that these kings were able to accomplish a far more important and complicated task — that of imposing a common pantheon on the country.

J. Zabłocka: *Landarbeiter im Reich der Sargoniden.*

The author proposes to call the two main classes in the New Assyrian kingdom not "free" and "unfree" (the border between them being rather vague), but the "Produzenten" and "Nichtproduzenten". However, it is hard to agree with her proposition. All Assyrians had to pay taxes — both the magnates and the unfree people settled on the land. The fact that the workers had to pay taxes for their masters does not alter the state of affairs: the master's income was diminished anyway. On the other hand, there was in Assyria a rather significant stratum of persons not paying taxes — in virtue of a complete or partial immunity. This stratum also contained both magnates and unfree people. (For further details see VDI, 1965, N° 1, English digest in "Ancient Mesopotamia", ed. I. M. Diakonoff, Moscow, 1969, pp. 277-295. This may serve as a bibliographical supplement to the paper under review). It may be added that the townspeople did evidently not pay taxes either (as well the rich as the poor). Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, one must draw the borderline between the classes proceeding from their relations to the property in means of production, and their status of freedom or unfreedom.

Juni 1976

V. A. JAKOBSON

* *

Josef BAUER, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch*. Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1972 (8vo, 673 pp.) = Studia Pohl, 9. Price: \$ 14.65.

The present volume is an unaltered reprint of the author's doctoral dissertation, completed in 1967 at the Julius-Maximilians Universität zu Würzburg. A three-page appendix (671-673) contains additions and corrections based on publications which appeared after 1967.

Bauer's book is the first full edition of the 195 pre-Sargonic texts published by Förtsch in VAS 14/1 in 1916. The texts are all from Telloh and they cover a time span of 19 years from the rules of Enentarzi, Lugalanda and Uruinimgina¹). The author arranges the texts in eleven groups according to subject matter, such as irrigation, fields, grain, onion patches, fishing and so on. Each text is given in transliteration, translation and commentary.

As this material deals mostly with the administration of the temples of the Lagaš area by the rulers and their families, substantial data about their genealogies and offices can be gleaned from the texts. These data are discussed in the commentaries to the individual texts, e.g. on pp. 51 f., 91, 139, 387, 469, 482, 525, 532 f., and 538 (cf. also the index of personal names). Discussions of weights and measures, scattered throughout the volume (e.g. pp. 51, 56, 77 f., 222, 225 etc.), should have been, perhaps, collected in a separate chart.

Due to the lack of an up-to-date Sumerian dictionary, it is common in Sumerological literature to quote recent studies or lexical entries for rare or newly interpreted words. In this volume, however, it is somewhat over-

¹) About this reading of uru-KA-gi-na see W. G. Lambert, *OrNS* 39 (1970), 419.

done, even for the most common words, such as *kú* = *akālu* "to eat", p. 56. On the other hand, important references are sometimes omitted, as is the case with *gud₂(-g)* = *pašišu*, which fails to quote Jacobsen's discussion in *PAPhS* 107 (1963), 477 n. 11 (= *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, 325).

Some additional notes: P. 41: The author mentions Deimel's statement that there are 228 unpublished pre-Sargonic Lagaš texts in the British Museum. This statement is now ascribed by R. Barnett, in the Preface to *CT* 50 (1972), to a misunderstanding on Deimel's part. P. 62: On the reading a *ša_x(-g)* for GANA in certain contexts see now M. Civil and M. A. Powell Jr., *JCS* 25 (1973), 171 f. and 178 ff. respectively. On *bahār* see Waetzoldt, *WO* VI/1 (1971), 8 ff. P. 66: For /š/ occurring as /s/ in syllabic texts cf. also Kutscher, *YNER* 6, 36 (add *su-bu-ra* = *šubur*, *ZA* 56, 32). P. 73: *kun-zi-da* is discussed in detail by Sauren, *Topographie der Provinz Umma*, 50 f. P. 83: In comparison with *ki-sum-ma* it is interesting to note the expression *ki-še-gu-nu* "field of spotted barley", which became a literary cliché, see Landsberger, *JNES* 8 (1949), 281 f., and cf. also *YNER* 6, 104. P. 164 f.: About offerings to the statue of the living monarch in the Ur III period see my article "An Offering to the Statue of Šulgi", *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974) 55 ff. P. 210: Jacobsen's and Edzard's respective interpretations of Eannatum's two names are now being unsuccessfully challenged by G. Steiner, *WO* VIII/1 (1974), 10 ff. He interprets *mu* in Sollberger, *CIRPL*, Eannatum 2 col. v 11-14 as referring to year names. The best interpretation in my opinion (also accepted by Bauer), is the one offered by Edzard (*Genava* NS 8, 250), namely, that Lumma is Eannatum's Amorite name (and cf. Huffman, *Amorite Personal Names*, 227). P. 240: For *ka-guru₇* see *CAD* K s.v. *kagurrū* and cf. the literary expression *gu₇-du₆(-gu₇-maš)* "granaries, silos", Hallo, *RAI* 17 (1970), 132 (ad line 55); *Enki and the World Order* (ed. C. Benito, University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1969), 27, 93, 328; M. Civil, *JAOS* 88/1 (Speiser Volume, 1968) 5: 87, and Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, 347 n. 60. As to *lú-éš-gíd*: Bauer's translates "Feldmesser", wörtl. 'Mann, der die Messleine lang macht'. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden*, 133 (ad 78a: 14) and Krecher, *ZA* 63 (1974), 175 translate "Vermesser". The caution exercised by the two last named scholars seems to be justified, as in the pre-Sargonic period the field surveyor is called *lú-éš-ganā-gíd* ("person who uncoils the field rope"; e.g. in *BIN* 8, no. 8 iii 4). In the Obelisk of Manišusu (MDP 2) we have *lú-ganā-gíd* (which seems to be an abbreviation of the former term) in *C* xiv 19, but *lú-éš-gíd* ("person who uncoils the rope") in *C* xiv 2 and xvii 11. Already in 1909 F. Hrozný translated both terms as "Feldmesser" (*WZKM* 23, 203) and two years later he theorized that *lú-éš-gíd* is the exact parallel of *šādīd ašlim* (*WZKM* 25, 319; about *šadādu* in Old Akkadian see Gelb, *OAIC*, 188 ff.). It seems that in the Ur III period only *lú-ganā-gíd* is attested (Falkenstein, *NGu* 2, 17) whereas *lú-éš-gíd* went out of use. In the lexical series, too, only the former term is preserved, and is

translated *abi ašlim*, *šādīd ašlim* (*CAD* A/2, 447) and *šētum ašlim* (*OB* Lu 219 = *MSL* 12, 207).

P. 241: About the ancient name of Zerghul, see now Sollberger's strong advocacy for the reading ABxHA_{ki} as Siraranki and for the elimination of Ninaki (*JCS* 21 [Goetze Volume, 1967-69], 284 n. 45). This endorsement is based on the Chicago Syllabary, line 160 (Halllock, *AS* 7, 21). Sollberger seems to interpret the preceding entry, *ni-nā-a* = ABxHA_{ba} = ... = *ni-na-aki* as referring to Nineveh (thus also Ungnad, *ZA* 38 [1929], 74). Bauer, too reads Siraran. In *WO* VII/1 (1973), 12 f., however, he quotes the syllabic text *VAS* 2, no. 2 iv 17 f., and its logographic parallel *CT* 15, pl. 22: 5 f. which clearly juxtapose ABxHA_{ki}-*mu*: *x-mi-na* with UD.MA.ABxHA.TAG_{ki}-*mu*: *si-ra-ra*. This evidence leaves two questions open, namely the ending *-na* and the syllabic spelling *x-mi-* for ABxHA. But another syllabic text which Bauer quotes (*NFT* 210, AO 4333 ob. iii 2) spells the name *ne-nu-a*. These and other data lead the author to the conclusion that two localities in the Lagaš area shared the logogram ABxHA, and we can add that at least one of them was called Nina or Nenua. On the other hand, eliminating the reading Nina of the sign ABxHA would leave unexplained the use of this sign for Nineveh. In the Excursus on the Orthography of Nineveh (see below) I suggest that *ni-nā-a* in the left hand column of the Chicago Syllabary 159 does not refer to the Assyrian city.

As to the name of Nanše's temple: Bauer's translation of the sign complex *é-UD.MA.ABxHA_{ki}.TAG* as "Haus: 'Wenn ein Schiff Siraran erreicht'" does not take into account the variants. In *TCS* 3, 108 A. Sjöberg quotes the various spellings which are interpreted as *sirara(n)*. On this basis Bauer changed his translation to "Wenn ein Schiff NINAK_{ki} berührt" (*WO* VII/1 [1973], 12).

P. 352: On *ensi* = *ša'ilu* in the Old Babylonian period see Renger, *ZA* 59 (1969), 217 f. P. 354: Further evidence and some recent literature for the reading *an z umušen* is offered by Cooper, *JCS* 26 (1974), 121. Pp. 354 and 673: The author's new discussion of text no. 127 and *DP* no. 563 has appeared in *WO* VI/2 (1971), 143 ff. P. 361: For *túg-níg-lám* and other textile terms see now H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*, Rome, 1972. P. 373 f.: The author is right in stating that the problem of the reading of *šu-HA* is still unsolved; cf. *šu-ha-hád-da* = *šuhaddakku* "fisherman who dries fish" (A. Salonen, *JEOL* 21 (1970) 143 f., *Die Fischerei*, 46 ff.) on the one hand, and my arguments for the reading *ki-šū-pe-š_x* "harbor" on the other (*Lešonenu* 34 [1970] 267 ff., in Hebrew, with English summary; but cf. J. S. Cooper's objection to my interpretation, *Or* NS 43 [1974], 83 ff.). P. 460: *gú-z-a-um-du_r*: In the light of the variant *za-gú A*. Westenholz, *JCS* 26 (1974), 74 accepts Bauer's etymology and suggests that *za* is phonetic spelling for NA₄ = *zā*, i.e. *zā-gú* is "neck-stone, namely necklace, pendant". P. 535: "nagga (= AN.NA) = akk. *anāku* 'Zinn'" : It is probably due to an oversight that the author does not quote Landsberger's "Tin and Lead" article (*JNES* 24 [1965],

285 ff.). Two passages from this article should be quoted here (p. 294): "One wonders why Von Soden [*HWb*, s.v. *anāku*, *annaku*] still maintains the traditional transcription *anāku* when the short second syllable is now proved by the spelling AN-nu-ku ... also in *KAJ*, 141 [!], 2 [add now *an-nu-ku* and *a-ni-ki*, both OAss., *CAD* A/2 s.v. *annaku*] and by the corresponding Hebrew and Syriac words". ... "As long as there is no new source available, AN.NA (in capitals) must be used. Making *nagga* a transcription of an old Sumerian text reminds one of the ugly *uku* for *un* (= *uḡ*) 'people' which has not quite been overcome". More material on tin can be found in J. D. Muhly's comprehensive study *Copper and Tin: The Distribution of Mineral Resources and the Nature of the Metals Trade in the Bronze Age*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 43 (New Haven, 1973). For a short discussion of Sumerian AN.NA see pp. 243 f. P. 524: For *šembī(-zi-da)* see also Krecher, *WO* IV/2 (1968), 257 f.

It is not surprising that, with few exceptions, scholars in recent decades have been reluctant to engage in thorough study of the difficult pre-Sargonic economic and administrative texts. Bauer successfully took up the challenge. His excellent lexical commentaries, indexed on pp. 577-668 (and Edzard's *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends*) now provide us with a working lexicon for the study of Old Sumerian. [Now see also his "Darlehensurkunden aus Girsu", *JESHO* 18, 189-218.] He should be warmly congratulated for this important work. [A word to the publisher: The binding of the book leaves something to be desired; the book falls apart with the first reading.]

Excursus: The Orthography of Nineveh

The earliest datable mentioning of Nineveh known to me is in an inscription and in the letters of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (Borger, *EAK* I, p. 9 col. ii 11; *ARMT* XV, 131, respectively)^{1a}). The spelling is always *ni-nu-wa-a*²). In the Prologue to the Code of Hammurapi, iv 60 the name is spelled *ni-nu-a*. Istar of Nineveh appears on the scene for the first time³) in the Old Babylonian god-list *TCL* XV, 10: 203 (*INANNA ne-nu-a*) and next, in the Nuzu documents (second half of the 15th century)⁴). Her name is spelled *ni-nu-a(-WA)*.

^{1a}) Šamši Adad, in the said inscription, says that the Emašmaš had been built by Manišusu, but this activity is not mentioned in any of the published inscriptions of the latter; neither is Nineveh mentioned in other Old Akkadian text. According to Edzard and Farber, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*, Band II (1974) p. 150, that city is not mentioned in Ur III documents, either. Thompson reports in *Iraq* I (1934), 96 n. 1 that Nineveh occurs in *CCT* IV(!), pl. 50a ll. 15 and 40, but the signs in question look like *ad-di* or *ad-ki* rather than NINAK_{ki}. (Some passages from this letter are treated by K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and Its Terminology*, 47.) The reason for the city's comparatively late appearance in the records may be that it lost much of its importance since prehistoric times, see D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, 28.

²) The determinatives KI and URU are omitted in this Excursus.

³) Šamši-Adad's inscription is in honor of Istar, to be sure, but she is not specifically called Istar of Nineveh.

⁴) For references see H. Lewy, in *CAH* 3 I/2, 730 n. 2. In support of her claim for the identity of the pre-Sumerian population of Babylonia with the pre-Semitic population of Assyria she cites the use of the same sign (ABxHA) to write the names of both Nineveh

Shortly later, King Tušratta of Mitanni reports the sending of a statue of Istar of Nineveh to Amenhotep IV. In his Akkadian letter to the Egyptian monarch we have, for the first time, the form (*Istar ša*) *ni-i-na-a* (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, no. 23 [= Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, no. 10] line 13). But in Tušratta's famous Hurrian letter to the Pharaoh (Knudtzon, no. 24 [= *VAS* 12, no. 200]), the Mitannian scribe spells the city's name *ni-nu-a(-WE)* (iii 98; cf. F. W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language* Brandeis University dissertation, 1964, p. 141). The reason for these strange phenomena can only be speculated on: I suggest that the Hurrian scribe may have interpreted the form *ninua* as containing the similar-sounding Hurrian genitive particle *-we*⁵). In the Akkadian letter, therefore, he produced a back-formation *nina*, which he believed to be the proper "Akkadian" form of the name. This very same reason may account for the presence of only one genitive particle in the Hurrian letter instead of the two expected (see Bush, op. cit., 334 n. 89).

In Hittite texts the spellings *ni-nu-wa* and *ne-nu-wa* are used consistently, as far as I know, e.g. *KBo* II, 9: 38; *KUB* VI, 45 i 53 (= 46 i 18; Muwattališ' Prayer, Goetze, *ANET* 397-399); *XV*, 35 i 23; *XVI*, 83, obv. 46 f.; *XXX*, 76: 20 (*ni-i-nu-wa*).

Nothing is said about Nineveh for about a century after Tušratta's letters. The city appears again in two inscriptions of Šalmaneser I (1274-1245) commemorating the rebuilding of the temple of Istar of Nineveh, *IAK* XXI 10: 6⁶) and 11: 8⁷). In both cases the spelling is *ni-na-a*. This seems to indicate that the form recorded in Tušratta's Akkadian letter was not a spontaneous linguistic novelty created by the scribe of that letter, but a widespread usage which captured the imagination of Šalmaneser's Assyrian speaking scribes. The form *nina*, however, did not replace the original *ninua* in writing, and certainly less so in the spoken language as we shall see below. In Šalmaneser's third building inscription Istar's temple is called *bit ni-nu-a-it-ti*, *IAK* XXI, 9 obv. 7⁸). In the inscriptions of his son and successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I only *ni-nu-a* is attested (Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas* nos. 33: 4 and 34: 4⁹). In the inscriptions of Aššur-reša-iši (1130-1113) there are three broken occurrences of Nineveh, namely in Weidner, nos. 60, 61 and 64. In no. 64: 11 Weidner's restoration *ni-n[a-a]* is justified by the fragment¹⁰) and *a[ninua]* in 60: 9 cannot, of course, be verified. But his restoration *alni[nua]* in 61: 4¹¹) is

and Nina, in the Lagaš area. In fact, the employment of this sign to write the name of Nineveh is not attested before the time of Aššur-reša-iši, in the twelfth century (see below).

⁵) That the *-ua* of Nineveh and the Hurrian genitive particle *-we* were similarly pronounced is supported, perhaps, by the consistent vocalization *Ninewē* in the Masoretic Hebrew Bible.

⁶) For transliteration, see Borger, *EAK* I, 49 f., for new translation, Grayson, *ARI* I, 93 f. The form is found in the fragment 56-9-9, 187, King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti Ninib I*, 167 no. 3.

⁷) For new translation see Grayson, op. cit. 92 f.

⁸) Cf. Borger, op. cit. 59 f.

⁹) Thompson, *AAA* 19, pl. LXXXVIII no. 275 and nos. 267 & 282 respectively.

¹⁰) Ibid. no. 279 line 11.

¹¹) Thompson, op. cit. pl. LXXXVIII no. 202.

confirmed by E. Sollberger, who writes (in a private letter of September 17, 1975): "I have examined the fragment in question (BM 128369) and there is no doubt whatsoever that the text has ABxHA. It is even clearer on the fragment than in Thompson's copy, which has missed the beginning of the HA"¹²). This, then, is the first attested occurrence in which the name of Nineveh is written with the sign ABxHA (= NINA).

The restoration of Ištar of Nineveh's temple is mentioned again by Tiglatpileser I (Luckenbill, *ARAB I*, §§ 322¹³) and 326. The next occurrences of Nineveh and Ninevites are in texts from the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891). The data from his predecessor, Aššur-dan II onward are conveniently collected and arranged in Parpola and Koskeniemi's *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6) 262 ff. These data show that the orthography *ni-na-a* continued to be used by five Assyrian kings, from Tukulti-Ninurta II through Aššur-nirari V; 9 cases of *ni-na-a* are recorded as against 25 cases of *ni-nu-a*. Only from the reign of Sargon onward did the scribes take a fancy to the *ni-na-a* orthography, and most of the cases (24 out of 29) occur in royal inscriptions. All told, this orthography is attested 38 times in the material covered by Parpola, as against 88 occurrences of *ni-nu-a/u*, 18 of them in letters. (The spelling *ni-nā-a* occurs three times in Aššurbanipal texts and once in an undated text, but it can also be read *ni-nū-a*.)

The pseudo-Sumerogram ABxHA is not used again until the reign of Assurnasirpal II. It quickly gained popularity among the Assyrian scribes who used it, from now on, in all textual categories.

To sum up: The name of the Assyrian city is *Ni-nu(w)a* (perhaps with a slight /e/ coloring of the final vowel) as is attested in the earliest documentation (Old Babylonian, Nuzu and Boghazköy). During the Mittanian domination the Hurrian scribes introduced a new form, *Nina*, possibly as a result of back-formation. This form survived down to the Sargonid period, when it experienced a revival of sorts. If the orthography used in letters can be used as an indication of the actual pronunciation, we can state that the name never ceased to be pronounced *Ninua*. In the material covered by *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* the ratio of *Ninua* vs. *Nina* is more than 2: 1.

The introduction of the sign ABxHA in the time of Aššur-reša-iši (or before him) can be explained in the following way: The Assyrian scribes were familiar with a geographical or a lexical text which had an entry on the old Lagašite city of Nina, such as it appears in AS 7, 21 no. 159 (*ni-nā-a* = ABxHAKi = *ni-na-aki*). Since the left and right columns of that entry were identical with a form they sometimes used to write the name of Nineveh, they saw nothing wrong in using the sign in the middle column, too, for Nineveh. It is most unlikely, on the other hand, that such an entry would write *ni-na-a* in the Akkadian column and the ambivalent *ni-nā-a* in the "phonetic indicator" column, when the city's name was pronounced *Ninua*.

It seems, therefore, that the said entry in AS 7 does

refer to the ancient city near Lagaš. Note also that the preceding and following entries refer to Nanše and Sirara respectively. Nina and Sirara are probably two sections of one city, or the names of a city and a section thereof (cf. Uruk-Kullab). That Nineveh and Nina shared the same Sumerogram is not surprising; by the Middle Assyrian period the latter had long been abandoned. Furthermore, even three localities could share the same Sumerogram, e.g. IMki = Ennigi, Muru and Karkar (see the references quoted by J. Bauer, *WO VII/1* [1973] and add now *MSL XI*, 17). For examples of two cities sharing one Sumerogram see Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* 96.

Jerusalem, March 1976

RAPHAEL KUTSCHER

* * *

Albert Kirk GRAYSON, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*. Toronto and Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1975 (8vo, XVI, 111 S.) = Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies, 3. Preis: \$ 17.50.

A. K. Grayson, dessen Interesse an den historischen Texten des Alten Mesopotamien durch seine zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen, vor allem die Ausgabe der *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, bestens bekannt ist, legt in dem hier angezeigten Bändchen eine Reihe babylonischer Texte vor, die er als Vertreter des historisch-literarischen Typus ansieht. Im Vorwort (S. XI) weist Verf. darauf hin, dass dieser literarische Typus bisher kaum bekannt gewesen sei, was freilich zumindest für die beiden hier behandelten Gattungen des historischen Epos und der Prophetie nur mit Einschränkung gelten kann.

Die Texte selbst sind verhältnismässig spät, nämlich in persischer oder seleukidischer Zeit, niedergeschrieben worden, doch dürfte das Abfassungsdatum in einigen Fällen früher liegen (S. 9). Ob man im Verfassen bzw. Abschreiben solcher Texte, wie Grayson vermutet, „an expression of rivalry with the Persian or Greek conquerors“ sehen darf, ist aufgrund der vorhandenen Quellen wohl kaum zu entscheiden; schliesslich gibt es auch Zeugnisse für kulturelle Assimilation, zumindest in hellenistischer Zeit. Wie Verf. selbst darlegt (S. 19²⁹), dürften die Verhältnisse doch wesentlich komplizierter gewesen sein.

Verf. betont zu Recht, (S. 4f.), dass der Begriff der Gattung (genre) den mesopotamischen Schreibern unbekannt war, was aber die Herausbildung literarischer Gattungen in der Praxis nicht ausschliesst. So rechtfertigt sich die vorliegende Edition durch die Gemeinsamkeiten der Texte, die vor allem in der verfeinerten literarischen Form und ihrem hauptsächlich historischen Inhalt zu sehen sind. Drei „basic genres“ werden vorgestellt: Prophetie, historisches Epos und Pseudo-Autobiographie, letztere freilich im vorliegenden Band nicht durch Texte vertreten.

Die Gattung der Prophetie wird auf S. 13 ff. behandelt; zu den bibliographischen Angaben (S. 14⁷) ist jetzt noch Hunger — Kaufmann, *JAOS* 95, 371 ff. nachzutragen. Neu ist der Text der sog. dynastischen Prophetie (S. 24-37), leider jedoch wenig aussagekräftig

wegen seines schlechten Erhaltungszustandes. Die Feststellung Verf., „the Dynastic Prophecy reflects an important stage in the development of apocalyptic literature in the Ancient Near East“ (S. 22) wird von ihm selbst — und sehr zu Recht — dahingehend eingeschränkt, dass die dynastische Prophetie „not (...) apocalyptic in the strict sense of that word“ ist. Sie ist doch wohl eher ganz einfach ein Versuch, die Geschichte nach aussagekräftigen Beispielen auf einen bestimmten, aktuellen Zweck hin zu durchsuchen und die Resultate politisch zu verwerten — Geschichte erscheint, modern ausgedrückt, als Legitimation für politisches Handeln; so verwundert es auch nicht, dass die Tafel als Geheimwissen bezeichnet ist.

Der zweite Teil des Buches befasst sich mit dem babylonischen historischen Epos. Nach einer Einführung in diese Gattung folgen die Texte: Historical Epic Fragment about the Kassite Period; Adad-shuma-usur Epic; Nabopolassar Epic; Historical Epic Fragment regarding Evil-Merodach und A Babylonian Historical Epic Fragment. Weitere Fragmente unsicherer Inhalts folgen als dritter Teil des Bandes, der von Indices beschlossen wird.

So erfreulich die Vorlage neuer Texte stets ist, so wenig befriedigend ist dennoch der Ertrag dieses Buches. Die bearbeiteten Texte tragen relativ wenig zur Konstitution ihrer jeweiligen Gattung bei; besonders die epischen Fragmente hätten sehr gut in einem Aufsatz Platz gefunden. Es sind ja vor allem die grossen Königseden, etwa die über Naram-Sin, Sargon oder Tukulti-Ninurta, die das Bild dieser Gattung bestimmen. So wäre es sicher verdienstvoller gewesen, alle bekannten historischen Epen neu zu edieren und daran vielleicht ein Kapitel über die Gattung der Prophetie anzufügen.

Trotz dieser Einwände sind wir dem Verfasser gleichwohl zu aufrichtigem Dank dafür verpflichtet, dass er das interessante neue Textmaterial in so sorgfältiger, freilich vielleicht etwas zu aufwendiger Weise der Wissenschaft zugänglich gemacht hat.

Göttingen, März 1976

W. SCHRAMM

* * *

R. I. CAPLICE, *The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: an introduction*. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1974 (40, 1-24 S.) = Sources from the Ancient Near East 1/1. PPreis: \$ 0.80.

Der nach dem Tode E. Ebelings (s. seine Aufsätze in RA 48, 1 ff.; 76 ff.; 130 ff.; 178 ff.; 49, 32 ff.; 137 ff.; 178 ff.; 50, 22 ff.; 86 ff.) beste Kenner der Ritualsammlung (nicht: Serie, vgl. S. 77: Or. 34, 107 f.) Namburbi (vgl. dazu neuerdings R. Borger, *HKL* 3, 87), R. I. Caplice, der selbst in einer Anzahl von Artikeln (s. Or. 34, 105 ff.; 36, 1 ff.; 273 ff.; 39, 111 ff.; 40, 133 ff.; 42, 508 ff.; *JNES* 33, 345 ff.) viele Textveröffentlichungen und -bearbeitungen zur Gruppe beigegeben hat, legt in diesem kleinen Heft eine Einführung zu Zweck und Aufbau der betreffenden Texte, sowie eine Auswahl derselben in Übersetzung vor. Vf. eröffnet hiermit die neue Reihe SANE, welche ebenso wie die Parallelreihe

MANE (s. dazu BiOr. 32, 380 ff.) durch G. Buccellati herausgegeben wird. Sie dient ähnlichen Zwecken wie MANE und dürfte dazu gegründet worden sein, breitere Leserkreise in bestimmte altorientalische Textgattungen einzuführen und wohl auch dazu dasein „to bridge the gap that separates us from these texts“ (S. 3), da diese letztere unserer Monographie beigegebene Zielsetzung *mutatis mutandis* vermutlich auch für weitere Hefte der neuen Reihe zutreffen wird.

Als Zweck der Namburbisammlung gibt Vf. an die „performance of private apotropaic rites (including both action-rites and word-rites“, *agenda* und *dicenda*), ... in that their purpose is to „undo“ or „avert“ portended „evil“ (S. 7), d.h. also den durch üble Vorzeichen vorhergesagten Gefahren begegnen helfen soll. Im kultischen Leben des Alten Mesopotamien vom späten 8. Jhd. an müssen diese Rituale eine nicht ganz unbedeutende Rolle gespielt haben, werden sie doch in der Königskorrespondenz der Sargonidenzeit (vgl. etwa AOAT 5/1, 203 Rs. 3; 204, 6; 280, 17; Rs. 4), sowie in weiteren zeitgenössischen Texten als Gattung häufig erwähnt (vgl. S. 7; *AHW*. 726 *namburbû* 2). Sonst finden sich Rituale gegen ungünstige Omina z.B. in die Serie *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin* eingestreut, welche ausdrücklich als Namburbi gekennzeichnet werden, doch hat man diese Ritualangaben später auf eigenen Tafeln zusammengefasst, welche auch weiterhin eine enge Verbindung mit der Omenliteratur beibehielten. Diese lässt sich besonders mit der eben genannten Omenserie, sowie, in der Königskorrespondenz, mit der Serie *Enūma Anu Enlil* feststellen. Auch der Texttypus „Namburbi gegen jegliches Übel“ (Universalbeschwörung) weist eine grosse Anzahl von astronomischen Vorzeichen auf (S. 8 f.). Verschiedentlich kann ein Namburbi auch dazu dienen, nicht einem üblen Vorzeichen, sondern tatsächlich eingetretenen üblen Folgen von Zauberei zu begegnen (S. 9).

Die Namburbitexte weisen zwei Komponenten auf: Ritualvorschriften und Gebete (S. 9 ff.). Vf. bemerkt, dass der 'Sitz im Leben' der Ritualhandlungen nirgends in den Texten ausdrücklich beschrieben wird, was sich dadurch erkläre, dass es sich bei den Namburbitexten nur um Handbücher zum Gebrauch durch Liturgiker handle, die eine lebendige Tradition weiterführten (S. 9). Die Handelnden sind meistens der Liturgiker und die vom bösen Vorzeichen bedrohte Person (S. 9). Es unterscheidet der Vf. im Ritual: a) Einführende Handlungen (S. 10). Diese bestehen in der Bereitstellung des Tragaltärs, des Rohraltars oder des Opfertisches und der Opferzurüstung, in Einschliessungsriten, durch welche der Ort, an dem das Ritual ausgeführt werden soll, von der Umwelt abgesondert wird (z.B. eine Rohrhütte) und in Reinigungsriten. b) 'Zentrale' Handlungen (S. 10 ff.). Hierbei handelt es sich um die Darbietung von Opfern und um die Durchführung von apotropäischen Riten. Diese letzteren, welche besonders der Begegnung oder Abwendung des drohenden Übels dienen, sind als das zentrale Element der Namburbitexte zu betrachten (S. 11). c) Schlusshandlungen (S. 12). Vorschriften in bezug auf das Handeln des gefährdeten Menschen nach den zentralen Riten begegnen häufig. Sie zerlegen sich in drei Kategorien: Schlusshandlungen ritueller Art am kultischen Orte, die die Wirkungskraft

¹² I am much obliged to Dr. Sollberger for his kindness.

¹³ Cf. Borger, *EAK I*, 109 f.

der vollführten zentralen Riten symbolisieren; Handlungen, welche sofort ans Ritual anschliessen und die Rückkehr des Menschen zum normalen Leben symbolisieren und bewirken; magische Vorschriften, die der Mensch noch einige Zeit lang zu befolgen hat.

Die Gebete in den Namburbitexten (S. 12 f.) lassen sich von den rituellen Teilen nicht allzu scharf trennen. Sie sind „oral rites which invoke power and specify the manual rites performed“. Das eigentliche Gebet, das im allgemeinen dem von W. G. Kunstmann, LSS NF 2 herausgearbeiteten Schema folgt, ist an einen oder mehrere Götter, meist Šamaš, Ea und Asarluhi, gerichtet. Es kann aber auch in nur einem Satze bestehen. Manchmal wird ein 'word rite' an das Übel, oder an dessen Vorzeichen, oder an Instrumente, die dazu dienen, diesem Übel zu begegnen (sog. Kultmittelbeschwörung) gerichtet. 'Abracadabra'-Formeln (vgl. etwa Or. 40, 133, 1, und nebenbei J. van Dijk, VS 17, S. 8 f.) begegnen ebenfalls und schliesslich gibt es auch 'freie Gebete' des Flehenden. Der letztere wird als der Schrift meistens Unkundiger vermutlich dem Liturgiker die ihm durch diesen vorgesprochenen Aussagen nachgesprochen haben. Die Gebete des Liturgikers enthielten entweder Fürbitten für den Flehenden, oder es ist, falls es sich in ihnen um eigenes Leid handelt, wohl wieder antiphonische Rezitation zu vermuten. Von den in den Namburbiritualen gebrauchten Termini des Rezitierens: *qabû*, *dabû* und *manû* bezeichnet der letztgenannte nach Ansicht des Vf. „a more stately recitation in measured tones: „to intone““ (vgl. *AHW.* 604 f. *manû(m)* V G 10).

Zum Schluss weist Vf. noch kurz auf die Schwierigkeiten hin, die sich den Bemühungen des modernen Menschen um das richtige Verständnis unserer Texte entgegenstellen (S. 13).

Auf S. 14 ff. bietet Vf. anschliessend eine Auswahl aus den Namburbitexten in Übersetzung. Einige kurze Bemerkungen dazu mögen diesen Überblick beschliessen.

Nr. 1) vgl. auch Nr. 8). Ein weiteres Ritual gegen das Übel einer Schlange hat J. Nougayrol, *RA* 65, 167 ff. veröffentlicht und bearbeitet. Vgl. auch R. I. Caplice, *Or.* 42, 515, 1'-6'.

Nr. 5) Die Namburbitexte benutzen das Sumerische verhältnismässig selten. Dies mag mit der doch wohl anzunehmenden Entstehungszeit unserer Ritualgattung im 1. Jahrht. v. Chr. (vgl. etwa W. von Soden, *RIA* 3, 163 zum Namburbigebet *RA* 48, 130, 9 ff.) zusammenhängen: Vgl. damit etwa die nach der Arbeit A. Falkensteins, LSS NF 1 mit Sicherheit auf altbab. und ältere Vorlagen zurückgehenden späteren bilingualen kanonischen Beschwörungsserien. Allerdings wäre, nachdem wir jetzt einen altbab. Vorläufer der Omenserie *Šumma ālu* (vgl. oben) kennen (s. D. B. Weisberg, *HUCA* 40-41, 87 ff.), eine ältere Entstehungszeit auch unserer Rituale (wenigstens in ihren Vorläufern) nicht ganz auszuschliessen. Ausser auf das Gebet in dem hier übersetzten Fragment (*LKA* 118) sei für Sumerisch in Namburbitexten auf E. Ebeling, *RA* 48, 138 f., 2-16; R. I. Caplice, *Or.* 34, 112, 4'-5'; 7'; 36, 1, 7-9; 17, 8'-11'; 25, 20'-21'; 27 f., 2'-11'; 273 f., 14'-19'; 287 f., 12'-19'; 288 f., Rs. 1'-20' (bil.); 295 f., 31-Rs. 12; 39, 113, 1-7;

132 f., Rs. 1-12; 40, 140, 1'-6'; 141, 34'-39' (unten Nr. 9); 142, 49'-51'; 149 Rs. 1-6; 168, 4'; 169, 8'; 171, 21; 180, 10'-17', sowie auf ein Ritual verwiesen, das R. I. Caplice in *Or.* 39 bearbeitet hat. Dort wird das Singen (*zamāru*) von sumerischen *ér-šè-m-ma's* (vgl. dazu etwa J. Krecher, *SKLy.* 232) mit instrumentaler Begleitung angeordnet (s. 118, 19-20; 119, 38-41 (s. S. 13); auch ebd. 119, 27).

Nr. 9) Die Formel *zi-an-na hē-pà zi-ki[-a]* *hē-pà* kann, wie A. Falkenstein, LSS NF 1, 34 nachgewiesen hat, trotz der gelegentlich beigefügten akkad. Übersetzung *niš šamēe lu-ū ta-ma-a-ta niš eršetiti lu-ū ta-ma-a-ta* (vgl. A. Falkenstein, a.a.O.; *UET* 6/2, 391, 33 (s. *AHW.* 798 *nišu(m)* II B 1)) wohl kaum „Be conjured by heaven, be conjured by earth!“ heissen, da dann **hē-pà-dē-en* zu erwarten wäre — eine Postposition nach *an-na* und *ki-a* wäre aber wohl nicht unbedingt erforderlich, vgl. wenigstens TCS 1, 81, 5 *zi-lugala(LUGAL)* mit ebd. 228, 3 *zi-lugala-ta* „Beim Leben des Königs!“. Vielmehr wird m.E. „Beim Himmel sei geschworen, bei der Erde sei geschworen!“ (wörtlich wohl: „(Beim) Leben des Himmels, (beim) Leben der Erde!“ sei gerufen“, vgl. A. Falkenstein, *NG* 1, 63; 63 f.; 3, 150 f.; 175) zu übersetzen sein. Aktive Bedeutung liegt offenbar vor in TCS 1, 113, 9-11 *ū a-šā-Uru-ula(UL)-ka / ā-bi in-da-āga-e / zi-lugala hē-an-pà* (s. zu dieser Verbalform A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49, 129) „Und „Die Miete für das Feld von(?) Uru'ul werde ich in seiner Gegenwart darwägen!“ möge er beim König schwören“; ebenso möglicherweise in *Atr.* 144, 251 (ähnlich 252) *zi-an-na zi-ki-a i-pà-dē(-en)-zē-en* „Beim Himmel, bei der Erde schwört ihr“ (= An und Enlil). Nebenbei sei noch bemerkt, dass R. I. Caplice *JNES* 33, 345 ff. einen weiteren Namburbitext veröffentlicht und bearbeitet hat, der sich auf diese Art Wandschwamm (*katarru*, vgl. *AHW.* 465; *CAD* K 303) bezieht.

Wir danken dem Vf. herzlich für seine nützliche Einführung in die Textgattung Namburbi. Eventuellen weiteren Einleitungen in altnesopotamische Textgattungen oder -gruppen in der neuen Reihe SANE sehen wir mit Interesse entgegen!

Nimwegen, März 1976

W. H. PH. RÖMER

* *

B. F. BATTO, *Studies on Women at Mari*. Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975 (8vo. XIV + 162 pp.) = The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies. Price: £ 5.50.

This book is a revised version of a dissertation written for Johns Hopkins University. It studies the role of women according to the women's correspondence from Mari, published in copies only in ARM X and using also, but to a very small extent, economic texts and men's correspondence from Mari. It does not include any new material.

The work is premature. Although many of the prob-

lems in ARM X have been discussed, by Dossin, Römer, Moran, Sasson, Artzi and Malamat, and Ellermeier for example, the definitive transliterations, translations and notes of ARM X have not yet been published, and the meanings of several words that are vital to our understanding have not yet been agreed. Also, the Iltani archive from Rimah, due to be published in 1976, will provide additional material of importance. Dr. Batto tries to use the very little information so far published about that archive, and comes to grief for lack of the whole evidence. Thus this book will be outdated within perhaps two years, and one wonders why it was published in book form. If it had been compressed into notes in a periodical, whole paragraphs of speculation might have been excluded (e.g. on pp. 23, 95 and 109).

The first part of the book deals with the role and personalities of important women in Zimri-Lim's court. The second part concerns the role of women in religion at Mari; to some extent it complements Renger's study of the Old Babylonian priesthood in ZA 58. But Dr. Batto's study highlights the fact that there are too few texts concerning any one profession for useful deductions to be possible.

There are some criticisms to be made of the subject matter in detail. Concerning *šitrum*, p. 26ff, Dr. Batto accepts the very doubtful interpretation of *šitrum* as "veil" and gives a biased translation of ARM X 126 to fit his interpretation. Lines 11-12 are simply "choose from them 30 female weavers or however many can be chosen, good ones", not "who are choice and attractive". *šūhuzum* in line 18 is not attested in the meaning that Dr. Batto gives it, "to cause to wear". It is possible to read *šitrum* "writing, registration" with good sense in all the Mari occurrences. This interpretation of a single word would dispose entirely of the "lesser women of the harem". And Dr. Batto's interpretation (p. 21ff) of Dam-huraši as a secondary wife is not secure, being based only on the size of her ration in relation to other women of the royal household. It is equally possible to envisage her as a "dowager" or elderly female dependent of importance. The same is true of Kunšimatum (p. 24). There is no evidence from which a deduction may be made; but Dr. Batto has made many deductions. He produces no firm evidence for a harem of any sort, but does not question his own assumption that a harem existed under Zimri-Lim. On p. 27 he would have Zimri-Lim's queen choosing his harem. This selection in later, Islamic, times was more understandably made by the king's mother.

Concerning ARM X 174, there is no reason to suppose (p. 63f.) that this Belassunu is the same one as occurs in the Iltani archive. Dr. Batto has not looked critically at Prof. Sasson's speculations in JCS 25 p. 62. As Sasson himself remarked (op. cit. p. 61), Belassunu is a common personal name at Mari. It seems to me likely that Yatar-salim occurs before her sons in this letter because he is her husband: Aqbu-ammu is reassuring her that her husband, her sons and her house are well. If this is so, the information is not in agreement with the Rimah text that says Abdu-šuri was Belassunu's husband. And if the Mari letter means literally that Hammu-šakiš is Aqbu-ammu's father, then the two

Aqba-hammus are not the same man. Even the information that Yatar-salim is his brother according to ARMT II 39: 58 is not certain; *a-hi* is normally the OB construct for *ahum* I, and it is possible to interpret those lines as: "Merrum and Yatar-salim will 'turn the shoulder of' (i.e. leave?) Aqba-hammu", taking *a-ah* as the normal construct form of *ahum* II. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that either one or both characters are the same as those in the Iltani archive. But, as before, there is no firm evidence. Dr. Batto's reconstruction of Belassunu's life (p. 63), apart from being very speculative, is wrong, because the Iltani archive was written after the fall of Zimri-Lim, when Hammurapi's power extended to northern Mesopotamia. Dr. Batto assumes that the Rimah letter of Az-zu-x dated to Zimri-Lim's reign at Mari. The published information from Aqba-hammu's seal impressions (Iraq 30 p. 91) should have made him more cautious.

Some smaller points: p. 9, there is no direct evidence that Zimri-Lim actually stayed in Aleppo during his exile. P. 20, as there are no published letters of Yasmah-Addu's wife, for whatever reason, one cannot compare the role of the queen under the two rulers! Similarly, on p. 136, since no letters of queens from the first dynasty of Babylon are known, one cannot compare the queen's role in upper and lower Mesopotamia. P. 26, line 13 of the text, *ša iš-tu šū-up-ri-im*, is missing in transliteration. Translation, as already indicated, is sometimes incautious or inaccurate, e.g. p. 41 KASKAL *itešer* "the road is direct", not "the roads are safe". P. 64 *ṭuppam . . . ana šēr abiya Hāmu-šakiš uštābil* "I have sent a letter to my father Hamu-šakiš", not "to my father (through) Hamu-šakiš". P. 125 *ittātīm zikaram u sinništām ūqī aštālma* surely not "I waited on signs. I asked a man and a woman".

The book has not used the economic texts to discover what jobs women did, which professions were exclusively female, and how the rations allotted by the palace differed for different types of worker. Dr. Batto "hopes to expand his investigation to include other aspects of the role of women at Mari". One wonders why he did not begin with that study, for which much material has been published fully, and wait for the relevant publications before undertaking this one.

Edinburgh, October 1975

STEPHANIE DALLEY

* *

D. HOMÈS-FREDERICQ, *Les cachets mésopotamiens protohistoriques*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970 (4to, 199 pages, 51 plates, 21 figures in the text and 4 maps) = Documenta et Monumenta orientis antiqui XIV. Price: f 125.

In this book the author studied the early stamp seals excavated at the major sites of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria in order to give a survey of their development from the Halaf to the Jamdat Nasr period. To this end she examined the materials employed, the techniques of engraving, the shapes of the seals, and the designs engraved upon the sealing surface.

In charts containing simple, schematic designs the author provides inventories of geometric, plant-like, or figured motifs of the seals produced in the Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods. Because of the large area covered there is a danger that the resulting picture may be distorted. Indeed, in the chart on page 79 two rows of triangles are listed among the characteristic motifs of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods although these motifs are known only from the North Mesopotamian site of Tepe Gawra and the North Syrian one of Tell Brak. The example may suffice to show that such surveys have to be more limited regionally in order to be meaningful.

Moreover, in establishing a valid pattern of iconographical forms and compositional schemes the correct dating of the seals is of primary importance. Some of the excavators' dates used by the author, however, were based on erroneous judgment of the stratigraphic situation. In view of the fact that the present book was in the press from 1964 to 1970, it was not possible to integrate into the text Briggs Buchanan's important articles on "The Prehistoric Stamp Seal" (JAOS 87, 1967, pp. 265-279 and 525-540) in which the chronology of early stamp seals as indicated by their stratigraphic positions was re-examined and major errors were corrected. For example, a sealing found at Tepe Gawra at the Northern base of the mound was assigned by the excavator on the basis of this find spot to the Halaf period. Examination of a drawing by Buchanan of the original as distinct from the cursory drawing by which the sealing had been published in the report of the excavation, showed however, that the example in question was one of ten sealings, nine of which had been found in level VIII G of the Jamdat Nasr period (see Buchanan, "Preh. Stamp Seal I", p. 268) to which the sophisticated motif and large figured design obviously belongs. It is scarcely necessary to point out how greatly the inclusion of this sealing among the designs of the Halaf period distorts the picture of that style implied in the book under review.

In connection with the terminology used by the author for the animals represented in the mentioned sealing from Gawra, one may express the wish for a generally accepted nomenclature for the various horned animals so that what is quite obviously a mountain goat with beard and saber-shaped horns is not erroneously referred to as "probablement des cerfs".

The book is useful for the method of tabulation which is employed. Other virtues are the careful attention given to materials and the inclusion in one volume of a number of stamp seals excavated before 1962. A complete record of such stamps, however, as well as better photographs would have increased the value for the reader. A revision of the book by the author along the lines here suggested would be most welcome.

New York, April 1975

EDITH PORADA

HETHITOLOGIE

ANATOLIAN STUDIES PRESENTED TO HANS GUSTAV GÜTERBOCK ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 65TH BIRTHDAY. Edited by K. BITTEL, Ph. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE (Edit. Secretary) and E. REINER and published by l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul with financial support from the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and Der Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft. Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1974 (4to, XII, 278 S. [1 nicht paginierte Autographie nach S. 296], XXXI Tafeln) = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul) XXXV. Preis: f 125.—

Als Hans Gustav Güterbock am 27. Mai 1973 seinen 65. Geburtstag beging, durfte er auf eine reiche Ernte wissenschaftlicher Arbeit und akademischer Lehre zurückblicken. Von ihr zeugen in dem vorliegenden stattlichen Festschriftbande nicht nur die lange bibliographische Zusammenstellung seiner veröffentlichten Arbeiten seit 1930, sondern nicht minder die eindruckliche Reihe der Namen von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern, deren Beiträge hier zu seinen Ehren versammelt sind. Amerikanische, niederländische und deutsche Institutionen ermöglichten die Herausgabe des gut ausgestatteten, leider recht teuren Bandes. Der Titel „Anatolian Studies“ umschreibt das Hauptarbeitsgebiet des Geehrten und zugleich den von den Herausgebern gesteckten Rahmen, über den nur zwei der zahlreichen Beiträge etwas hinausgehen, derjenige von Erica Reiner, *New Light on Some Historical Omens* (257-261), anknüpfend an des Jubilars Dissertation zur historischen Tradition bei Babyloniern und Hethitern, und derjenige von Pietro Meriggi, *Il cilindro cipro-minoico d'Encomi e il disco di Festo* (215-227), der aufgrund einer alten übersehenden Deutung R. A. St. Macalisters den Diskos von Phaistos im Urkundentyp als altorientalische Stützungsurkunde mit Zeugenliste (auf Seite B) interpretieren möchte, den kyprominoischen Zylinder von Enkomi strukturell dagegen etwa als Liste von Weihgaben bestimmt.

Erwartungsgemäss nehmen die Beiträge zur hethitischen Philologie den grössten Raum ein: Howard Berman, *A Hittite Parallel to a Section of the Akkadian Omen Series Iqqur İpuš* (57-63) bearbeitet KUB 8, 35 im Vergleich mit der späteren akkadischen Parallelfassung. Hier mag die sonst unerklärbare (S. 58) Logogrammschreibung IM.GÜ.A statt IM.GÜ vielleicht als rein graphische Verwechslung mit IM.RI.A o.ä. entstanden sein. Vs. 16 ergänzt B. aus Raumgründen (nach Kollation Donbaz) [IGI]-zi für *aušzi* // akkad. IGI-mar = *immar*. Ist syllabisches [a-uš]-zi wirklich ganz ausgeschlossen? Das Logogramm IGI für „sehen“ ist zumindest im Hethitischen unüblich. KUR-an-za wird als „Ergativ“ erklärt, doch träfe auch hier die S. 60 für Z. 11 gebotene Erklärung als die im Kasus eindeutige Form statt *utne* zu. — Onofrio Carruba, *Tahurwaili von Hatti*

und die heth. Geschichte um 1500 v. Chr. (73-93), widmet sich der Einordnung des neu aufgetauchten hethitischen Königs Tahurwaili¹⁾ und bezieht sämtliche althethitischen Textzeugnisse²⁾ für eine Person solchen Namens auf den durch Siegel und Vertragsfragment nachweisbaren König dieses Namens, den er demgemäss mit seiner Regierungszeit unmittelbar nach Telipinu und vor Alluwamna als Usurpator ansetzt. Stärkstes Argument bleibt allerdings die Seltenheit des Namens, während die historische Rekonstruktion aufgrund der fragmentarischen Texte kaum zwingend ist, ebenso wenig wie C's Widerlegungsversuch der von Siegel- und Beischriftformular-Entwicklungsreihen ausgehenden späteren Datierung des Tahurwaili-Siegels und damit des Staatsvertrags durch H. Otten. Der Wortlaut des Vertrags, auf den C. kaum eingeht, und seine enge Beziehung zum Paddattiššu-Vertrag, zusammen mit den stilistischen Anklängen an die Formulierungen des Šunaššura-Vertrags KBo 1, 5 sprechen aber gleichfalls für eine spätere Ansetzung des Grosskönigs Tahurwaili, der dann nicht identisch sein könnte mit dem gleichnamigen Auführer zur Zeit Telipinus. S. 86f. unterscheidet nicht scharf genug alte Texttradition und mögliche jüngere Textexemplare. S. 87 m. Anm. 49 negiert einen Staat Kizzuwatna z.Z. Telipinus mit dem Argument, dass einzelne später zum politischen Gebilde Kizzuwatna gehörige Orte und „Länder“ noch unter hethischer Oberhoheit standen, übersieht aber z.B. die Tatsache, dass Ispuṭaḫsu im Vertrag mit Telipinu, den C. allerdings spät in Telipinus Regierungszeit ansetzt, jeweils an erster Stelle genannt ist, usw. Die von C. vorgeschlagene Lesung des hieroglyphenhethitischen Namens im Ispuṭaḫsu-Siegel als Taruḫsu mag man akzeptieren, die Identität mit dem gleichnamigen Verschwörer für möglich halten, eine Datierung des Königs Tahurwaili vermag sie nicht zu beweisen. — Oliver R. Gurney, *The Hittite Line of Kings and Chronology* (105-111), stellt erneut die unsicheren Punkte in der hethitischen Chronologie dar; aufgrund des nicht neuen Arguments von Generationsrechnungen möchte er zwar keine der üblichen Kurz- oder Langchronologien ausschliessen, die mittlere Chronologie (Zug nach Babylon 1595) jedoch für die plausibelste halten. — Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., *The ARZANA House* (113-121), präsentiert die recht lückenhaften Erkenntnisse über das Wirtshaus, ʔ ARZANA / *arzana parn-*, im alten Anatolien. — Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Early and Late Phases of Urhi-Tesub's Career* (123-150), sammelt und interpretiert in vorbildlicher Klarheit direktes und indirektes Textmaterial für Urhi-Tešups früheste und letzte Jahre. — Annelies Kammenhuber, *Sporadische Univerbierungen von Adverbien und Verba composita* (151-164) untersucht die gelegentlich auftretenden, offenbar weder durch Graphik noch Satzbau stets sicher zu erkennenden engeren Verbindungen von Adverbien und Präverbien. — Viktor Korošec, *Einiges zur inneren Struktur hethitischer Tempel nach der Instruktion für*

Tempelleute (KUB XIII, 4) (165-174), wertet weitgehend paraphrasierend die Tempeldienstangeweisung KUB 13, 4 für rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Tempelangehörigen aus. — Emmanuel Laroche, *Les dénominations des dieux „antiques“ dans les textes hittites* (175-185), versucht eine klare, wohl nur bei einem Teil der herangezogenen Texte sicher durchführbare Trennung der in den verschiedenen Sprachschichten der hethitischen religiösen Überlieferung fassbaren verschiedenen Konzepte alter, früherer, unterer, unterweltlicher, ewiger Götter. In diesem Zusammenhang müsste vielleicht noch stärker auf die Vorstellungen von früheren Göttern, als den älteren, ehemaligen grossen, teilmachteten einer früheren Göttergeneration eingegangen werden, wie sie indirekt auch im babylonischen Bereich nachweisbar sind. Deutlich wird jedenfalls, dass im hethitischen Bereich eine göttergeschichtliche, dynamische Konzeption aitiologisch eine mehr statische kosmologische Oben-Unten-Konzeption überlagert und ergänzt zu haben scheint. — Heinrich Otten, *Die Schenkungsurkunde KUB XIII 8 eine junge Kopie* (245-251), belegt an einem typischen Beispiel das Erscheinungsbild einer jungen Kopie eines mittelhethitischen Texts anhand von Zeichenformen³⁾, typischen Kopierschreibungen und der Mischung von älterer und jüngerer Orthographie (überkorrekte Schreibungen) und Sprache. Zeichentabelle und Photo der Tafel stammen von Chr. Rüster. — Kaspar K. Riemschneider, *Die Glasherstellung in Anatolien nach hethitischen Quellen* (263-278), behandelt die wenigen hethitischen Texte zur Glasmacherei, zusammen mit einem hier neu publizierten Paralleltext zu HT 3 aus Privatbesitz, und ihre Terminologie.

Auch das Hieroglyphenhethitische ist gut vertreten: Sedat Alp, *Eine neue hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kizildağ-Karadağ aus der Nähe von Aksaray und die früher publizierten Inschriften derselben Gruppe* (17-27), stellt eine neue Inschrift des nachhethitischen Grosskönigs Hartapu, Sohn eines Mursili, am Burunkaya bei Mamasin vor, und bietet die anderen Inschriften derselben Gruppe in neuen recht lesbaren Photos und Umzeichnungen mit kurzen Bemerkungen⁴⁾.

Mit dem Problem eines möglichen Zusammenhangs der urartäischen Hieroglyphenschrift mit der hethitischen befasst sich Richard D. Barnett, *The Hieroglyphic Writings of Urartu* (43-55)⁵⁾, mit einer Erwähnung des Euphrat in einer neuen Lesung (I⁷Pu-ra-na-) einer Sarduri II.-Inschrift (Maurits van Loon, *The Euphrates Mentioned by Sarduri II of Urartu* (187-194)⁶⁾.

Mehrfach ist das Altassyrische vertreten: Kemal Balkan, *Cancellation of Debts in Cappadocian Tablets from Kültepe* (29-41), veröffentlicht unter Heranziehung weiterer unpublizierter Kültepetexte drei Verpflichtungs-

³⁾ Beim ungewöhnlichen URU-Zeichen 177 (S. 246f.) dürfte die bis auf den zweiten senkrechten Keil am Ende identische Form von APIN (StBoT 21 Nr. 3, S. 18) hineingespielt haben. Rein graphische Verwechslung?

⁴⁾ Vgl. jetzt noch P. Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico II: Testi 3a Serie* No. 12-18, Tavv. I-II.

⁵⁾ Zur Zusammenstellung der wesentlichen Texte mit Zeichenliste (S. 48ff.) s. noch (zu Bastam) E. von Schuler, *AMI 3* (1970) 93ff. und 5 (1972) 117f. mit Literatur.

⁶⁾ Lies DINGIR+MÜŠ besser nach AnOr 42 Nr. 62 als *4Sars-* statt einfach *sars*.

¹⁾ Vgl. H. Otten, *MDOG* 103 (1971) 59ff.

²⁾ S. 78f. Z. 26: besser akkad. QADU statt QATUM; S. 74 Z. 30: wegen der Parallele S. 78 S. 28 (ŠU-z a) ist ZAGLU-z a wohl im Sinne des akkadischen Äquivalents *imittu* als „Rechte (sc. Hand)“, nicht „Schulter“ zu verstehen.

scheine mit Solidarhaftungsklausel in Umschrift und Bearbeitung, die einen Schuldenerlass (*hubullam masā'um*) durch den Lokalfürsten (*rubā'um*) belegen, indem sie eben die Wirkung eines solchen vertraglich im Einzelfall ausschliessen. S. 30f. Anm. 12 lies in ICK 1, 35 B 3 nach Kopie *i-ša-a-am* (statt *i-ša-am*), also ein formal eindeutiges Präsens, das andererseits wie 35 A 9 (nicht zitiert!) *Ša-lu-a-ta-a i-iš-a-am* aber kaum anders als Präteritum gemeint sein kann, wie Balkan auch übersetzt, ohne allerdings dementsprechend zu emendieren; oder etwa Kopierfehler? In BIN 4, 183: 11 zeigt die Kopie eindeutig *ša* (so auch EL Nr. 214), eventuell auch *šu-ut* zu lesen. Balkan liest *šu-<nu>*, beruht dies und ebenso seine Lesung 2/3 statt kopiertem 3 in Z. 8 — plausibel der Sache nach, nämlich doppelter Rückkaufpreis — etwa auf Kollation? S. 31 Anm. 14 beweist *i-di-nu-ma* Z. 4 eindeutig pluralisches Subjekt, bezogen auf die Namen, die ja auch zusammen als Garantieleistende später im Text erscheinen, übersetze also „Hab[ia, Ba]rmela, Kušara and Kaksia have sold Habia, and Haḫua has bought (him) ...“. S. 35 Text 1 A Z. 2f. wäre für *mi-iš-LIM* syntaktisch richtiger *mi-iš-lam*, zu lesen statt *mi-iš-lum*. S. 40 zeigen alle Belege für DUG = *karputum* Vokalharmonie, sodass im zitierten kt c/k 1645: 8 *i-kar-pā-tim* wohl Plural *karpātīm* gemeint ist. — I. J. Gelb, *An Old Assyrian Votive Vessel* (95-04), bearbeitet erstmals vollständig mit Photo eine schon häufig ausgewertete, aber bisher unpublizierte aA Inschrift auf einem Tongefässfragment, mit Gelb wohl vom Deckel eines öffentlich aufgestellten Massgefässes. Z. 10 muss jedoch (gegen Gelb S. 101) *kima* Präposition und kann nicht Subjunktion sein, da das Verbum Z. 11 *umallī'ūšina*, sicher zu Recht als 3.pl. verstanden, im Falle von *kima* als Subjunktion im Subjunktiv als *umallī'ūšina-ni* erscheinen müsste, also übersetze *kima* (*ištī'at*) *karpitīm* „wie (d.h. entsprechend, anstelle von) ein(em) *karputum*-Mass“. — Auch Lubor Matouš, *Prozesseinleitung gegen den kaššārum nach „kappado-kischer“ Urkunde I 695* (195-200), bearbeitet eine teilweise (Innentafel) schon bekannte Urkunde vollständig⁷⁾ einschliesslich von Kopien von Hülle und Innentafel (auf der nicht paginierten Seite nach S. 196). Eine kleine Diskrepanz zwischen der Formulierung beider Texte haben Matouš und K. Hecker als eine nicht unerhebliche sachlich-prozessuale Abweichung gedeutet:

A *ana mala rugummā'ē* A. E. *iše'ū* „auf das (also), was A. einklagt, werden sie E. <anschauen>“.

B *ana mala awāti-šunu* A. E. *iše'ū* „im Hinblick auf auf ihren Beschluss werden sie A. (und) E. <anschauen>“.

Dabei sind sicher die anonymen Richter Subjekt. Nun ist aber eine Bestimmung von *rugummā'ē* als Regens im Status constructus zu A. keineswegs zwingend, da es ebenso gut absolut gebraucht sein kann. Dann nämlich stünde einem absolut gebrauchten *rugummā'ē* „Klage“ das allgemeinere *awāti-šunu* ihre Rechtssache“ (vgl. CAD A₂ 38f.) gegenüber, dessen Suffix kaum auf die ja zuvor nicht genannten Richter zu beziehen sein dürfte, sondern auf die Prozessparteien A. (und) E.,

d.h. sachlich-prozessual sind beide Textfassungen identisch, A. und E. in beiden Fällen Objekt zu *iše'ū*. — A. Leo Oppenheim, *Old Assyrian magāru or makāru?* (229-237), weist die Existenz eines aA (und indirekt aB) belegten Verbuns *makārum*, zu trennen von *magārum*, nach, mit einer Bedeutung etwa im Bereich von „to manage invested money“, und veröffentlicht dabei eine weitere altassyrische Urkunde⁸⁾ (aus Privatbesitz).

Doch auch die anatolische Archäologie, der das Interesse des Jubilars immer mehr gegolten hatte, fehlt nicht, sondern ist gut repräsentiert durch vier Artikel von Kollegen aus allen drei Ländern seines Wirkens. Kurt Bittel, *Bemerkungen zum Löwenbecken in Boğazköy und zum Felsrelief bei Sirkeli* (65-72), setzt die absolute Zweiansichtigkeit der Löwen mit fünf Beinen auf dem Boğazköy-Becken in Beziehung zur späteren assyrischen Plastik und vergleicht das Felsrelief Muwatallis bei Sirkeli im physiognomischen Typ mit der ägyptischen Hethiterkönigsdarstellung auf dem Berliner Fragment. — Machteld J. Mellink, *Hittite Friezes and Gate Sculptures* (201-214), stellt die Frage nach der Kontinuität hethitischen Gebrauchs von skulptierten Friesen und Torplastiken von Alaca Hüyük bis zum späten Tell Halaf. — Winfried Orthmann, *Der Löwe von Zilfe* (239-243), datiert die unfertige, innerhalb eines Steinbruchs liegende Vollplastik eines Löwen bei Zilfe ins 8./7. Jh., in den Grenzbereich zur neuassyrischen Kunst. — Tahsin Özgüç, *A Bronze Hittite Statue* (253-255), stellt eine kleine Bronzefigur (aus Privatbesitz) vor, die er trotz Fehlens göttlicher Attribute für die Darstellung einer männlichen Gottheit der hethitischen Grossreichszeit hält.

Der Geehrte wird mit diesen vielfältigen, würdigen Zeugnissen der Anerkennung seines Wirkens und den von ihm ausgehenden Anregungen zufrieden sein dürfen.

HANS MARTIN KÜMEL

* *

H.-S. SCHUSTER, *Die hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen*. I. Einleitung, Texte und Kommentar. Teil I. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (4to, XVIII + 148 S.) = Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui XVII. Preis: f 125.—.

Der eigentlichen Besprechung scheint es zweckmässiger, einen knappen Überblick der Textquellen vorzuschicken, deren Bearbeitung und Auswertung das Buch von H.-S. Schuster gewidmet ist.

Hinsichtlich der Qualität der Überlieferung der hattischen Schriftzeugnisse, d.h. der Keilschrifttexte, die von hethitischen Schreibern zweisprachig — hethitisch und hattisch — oder nur hattisch geschrieben wurden, sind zwei Aspekte zu erwägen: die Qualität der Notierung des mündlich tradierten Textes und der Erhaltungszustand des entsprechenden Schriftedenkmals. Es gibt keine Keilschrifttexte, die in beiden Hinsichten schlechter wären. Die meisten Texte sind Fragmente im eigentli-

chen Sinne des Wortes, d.h. Bruchstücke von Tontafeln, auf denen nur die Mitte der Zeilen oder nur Zeilenanfänge bzw. = Schlüsse erhalten sind. Ganze oder wenig beschädigte Texte gibt es fast keine.

Die schlechte Qualität der Überlieferung ist durch Entstellungen bei der ersten Niederschrift oder beim Kopieren verursacht. Die hattischen kultischen und magischen Texte (andere besitzen wir nicht, und es hat solche allem Anschein nach auch nicht gegeben) sind viel früher entstanden, als sie niedergeschrieben wurden, und existierten längere Zeit in mündlicher Tradition, bis sie endlich von Schreibern notiert wurden, für die das Hattische eine Fremdsprache war. Wahrscheinlich geschah auch die Übersetzung der hattischen Texte ins Hethitische hauptsächlich aus dem Grunde, dass das Verständnis des Hattischen allmählich verloren ging. Beim nachträglichen Kopieren waren die Schreiber schon nicht mehr imstande, Fehler zu verbessern, verwischte Stellen oder sogar einzelne abgebrochene Zeichen wiederherzustellen, verschiedene Umdeutungen und selbst Diskrepanzen zwischen hattischem Urtext und hethitischer Übersetzung zu vermeiden.

Die Erforscher des Hattischen haben sich mit der umrissenen Situation längst abgefunden und Wege aufgespürt, in der Interpretation des Wortschatzes und des Sprachbaues vorwärtszukommen und sogar mit Hilfe verschiedener kombinatorischen Erwägungen einige Fehler der Schreiber zu verbessern.

Unter diesen Umständen ist es ohne weiteres klar, wie gross der Wert neuer Schriftquellen für die Forschung ist; um so verständlicher das Interesse für die Texte, die seit 1932 während der Grabungen von K. Bittel und im Schutt älterer Grabungen zu Lichte kamen, H.-S. Schuster zur Bearbeitung übergeben wurden und bis jetzt den Hethitologen unzugänglich blieben (auch wurde daraus vom Bearbeiter in dieser Zeitspanne nichts ediert oder im Druck irgendwie behandelt worden).

Selbstverständlich war es eine grosse Freude, wenn schliesslich vor mehreren Jahren die Kataloge des Brill-Verlags die Vorbereitung des Buches *Die hattisch-hethitischen Bilinguen* ankündigten. Jetzt ist das Buch endlich erschienen, nämlich der 1. Teil des 1. Bandes.

Von den sieben erhaltenen zweisprachigen Texten ist vorläufig nur einer vorgelegt — das Bauritual Bo 2030; leider kommt ein anderes Bauritual 412/b+, dass dank den Bemühungen des Verf. aus 13 Fragmenten zusammengefügt ist und bis jetzt nur in Auszügen von anderen Autoren für grammatische Zwecke verwertet wurde, erst später; doch gehört sicher die Reihenfolge der Edition einzelner Texte zu den Vorrechten des Herausgebers, und wir müssen uns mit einer weiteren Wartezeit abfinden.

Das erwähnte zweisprachige Bauritual Bo 2030 war bereits von B. Hrozný und E. Forrer ausgenutzt, ist 1922 in Autographie erschienen (KUB II 2) und seitdem wiederholt bearbeitet und übersetzt worden. Der Verf. verwertet aber wichtige Zusatzstücke. Auch sind die einsprachigen Texte zu den entsprechenden Textstellen reichlich zitiert. Dadurch werden in manchen Hinsichten neue Blickpunkte gewonnen und die Kenntnis des unveröffentlichten Materials bedeutend erweitert. Die philologische Arbeit ist sehr gründlich und aus-

föhrlich und schliesst eine erschöpfende Bearbeitung von Parallelstellen und Varianten ein, wie auch von Analogieen aus anderen Texten.

Schon dem „Allgemeinen Teil“, der die nähere Behandlung der Bilinguen einleitet, ist zu entnehmen, dass der Verfasser über eine ziemlich grosse Zahl von bisher völlig unbekannten hattischen Texten verfügt. Zugleich wird die Behauptung geäussert, dass neue bedeutende Funde kaum zu erwarten sind. Somit dürfen wir uns jetzt den Umfang des uns zugänglichen hattischen Sprachmaterials als ziemlich umrissen vorstellen. Dieses Material ist so knapp, dass für beweiskräftige Schlussfolgerungen unerlässlich alle zu Tage gekommenen Texte zu verwerten sind, selbst die kleinsten Fragmente, die kaum ein ganzes Wort enthalten. Damit aber die persönlichen Eindrücke des Herausgebers die weitere Forschung möglichst wenig beeinflussen, müssen die Texte, soweit es noch nicht geschehen ist, nicht nur in Umschrift, sondern auch in Autographie erscheinen, am besten mit Beilage von Photos. Leider aber, wie man es der Einleitung entnehmen kann, gehört diese Arbeit nicht zu den Lebensplänen des Verfassers und ist scheinbar auch keiner anderen Person anvertraut.

Die neuen einsprachigen Fragmente werden nicht als solche, sondern im näheren Zusammenhang mit den behandelten Bilinguen (bis jetzt mit dem Bauritual Bo 2030) in Anspruch genommen. Sicher entspricht das dem Grundziel des Buches, aber enttäuscht jenen Leser, dem diese Texte aus keiner anderen Quelle zugänglich sind und der sich eine systematische Darstellung aller nicht edierten Fragmente wünscht.

Manches Neue bietet der allgemeine Teil hinsichtlich Kriterien zur Abgrenzung der hattischen Quellen gegenüber Textgruppen in anderen Sprachen, der Datierung und Klassifizierung des hattischen Sprachmaterials usw. Sehr einleuchtend ist die Gruppierung der Texte nach ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu den Festen des Reiches resp. zu Lokalkulten oder entsprechend ihrer Funktion, ihrem Stil und ihrer Form. In vielen Fällen wird auch Klarheit über Umstände gewonnen, unter welchen die entsprechenden Texte rezitiert oder gesungen wurden.

Der Verf. behandelt ausführlich den Zustand der Textüberlieferung, wobei er zwischen Qualität des vorhandenen hattischen Wortlauts und seiner hethitischen Übersetzung — einerseits — und dem Erhaltungszustand der Texte als Tontafeln — andererseits — klar unterscheidet. Bekanntlich sind die meisten Texte schwer beschädigt und beim wiederholten Umschreiben durch Fehler wesentlich entstellt. Der Verf. bietet eine lehrreiche Übersicht von Arten der vorkommenden Fehler; dazu gehören Schreibfehler im engeren Sinne (Verstümmelungen einzelner Zeichen) und Fehler im weiteren Sinne, d.h. solche, die an Lesefehlern haften oder Hörfehler darstellen, die beim Diktat einer Kopie entstanden; auch gehören dazu Zeichenumstellungen, das Auslassen einzelner Wörter und ganzer Zeilen, Haplo- und Dittographie, falsche Wortabteilung und irrtümliche Setzung der zur Abschnittstrennung dienenden Striche. Es wird auch auf Fehler verwiesen, die durch unvollkommenes Begreifen des Zusammenhanges zwischen hattischem Urtext und hethitischer Übersetzung entstanden sind.

⁷⁾ S. 195A 6/8 lies *-guš* und *-šē*.

⁸⁾ S. 231 Rs. 12 lies statt *ši-ta* nach Kopie *2ši-ta*.

Das intime Verständnis der Texte und deren Formulare, die Beachtung des Duktus und der Regeln der ausgedehnten und der kompakten Zeichensetzung, wie auch der Abschnittstrennung, erlauben es dem Verf. anhand scharfsinniger Beobachtungen das schwierigste zu leisten: manche Fehler und Textverstümmelungen im Originaltext zu beheben.

Der Abschnitt „Die bisherige Erforschung des Hattischen“ durfte etwas ausführlicher gefasst sein, um der Auseinandersetzung mit unterschiedlichen Meinungen, die bis jetzt ausgesprochen wurden, mehr Platz zu geben, zumal bei der Behandlung entsprechender Textstellen die abweichenden Ansichten anderer Forscher nicht immer berücksichtigt werden. Auch ergibt sich aus dem Studium des Textkommentars und der grammatischen Beobachtungen des Verf., dass seine Ansichten denen anderer Autoren öfters widersprechen. Zum Beispiel, schlägt er andere Tempus- und Personen-Markierungen am Verbalkörper vor, als jene, die einst erschlossen wurden, ehe man deren Deutung mit Recht bestritt, aber die dazu gehörende Diskussion fehlt. Auch widerspricht die Herauslösung des Suffixes *-e* am Verbum der Meinung von A. Kammenhuber, dass dieses *-e*, da an anderen Wortgattungen nachweisbar, nichts mit der „Verbalflexion“ zu tun hat¹⁾, und wiederum ist die Auseinandersetzung nicht da. Die Vorstellung vom hattischen Kasussystem ist bei verschiedenen Forschern sehr unterschiedlich; der Standpunkt des Verf. über das Bestehen eines Obliquus-Kasus knüpft sich an jene Ansicht an, nach welcher das entsprechende Morphem als Suffix des indirekten Objekts bezeichnet wird²⁾; aber es ist nicht klar, ob der Verf. unabhängig dazu gekommen ist. Man könnte behaupten, die Auseinandersetzungen kommen erst später, womöglich im grammatischen Überblick, der das Werk abschliesst, aber sicher wäre darauf an entsprechenden Stellen verwiesen, wie es sonst in ähnlichen Fällen geschieht.

Weiterhin ist es sehr zu bedauern, dass am Ausklang des dritten Viertels unseres Jahrhunderts das längst überholte Prinzip „*Rossica non leguntur*“ wiedererlebt wird. Dieser Umstand führt zu einem Missverständnis: nämlich fallen zwei von den vier Axiomen, deren Gültigkeit der Verf. für die Erforschung der Morphologie und des Wortschatzes des Hattischen voraussetzt, mit den Endresultaten russischer Forschung der 50-er Jahre wörtlich zusammen (diese wurden auch in den 60-er Jahren ausführlich auf Deutsch referiert und besprochen³⁾). Im Buche steht nämlich folgendes (S. 54): „Um nun überhaupt in der Bestimmung von morphologischen Elementen wie auch von Wortbedeutungen voranzukommen, war es angesichts des schlechten Überlieferungsstandes notwendig, von vornherein die Gültigkeit einiger Axiome vorauszusetzen. Es sind dies: a) die Übersetzung ins Hethitische erfolgte Wort für Wort, die hethitische Spalte spiegelt also den hattischen Satzbau genau wider; dies ist an einigen Stellen direkt zu

beweisen, die Extrapolation auf alle Fälle also zumindest nicht völlig aus der Luft gegriffen; b) die einzelnen Präfixe bzw. Suffixe folgen sich stets in einer festen Reihenfolge; c) Elemente, die an der gleichen Stelle der Präfix- bzw. Suffixkette auftreten, stehen syntaktisch auf gleicher Rangstufe und schliessen sich damit gegenseitig aus; d) die Regeln über die Wortstellung im Satze (§ 8) gelten ausnahmslos“.

Derjenige, der die russischen Arbeiten über das Hattische kennt, wird es leicht merken, dass die Axiome (b) und (c) tatsächlich gültig sind, weil sie einst als Hypothese formuliert und nachträglich auf hattischem Sprachmaterial bewiesen wurden⁴⁾ (dabei wäre hinzuzufügen, dass die Axiome (a) und (d) entsprechend ihrer vorsichtigen Definition weniger überzeugend klingen). Die erwähnten Ideen wurden auch von I. M. Diakonoff im Zusammenhang mit anderen altvorderasiatischen und den Kaukasussprachen verwertet⁵⁾, woran der Verf. auch vorübergegangen ist.

Eigentlich sind die russischen Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der Keilschriftforschung nicht so unzugänglich, wie es manchmal scheinen kann: die Keilschrift wird, wie überall, anhand des lateinischen Alphabets umschrieben, also sind die ausgewerteten Texte, Paradigmen und Tabellen ohne weiteres international verständlich. Schliesslich, falls im Original nicht erreichbar, existieren einige der erwähnten Aufsätze in einem auf Deutsch verfassten Autorenreferat⁶⁾; ausserdem sind alle russischen Arbeiten, die es mit dem Hattischen zu tun haben, von A. Kammenhuber aufs ausführlichste referiert und besprochen worden⁷⁾.

Mit der eben erwähnten Ausnahme ist vom Verfasser die ganze Literatur in Betracht gezogen, obwohl, wie gesagt, er sich mit ihr nicht immer auseinandersetzt.

Das Buch enthält sehr viel Neues nicht nur an Texten, Varianten, Joins, neu ist in manchen Hinsichten auch die Bearbeitung selbst und besonders die Deutung einiger Kontexte und die Auffassung der Grammatik. Sicher wären Hinweise sehr erwünscht, wie sich der 1. Teil mit den übrigen verträgt, und wie das ganze Werk gestaltet ist. Dies wäre um so nützlicher, da es allem Anschein nach noch ziemlich lange dauern wird, bis endlich alle Teile erscheinen (kein weiterer Teil ist bis jetzt in den Katalogen angekündigt). Die fehlende Kenntnis der Komposition des ganzen Werkes zwingt den Leser, dessen Ungeduld durch langes Erwarten gesteigert ist, die Vorhaben des Verf. aus der Liste der Abkürzungen und Definitionen, aus Verweisungen auf Paragraphen der Grammatik, wie auch auf verschiedene Anhänge und Nachträge zu entziffern (u.a. kann man daraus entnehmen, dass die beiden Bände, die Anhänge und Nachträge miteinbegriffen, bereits vom Verf. abgeschlossen sind). Das Ergebnis dieser „Entzifferung“ ist das folgende: 1) Es werden alle 7 zweisprachigen Texte bear-

⁴⁾ I. M. Dunajevskaja, *Principy struktury hattskogo (protochettskogo) glagola*, „Peredneaziatskij sbornik“, Moskva, 1961, SS. 105, 584.

⁵⁾ I. M. Diakonoff, *Jazyki drevnej Perednej Azii*, Moskva, 1967 (bes. SS. 166 ff.).

⁶⁾ I. Dunajevskaja, *Zur Klärung der Präfixe im Hattischen*, Trudy dvadeat' pjatogo Meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov, I. Moskva, 1962, SS. 275-282.

⁷⁾ Op. cit., SS. 440, 453, 478, 501 ff.

beitet; als nächste kommt die Bilingue 412/b +, die bis jetzt überhaupt nicht ediert wurde. Die Bearbeitungsweise, wie sie im 1. Teil erscheint, zeugt von einem tiefen Eindringen in beide Versionen, die hattische und die hethitische, und lässt der Hoffnung Raum, dass wir die meisten, womöglich alle Kontexte aus den einsprachigen Fragmenten erhalten, die das Verständnis der Bilinguen und somit die Deutung der hattischen Grammatik fördern können. 2) Aus den Verweisungen kann man eine Vorstellung über den Inhalt der zukünftigen grammatischen Übersichts gewinnen, die scheinbar das Werk abschliessen wird. Allem Anschein nach wird es eine knappe aus 9 Paragraphen bestehende Skizze sein, worin die Paläographie, die Phonetik und Graphik, das Nomen, das Verbum, die Konjunktionen und die Partikeln behandelt werden, wie auch „die Regeln über die Wortstellung im Satze“ und (?) die Syntax.

Vorläufig müssen wir uns mit jenen grammatischen Beobachtungen des Verf. begnügen, die bereits für Zwecke der Textdeutung vorgebracht sind. Daraus scheint es zweckmässig jene auszulesen, die sich von denen der früheren Forschung unterscheiden (ob diese neuen Ansichten als endgültig bewiesen gelten dürfen, ist vorläufig nicht ganz klar; dafür ist es wahrscheinlich ratsam bis zur Zeit abzuwarten, wo das Beweismaterial und die Gedankenfolge des Verf. uns voll zur Verfügung stehen).

Somit dürfen in unsere Liste folgende Punkte aufgenommen werden:

1) Als Verbalkennzeichen sind nachzuweisen:

- a) *ai-* (öfters *ai-* > *e/i-*) — „Zeichen einer 1. Person“ (SS. 90, 93, 97);
- b) *u-* — 2. Person Sg. (SS. 91, 96, 143, 146);
- c) *te-* — 3. Person (S. 138);
- d) *a-* „steht in Verbindung mit den Personenkennzeichen“ (S. 144);
- e) *-e* — Präsenskenzeichen (SS. 93, 146; es ist aber im Auge zu behalten, dass *e* als Behelf zur Wiedergabe eines Gleitlauts auftreten kann);
- f) *(a)n-* — Kennzeichen des Objekts Sg. und des „intransitiven“ Subjekts Sg. (SS. 120, 142);
- g) *(a)b-* — Kennzeichen des Objekts Pl. und des „intransitiven“ Subjekts Pl. (S. 132).

2) Es sind Belege dafür vorhanden, dass Verbalpräfixe *u-*, *e-/aš-*, *ai-*, *ha-* und das Verbalsuffix *-b* am Nomen wiederkehren, dabei sind *u-* und *ai-* am Nomen — Possessiva, am Verbum — Personenkennzeichen; *ha-* ist am Verbum und am irgendwie abhängigen Nomen belegt (beim letzteren womöglich Illativ, S. 97); *v-* ist Pluralelement am Nomen und als Suffix *-b* am Verbum — Merkmal des intransitiven Plurals (S. 132; hier wäre es u.a. hervorzuheben, dass der Rez. das Unterscheiden der Prä- und Infixe am Verbum überflüssig scheint: da dazwischen kein Funktionsunterschied besteht, dürfte der Ausdruck „Präfix“ genügen: die Bezeichnung „Infix“ wäre den Morphemen vorbehalten, die ins Innere des Stammes eindringen, was übrigens im Hattischen nicht vorkommt).

3) „Die Verbalformen, welche ohne Suffix mit dem

Verbalstamm enden, werden im Hethitischen präterital wiedergegeben“ (SS. 90, 131).

4) *-a/-ā* ist Imperativendung (für konsonantisch endende Stämme in plene-Schreibung; SS. 96, 146), vom prekativischen immer kurzen *-a* zu unterscheiden (S. 146).

5) Das Prekativ wird mit 2 Kennzeichen zugleich versehen: *te-* und *-a* (SS. 134, 146).

6) Als einziges Pluralkennzeichen bleibt *v-* (*va-* bzw. *vi =*) übrig, dass als Kollektivum oder eher als unbestimmtes Plural zu betrachten ist (daher das öftere nicht-Setzen des Pluralelements im Hattischen); der Verf. deutet das Präfix *b(i)-* oder *be-* (bis jetzt einstimmig Lokativkennzeichen) ebenfalls als Pluralelement (S. 137; „der Lokativ markiert sich nur noch durch seine Stellung im Satz“) und bringt damit das *-b* am Verbum in Zusammenhang, s. oben, Punkt 2.

7) Das Präfix *le-* ist ausschliesslich Possessivelement am Nomen; seine pluralische Funktion (schon von A. Kammenhuber angezweifelt) bewährt sich nicht (S. 113 u.a.).

8) *a/e/iš-* ist „Distributiv“ (?) -Präfix am Nomen (SS. 82, 137).

9) „Bei Auftritt eines konsonantisch endenden Präfixes an einen vokalischen Anlaut wird der auslautende Konsonant doppelt geschrieben“, vgl. *a-aš-ši-ja = aš-ija* (S. 116).

10) Es wird die nicht-Schreibung bzw. der Schwund des auslautenden *-n* wiederholt beobachtet, wofür öfters plene-Schreibung einzutreten scheint (S. 123; damit dürfte das öftere Fehlen der Genetiv- bzw. Obliquusendung *-un/-n* zusammenhängen; zum Obliquus s. SS. 117, 119, 123, 124 u.a.m.; auch früher in einem entsprechend betitelten Aufsatz der Rez., s. oben).

11) Einige Belege behandelt der Verf. als Merkmale der „neutralen Auffassung“ (S. 196; der Rez. schwebt hier eher der ergativische Satzbau vor).

12) Der Verf. notiert Fälle, wo der Gegensatz punktuell-durativisch, bzw. stativisch mitspricht (S. 89; obwohl dieser Gegensatz sich auf Unterschiede bezieht, die vom Verf. als zeitliche angesehen werden, zeugt er doch von einer gewissen Annäherung zur Vermutung der Rez., dass im Hattischen womöglich keine Zeit-, sondern Aspekt-Differenzierungen bestehen).

Sicher ist im Buche noch manches Interessante und Lehrreiche enthalten, worauf wir hier nicht eingehen können, vor allem eine Menge interessanter Interpretationen einzelner Textstellen, darunter auch solcher, die auf neuer Absonderung grammatischer Kennzeichen fussen; dadurch entstehen wiederum neue Stämme, die von der früheren Forschung nicht verzeichnet wurden. Kein Wunder, dass man diese Neuerungen erst im grossen Zusammenhang aller vom Verf. bearbeiteten Texte und der von ihm gedeuteten Grammatik betrachten möchte, ehe man sich darüber ausspricht. Auch scheint es der Rez., dass in einigen Fällen die deutsche Übersetzung des hattischen Wortlauts sich mehr an die he-

¹⁾ Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt., 2. Band, 1. und 2. Abschnitt, Lfg. 2, Altkleinasiatische Sprachen, Das Hattische, S. 533.

²⁾ I. M. Dunajevskaja, *Protochettiskij imennoj suffiks kosvennogo dopolnenija*, Vestnik Drevnej Istorii 1 (1964) S. 102 ff.

³⁾ A. Kammenhuber, op. cit.

thitische Fassung hält, als an die Vorstellungen des Verf. über die grammatischen Zusammenhänge des hattischen Urtextes.

Mit grosser Spannung erwarten die Leser, wie die besprochenen und auch die hier nicht erwähnten, aber nicht minder wichtigen Beobachtungen des Verf. sich in den nächsten Teilen seines Werkes entfalten werden. Falls die sich fernerhin bewähren und die postulierte feste Reihenfolge der grammatischen Kennzeichen nicht beeinträchtigen, wird sich in der Zukunft die bestehende Vorstellung vom Hattischen bedeutend ändern müssen. Jedenfalls dürfen wir hoffen, dass mit dem Erscheinen des ganzen Werkes von H.-S. Schuster die grosse und sorgfältige Arbeit, die die Kollation aller Texte nach Tontafeln und Photos verlangte (die Letzteren bieten manchmal sogar mehr, da die Tontafeln an weiteren Beschädigungen leiden können), in wesentlichen abgeschlossen sein wird. Nebst den grammatischen Studien des Verf. wird dies die weitere Forschung der hattischen Sprache bedeutend fördern. Womöglich wird man dann auch den ergativischen Satzbau des Hattischen beweisen können (dafür zeugen scheinbar das Fehlen des Nominativ-Kennzeichens, das Bestehen des Obliquus, die Übereinstimmung des Numerus am Verbalprädikat mit demjenigen am Objekt der Handlung u.a.m.).

Leningrad, August 1975

IRINA DUNAJEVSKAJA

* * *

Luciano GIOVANNINI (Herausgeber), *Kunst in Kappadokien*. Deutsche Bearbeitung von Lotte Stratil Sauer. München, Genf, Paris, Editions Nagel 1972 (4to, 232 Seiten, 112 Fig., 7 Pläne). Preis: Leinen DM 165.—.

Das unter Leitung von Luciano Giovanni zu Stande gekommene Werk über Kappadokien, das wir hier verspätet anzeigen, gehört zu den grundlegenden Arbeiten, welche jemals über die Denkmäler Kappadokiens und die dort sich entwickelnden Gemeinschaften erschienen sind. Die Kultur der Hethiter, Griechen, Römer, Byzantiner, Christen, Seldschuken und Osmanen hat ihre Zeichen in die Felse eingekerbt. Eingegraben in die Bergkegel hat das Bergland Jahrhunderte hindurch dem Zuflucht suchender Menschen Schutz geboten, wodurch Kappadokien eine reiche Felsbaukunst und Felsmalerei aufweist. Der Nagel-Verlag hat ein Werk zu Stande gebracht, das der künstlerische Reichtum und der historischen Bedeutung Rechnung trägt. Das Gemeinschaftswerk ist die Frucht der Zusammenarbeit einer Gruppe Fachwissenschaftler, die hiermit ein reich bebildertes Werk vorlegen, wozu das Istituto Internazionale di Arte Liturgica die Initiative genommen hat.

In der Einleitung weist Ali Vrioni daraufhin, dass drohende Gefahren auf den Bauten und der Landschaft von Kappadokien drücken. Den Hauptfeind stellt die Erosion dar, die seit Jahrhunderten durch Abtragung wirksam war, aber heute ihre Zerstörungen beschleunigt. Dazu kommen noch Verheerungen durch den Schuld der Menschen, Industrialisierung, Bau der Landstrassen, Wachstum der Städte, Zustrom der Besucher,

deren sich die türkischen Behörden durchaus bewusst sind. Seit mehreren Jahren unterstützen internationale Organisationen, vor allem die Unesco, die türkischen Behörden, um ihnen bei der Bewältigung der technischen und wissenschaftlichen Probleme zu helfen. Die Unesco hat dieses Gebiet in die drei türkischen Prioritäten einbezogen, bei denen sie zur Wahrung des kulturellen Erbes eingreift. Wie Ennio Francia in seiner Einführung hervorhebt geht es jetzt darum, die Zeugnisse einer Symbiose von wilder Naturkraft und höchst verfeinerten Kunst zu retten.

Im ersten Hauptabschnitt des Werkes behandelt Ekrem Akurgal, Ordinarius für Archäologie an der Universität Ankara: die Vorgeschichte, die Hethiterzeit, die Besiedlung Trojas, das Mitanni Königreich (1650/1450 v. Chr.), die Toten Jahrhunderte Anatoliens (1180/-750), die Neohethitische Kunst (circa 750), die Kunst von Urartu (9. bis 6. Jahrhundert), die Kulturen von Phrygien, Lydien, Karien und Lykien (8. bis 6. Jahrhundert), die Griechisch-Anatolischen Kulturen (Blütezeit Mitte des 7. Jahrhundert), die Hellenistische Periode (320/30 v. Chr.), die Römische Periode (30 v. Chr.-395 n. Chr.), die Frühchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst (300 bis 1453), die Türkische Kultur, verteilt in Seldschuken (1071/1300) und Osmanischen Türken (1299/1923). Die osmanischen Türken schufen ein riesiges Reich und wurden die Herren der islamischen Welt. Sie gründeten eine nationale, türkische Kunst, von der auch die übrigen Islamischen Länder beeinflusst wurden.

Giacomo Card. Lercaro behandelt die nächste Sektion: Das religiöse Denken in Anatolien während der frühchristlichen Zeit. Lercaro hebt hervor, dass es zwei wichtige Faktoren gibt: die Gnosis und die Mysterienreligionen. Die Gnosis ist eine umfassende Weltanschauung, die auf alle Religionen eingewirkt hat; die Gnosis stellt sich als eine Heilswissenschaft dar, durch die sich der Mensch des Ursprunges und des Endes seines Lebens bewusst wird und so sein Schicksal in die Hand nimmt. Der Gnosis verwandt und gleich ihr im wesentlichen iranischen Ursprungs, erreichten die Mysterien-Kulte in Anatolien ihre höchste Entwicklung: Der Dionysoskult, der Attis-Kult und der Kult der Magna Mater, haben in der römischen Welt viel Anklang gefunden. Gerade in einem Gebiet wie Kappadokien mit seiner mysteriösen Landschaft haben sich diese Mysterien-Religionen stark entwickelt. Anatolien nahm das Christentum nicht ohne Gegenwehr und mit heftigem Widerspruch an, blieb dann aber viele Jahrhunderte lang das lebendigste christliche Zentrum der mediterranen Welt. Dort wurden die ersten grossen Konzile abgehalten, die für immer den Grundbegriff der Dreieinigkeit und Christologie in der Lehre festlegten Nicäa (325), Ephesos (431), Chalzedon (451). Ausserdem war Anatolien noch die Heimat einiger der grössten Religionsschriftgelehrten, denen man mit Recht den Namen Kirchenväter gegeben hat: Meliton von Sardes (2. Jahrh.), Irenäus, später Bischof von Lyon (3. Jahrh.) und im 4. Jahrhundert: Basilius, Gregor von Nazians und Gregor von Nyssa.

Olus Arik behandelt die Kunst der Seldschuken und

der Osmanen, wobei das Architekturwerk von Sinan uns deutlich macht, wie alle in Anatolien entsprungenen Strömungen konkrete Gestalt gewannen. Im Bereich der Fayencen blieb Iznik der bedeutende Mittelpunkt. Diese Fayencen gingen nicht nur nach allen Teilen des Osmanischen Reiches, bis nach Jerusalem, Erzurum und dem Balkan, sondern sie wurden auch ins Ausland geliefert. Die Kunst der Miniatur war in der Türkei vor dem 15. Jahrhundert nur wenig bekannt. Seit der Zeit von Sultan Mohammad Fatih ändert sich das, und zurzeit Sultan Süleyman des Prächtigen war die Miniaturmalerei eine blühende Kunst. Der Einfluss westlicher Kunst macht sich in der Türkei nach 1700 fühlbar, so dass auch hier wie in Europa, Barock, Rokoko und Empire, sogar Seconde Empire durchlaufen wurden.

Sevim Tekeli behandelt die Wissenschaft der Seldschuken und Osmanen, wobei er auch die Zeit der Fortschritte im Kunst- und Erziehungswesen in Turkestan behandelt. Tamerlan (1336/1405) und sein Enkel Mehmet Turgay Uluğ (1394/1449), beide ebenso Wissenschaftler wie Fürsten, förderten das Geistesleben ihres Reiches nachdrücklich. Uluğ bey liess in Samarkand neben vielen Medresen (Koran Schulen) auch ein Observatorium bauen. Es wurde ein astronomisches Tabellenwerk, vielleicht ursprünglich in persischer Sprache und bald darauf in arabischer und türkischer Übersetzung, herausgebracht. Im 15. Jahrhundert waren die Länder des Islam denen Europas in der astronomischen Forschung jedenfalls überlegen. Die osmanischen Türken traten zum ersten Mal unter Mehmet II wissenschaftlich hervor, und bereits im 16. Jahrhundert entfalteten die Osmanen in allen Bereichen eine rege Tätigkeit. Auf dem Gebiete der Geographie gelangte der bekannte türkische Admiral Piri Reis (1470/1554) durch seine zwei Weltkarten und durch sein Buch über die Seefahrt zu Ruhm.

Ugo Andolfato und Franco Zucchi behandeln darauf die physischen Gegebenheiten Anatoliens: die Morphologie; der Vulkanismus und sein Lauf, die erosiven Kräfte. Die Verfasser heben hervor, dass Restaurierungsarbeiten in nächster Zukunft statt finden sollen. Das Tempo mit dem die abtragende Kräfte der Erosion arbeiten, bedeutet eine ernste Gefahr für die einmalige Naturlandschaft Anatoliens, deren Wert seit prähistorischer Zeit durch den Menschen und sein umgestaltendes Schaffen noch gestiegen ist.

Luciano Giovanni behandelt die Siedlungsgeschichte des engeren Kappadokiens. Als Kappadokien im Jahr 17 n. Chr. römische Provinz wurde, verschloss sich die Bevölkerung der Romanisierung genau so, wie sie sich schon gegen die Hellenisierung gewehrt hat. Die Römer beschränkten sich in der Hauptsache an der Kontrolle der Heerstrassen und an der Sicherstellung der Handelsbeziehungen. Der Verfasser bietet auf Plan 1 eine (Strassen)karte von Kappadokien, wo der Verlauf der Hauptverbindungswege rekonstruiert ist. In der Römerzeit wohnte schon der grösste Teil der Bevölkerung in den Städten. Die Heeresstrassen richteten sich in der byzantinischen Zeit auf die Hauptstadt Byzanz und sicherten die direkten Verbindungen zu den südlichen Reichsprovinzen Kilikien, Syrien und Palästina. Das

Felsland Kappadokien übte eine besondere Anziehungskraft auf die Gemeinschaften von Mönchen und Eremiten aus, deren Verlangen nach Askese und Weltflucht in der fremdartigen Landschaft der Erosionstäler seine Erfüllung zu finden glaubte. Die Sicherheit und die Fruchtbarkeit der kappadokischen Täler boten Nährraum für weltliche Gemeinwesen, die oft Kontakte zu den religiösen Gruppen pflegten. Die Höhlenwohnungen ermöglichten ihnen den religiösen Verfolgungen der Römer zu entgehen, sich regelmässigen Einfällen der Araber zu entziehen, die nach der Eroberung Kilikiens (circa 675) die Tauruspässe beherrschten, und endlich vor der Grausamkeit des Bilderstreites zu fliehen.

Nach den Einfällen der Seldschuken änderte sich das Leben in Kappadokien nicht spürbar. Zwischen den christlichen und den türkisch-islamischen Gemeinwesen entstand eine Art Koexistenz, wie man das auch im übrigen Anatolien vorfindet. Die Technik der Aushöhlung blieb in Laufe der Jahrhunderte unverändert, und dank dem trockenen Klima lassen sich heute noch deutlich unverändert die Spuren der Spitzhacke im Tuff der Wände und Decken erkennen. Bei den Tälern von Zelve und dem Amphitheater von Çavuşin bestand die Hauptarbeit im Ausschachten, da die Maurerarbeit sich auf Erweiterungen und Stützwände beschränken konnte. Anstatt das Gelände durch Errichtung von Bauten zu verändern, begnügte man sich damit, sich ihm durch Eingraben in den Felsen anzupassen.

Das grösste und bestbekannte der mönchischen Zentren von Kappadokien ist Göreme, das in den Schriften von Hieronymus unter seinem alten Namen Korama erwähnt wird. Es liegt im oberen Teil des vom Güllü Dere-Bach durchflossenen engen Erosionstales nicht weit vom Dorf Avcılar.

Paolo Cuneo behandelt die Architektur, wobei er zuerst die Frühchristliche und Byzantinische Zeit, nachher die Seldschukenzeit und die Osmanenzeit darstellt. Das zu diesem Kapitel beigefügte Fotomaterial und Grundrisse der Kirchen und Moscheen ist besonders ausgiebig und gibt durch klare Darstellung einen deutlichen Eindruck dieser Kulturperiode. Als die Seldschuken im späten 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert einzudringen begannen, wurde die christliche Bevölkerung von Kappadokien der griechisch-byzantinischen Kultureinflüsse entzogen. Als die Seldschuken sich neben den christlichen Gemeinden, vorher Untertanen von Byzantium, ansiedelten, vollzog sich eine allmähliche Wandlung der Städtebaulichen Prinzipien. Die Seldschuken bauten ihre Häuser am meisten aus wenig haltbarem Material. Und wenn sich diese Häuser nun irgendwie unregelmässig ballten und die gleichförmigen Stadtviertel von einem Netz willkürlich verlaufender Strassen durchzogen wurden, dann entstand eben eine jener typischen Städte mit ihren malerischen Gässchen und Sackgassen. Die Bautätigkeit wurde verwertet in den öffentlichen Bauten und deshalb gerichtet auf die Institutionen, die der Religion, der Kultur, dem Handel, der Volksgesundheit und der Wohlfahrt dienten. Am Ende dieses Kapitels gibt Cuneo eine interessante Übersicht über die Bauten in der Hauptstadt Kappadokien Kayseri, mit ausgezeichneten Fotomaterial und Grundrissen. Als Kappadokien im 15. Jahrhundert von der

Herrschaft der Karamaniden-Dynastie mit Ost- und Zentralanatolien an die des Osmanenreiches übergang, waren die Struktur des Landes und das Bild der Städte schon grossenteils fertiggestellt. Die osmanische Baukunst brachte kulturelle Werte von Ähnlichkeit und zeitlichen Gleichlauf mit der italienischen Renaissance zum Ausdruck.

In der dritten Hauptabteilung des Buches werden die Kappadokischen Gemeinschaften von Umberto Neri behandelt. Wir wissen, dass Kappadokien schon im 2. Jahrhundert ziemlich viele Christengemeinde zählte, mit zwei Bischofssitzen: in Caesarea und Melitene (Malatya). Kappadokien ist sicher schon vor dem Edikt von Mailand (313) grossenteils zum christlichen Glauben bekehrt gewesen. Die Schwierigkeiten über die Lehre von Arius waren in Kappadokien unübersehbar. Das Land zeigte eine besondere Reife für Arius und Athanasius wurde wiederholt von den Arianern vertrieben.

Nicole Thierry gibt dann einen Überblick (mit Fotos, Grundrissen, Rekonstruktionen) über die Felsenkirchen Kappadokiens (Seite 129-172). Dabei werden folgende Themata behandelt: der religiöse Hintergrund, die religiösen Brennpunkte im Kappadokischen Felsland, die Ausschmückung der kappadokischen Felsenkirchen, Felsenmalerei und mittelalterliches Christentum in Kappadokien. Die Verfasserin hebt hervor, dass das kappadokische Material sehr wichtig ist für die Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Mit dem betreffenden Material lässt sich die byzantinische Kunst Zentralanatioliens vom Anbeginn verfolgen; das gilt besonders für das 7. und 8. Jahrhundert. Zudem bilden die vielen Kirchenausschmückungen aus der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jhdts. einen kostbaren Besitz byzantinischer Malerei im archaischen Stil. Im 10. Jahrhundert trennen sich, kunsthistorisch gesehen, die Wege der Griechischen Orthodoxie und der Lateinischen Kirche; das Schisma von 1054 gab im Grunde die Scheidung öffentlich bekannt.

Wahrscheinlich ist das Mönchswesen in Kappadokien erstmalig in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts aufgetreten. Während des frühen Mittelalters wurden in den Felsen viele Zelle für Eremiten, Kapellen und kleine Klöster, aber nur selten grosse Klöster errichtet. In der Zeit des Bilderstreites (726/843) schrumpften die mönchischen Gemeinschaften, aber nach dem Sieg der Bilderverehrung nahm das Mönchswesen schnell einen bedeutenden Aufschwung. Die Frömmigkeit Kappadokiens drückte sich nicht nur in einer Fülle religiöser Malerei aus, sondern auch in einer ganzen Reihe von Inschriften, und Texte zur Erklärung der Bild Darstellungen. Bis ins 10. Jahrhundert blieb das religiöse Denken der kappadokischen klösterlichen Gemeinden der mönchischen Tradition des Ostens treu. Sie lebten nach kanonischen aber auch nach vielerlei apokryphen Schriften, wobei sie einzelne Themen bevorzugten und weiter ausspannen und manchmal eigene neue Synthesen hervorbrachten. Es ist verständlich, dass die Kirche Konstantinopel, als sie die Bilderstürmer niedergeschlagen hatte, verdächtige Themen, die noch am Rande der Dogmen und der offiziellen Liturgie fortlebten, ausgeschaltet sehen wollte. Um das Jahr 1000 ist dieser langsam fortschreitende Prozess abgeschlossen.

Der letzte Teil dieses wichtigen Buches behandelt die Moslimischen Gemeinschaften in Kappadokien. Meliha Ambarcioğlu gibt eine zusammenfassende Darstellung über die Politik, Sozialwesen und Religion während der Seldschukenzeit in Anatolien: Die Sekten der Rufai, Halveti und Ahi, Mevlâna Celaleddin-i Rumî und die Mevlevi, Semâ, das Mesnevi, Mevlânas mystische Philosophie. Das Buch endet mit ausführlicher Information über dem Bektaşi-Orden und sein Gründer Haci Bektaş Velî, zusammengestellt von Esad Coşan. Der Bektaşi-Orden und sein Gründer haben in der Türkei und in anderen Ländern Aufmerksamkeit erregt, weil beide mit der politischen und kulturellen Geschichte des Landes verbunden waren.

Es kommt uns vor, dass unter Leitung von Luciano Giovannini ein wichtiges Buch zustande gekommen ist. Es behandelt die ganze kulturperiode Kappadokiens von der Vorgeschichte bis zur Osmanischen Türkei, also bis zum Untergang des Osmanischen Staates. Christliche Tradition und moslemischer Glauben und Ordenswesen sind zusammen in einem Buch behandelt. Das Werk besitzt einen Sachregister der Kunstdenkmäler Kappadokiens, mit 8 Karten, sowie zwei Stadtplänen von Niğde und Kayseri; eine Zeitvergleichstafel, eine übersichtliche Bibliographie, ein Glossar und Index kompletieren diese schöne und stattliche Ausgabe.

Bemelen, September 1975

A. A. KAMPMAN

* *

J. BOESSNECK, und A. von den DRIESCH, *Tierknochenfunde vom Korucutepe bei Elâziğ in Ostanatolien* (Fundmaterial der Grabungen 1968 und 1969). Summary: The animal bones from Korucutepe near Elâziğ, Eastern Anatolia. Finds from the 1968-1969 excavations. In: M. N. van LOON, ed., *Korucutepe, Final Report on the Excavations of the universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam in the Keban Reservoir, Eastern Anatolia 1968-1970*. Part 1, Amsterdam-Oxford, North-Holland Publishing Company, New York, American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1975 (pp. 1-20, figs. 1-41, tables 1-48 and A, diagrams 1-9) = *Studies in Ancient Civilization*, Volume I. Price: f 90,—.

Korucutepe is an ancient settlement mound (tepe or tell) in Eastern Anatolia. It is situated in the fertile Altinova plain, a widening part of the valley of the Murat river and its tributary the Harunget. Before the flooding of the area by the Keban water reservoir on the Euphrates, the Korucutepe and some other prehistoric sites of Altinova have been excavated by a team of archaeologists from the universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam.

The animal remains collected in 1968 and 1969 were studied by the authors of this book, leading archaeozoologists at the university of Munich. The Munich school of archaeozoologists, founded and directed by professor Joachim Boessneck, has during the last three

decades collected a large amount of facts concerning the history of domestic animals and wild fauna in Central Europe (e.g. the comprehensive material from the celtic oppidum of Manching in south-western Germany and from numerous other prehistoric sites). This material, especially the osteometric part of it, can be treated as a sound basis with which to compare the finds from other investigations of this kind. The Munich archaeozoologists have also enlarged the area for their research to include south-eastern Europe, the Near East and Egypt. This book on the animal remains of Korucutepe is very representative for the problems the Munich school deals with and the methods it uses.

In the introductory part of the book the authors stress the necessity of considering and combining the viewpoints of zoology with those of the history of domestic animals and of cultural history, by investigations of animal remains from archaeological excavations. The study of these remains can then help to reconstruct the environment and the ways of life of the people who left them there. The authors also point out how important it is, that as much as possible of the material, including even small fragments, should be identified and not only selected parts of skeleton or the best preserved of the finds.

Alltogether 18.988 finds of animal remains in the Korucutepe material have been studied by the authors. Of these, 1452 were unidentifiable bone fragments and owing the lack of recent comparison material 47 belong to unspecified remains of fishes.

In accordance with the archaeological stratigraphy, the finds have been grouped into the following occupation phases: B — Late Chalcolithic (ca. 3500-3000 B.C.), D — Early Bronze II (ca. 2600-2300 B.C.), G — Middle Bronze I (ca. 2000-1800 B.C.), H — Middle Bronze II or Old Hittite time (ca. 1800-1600 B.C.), I-J — Late Bronze I-II or Neo-Hittite time (ca. 1500-1200 B.C.), K — Early Iron Age (ca. 1200-800 B.C.), L — Late Seljuc to Early Mongol Middle Ages (ca. 1200-1400 A.D.). Distinction has been made between the pure level groups, mixed ones (D/I-J, D/L, G/H, I-J/K, I-J/L, K/L) and a group for undated finds. From the chalcolithic phase there is only one find. 51.7% of the identified finds are from the Neo-Hittite phase (I-J). 14.4% are undated. 4 samples from the Early Bronze Age have been radiocarbon-dated to \pm 2650 B.C.

For most of the species, we are given the stratigraphical distribution of the finds, what percentage they are of the whole material (and of the total number of domestic animal finds), the anatomic division and the calculated minimum number of individuals.

The authors stress the importance of an extensive documentation, especially of the osteometric results, which they have presented in comprehensive tables. Where the finds are few, all measurements are presented together for each individual find with its exact finding spot noted. For larger series, the measurements are grouped together according to find levels and we are only given the number of measured finds, maximum, minimum, and average values. An exception is made for the phalanges 1. and 2. of cattle, where the values of

the standard deviation, variation coefficient and error in the mean value are also given. The measurements have been taken according to 'these key distances that German-speaking palaeozoologists have come to use in common accord over the last 20 years'. A list of abbreviations used by the Munich school is presented on pp. 21-22 resp. 204-205.

The minimum number of individuals is calculated from the most frequent skeletal part of each species. To avoid double counting, which the dispersal of the same individual might lead to, only the finds from the same side of the body were counted.

The individual age of animals was estimated as usual according to the dentition or the epiphyseal fusion. A late maturing was presumed to have occurred in this ancient livestock.

Sex was, as usual, determined by the study of horn cores, canines and pelvic characters, in the case of maral deers through the sexual dimorphism as revealed in the comparative sizes.

The authors use the frequency of slaughter age as a means of assessing the way domestic animals were used in husbandry; e.g. pigs, which are kept for their meat only, show a high frequency of individuals slain as juveniles. Only a few mature sows were needed for propagation purposes. The Neo-Hittites of the Late Bronze Age in particular had a preference for the meat of one-year-old pigs. On the other hands, many of the horses, cattle, sheep and goats seem to have attained a relatively advanced age. This may be an indication of their intravital function (as working-animals, as milk- or woolproducers).

The inhabitants of Korucutepe lived mainly from agriculture and animal husbandry. As early as the Early Bronze Age — if not before — they kept cattle, sheep, goats, pigs (one find even dates back to Late Chalcolithic time!) and dogs. In the Middle Bronze Age both equids (horses and donkeys) were introduced by the Hittites who also bred hybrids (mules) from them. One find of domestic fowl seems to come from the Middle Bronze Age II phase. From the pure Late Bronze level 14 finds of this species are already known. The only bone of camel, presumably a dromedary, comes from so late a stage as the Medieval period.

In the Bronze Age material the finds of small ruminants, i.e. sheep and goats, outnumber those of other domestic species. From the point of view of weight, however, cattle always provided most meat. The main meat-producing species have been roughly classified as follows according to their weight: 1 horse = 1 cattle = 1 maral deer = 2 donkeys = 5 pigs = 6-8 sheep or goats.

The material of the Medieval (Islamic-) level, coming after the 2000 years, during which the Korucutepe was uninhabited, differs from that of previous periods. More than half of the finds of domestic animals are of cattle. The proportion of equids is greater than earlier. The pig finds are very few. There are more goats than sheep.

The horses of Korucutepe measured 1.35 to 1.45 m at the withers; they conform well with the Hittite horses from other sites and with an old Egyptian horse. They were larger than average celtic horses at Manching but equal those from the Roman period in Central Europe.

The donkeys were medium-sized, slender animals.

The cattle of the Middle and Late Bronze Age were medium-sized with horns of medium length. They were larger than most contemporary cattle in Europe. At the withers the males measured 1.15 to 1.35 m, mean 1.25 m, the cows 1.10 to more than 1.20 m, average 1.15 m. By the Middle Ages the size of the cows had diminished to 1 to 1.15 m, mean 1.10 m. They were larger than their contemporaries in Central Europe.

The sheep of Korucutepe were small to medium-sized (0.55 to 0.75 m at the withers) but somewhat more heavily built than the Celtic sheep in Manching. The rams had helicoid-twisted horns of Ammon-type, the ewes were either hornless or with weaker horns.

The Bronze Age goats were medium-sized (0.55 to 0.7 m at the withers). They also were somewhat more heavily built than the goats from Manching.

By the Middle Ages, the size of the goats had increased by an average of 5 cm. Most of the he-goats had strongly twisted horns of Prisca-type. The horns of the she-goats were less twisted and sometimes of scimitar form.

The single mandible from the Late Chalcolithic domestic pig is of more than average size. By the Late Bronze Age the pigs of Korucutepe had become relatively small, lean and fast-moving. According to the authors, a similar development is seen up to the Iron Age in Europe.

The dogs were of medium or large size.

The domestic fowl of Korucutepe were small.

The equids and cattle seem to have had optimal life conditions on their pastures in the uncultivated parts of the Altinova plain. The small ruminants, on the other hand, probably grazed or browsed during the summer season on the rather barren and rocky, shadowless slopes of the valley; this is indicated by their small size and relatively heavy constitution. Living conditions for the pigs seem, as time advanced to have become more and more unfavourable as the oak-forests were cut down and the local climate tended to become more arid. They also suffered during the severe winters when there was deep snow and they would have to compete with humans for their protein food. The dogs of Korucutepe were morphologically not unlike pariah dogs of today and probably led the same independent life as these.

Among the domestic animals there is evidence of dental anomalies and also of pathological alteration of bones partly due to deformation as the result by overloading.

The remains of the wild fauna in Korucutepe permit the authors to reconstruct the landscape and its changes in the Altinova plain. They point out that the finds of larger mammals in the archaeozoological material often do not contribute as much to such a reconstruction as the studies of botanists, malacologists and specialists on the micromammal fauna. Here the reviewer would wish that the role of birds and fishes as ecological indicators had also been mentioned.

When the settlers first came to the Altinova plain, this and the slopes of the valley around it seem to have possessed a rich forest fauna with much maral deer and wild boar; the forests, with plenty of oaks, provided them with food in winter. In Early Bronze Age II hunt-

ing, especially of maral deer, still yielded one-quarter of all the meat consumed at Korucutepe.

The finds of large-sized bovine remains probably indicate the former existence of aurochs in Altinova. 12 finds of at least 4 individuals are known from the levels D, H and I-J. There may be some more aurochs finds among remains classed as cattle. Evidence for the existence of bison is lacking.

With increasing deforestation, game came to play a less important part in the husbandry of the settlement.

In the riverside forests, where soft-wooded trees predominated, the beaver had its home and built its dams in the Harunget, which flowed slowly at that time. The aquatic fauna of the river: water turtles (*Clemmys caspica*), fishes (cyprinids and catfishes), mussels (*Unio crassus*, *U. tigridis*) and fresh-water crab (*Potamon potamios*) may have been used as a complementary food source. In the marshy country around the rivers, many species of ducks (mallard, teal), the cormorant and the common crane (then popular as game) either nested, or rested during the migration seasons. During these seasons, northern migratory birds (such as the goldeneye and the greater white-fronted goose) could be hunted. On the slopes of the valley the forests provided shelter for carnivores (brown bear, fox, wolf, wild cat, lynx and eagle-owl) until a relatively late period. On the open rocky parts of the slopes the chukar partridges were hunted intensively. Higher up in the mountains wild sheep and the bezoar goat were also hunted.

As the finds of two species of bustards (*Otis tarda*, *Tetrax tetrax*) indicate, there must already in the Bronze Age have existed patches of drier grassland in the Altinova plain. With the expanding cultivation of the valley to the detriment of the forests, the erosion increased and the local climate grew drier. The human factor of this change is stressed by the authors. How great the macroclimatic changes were during the 5000 years is uncertain. Bustards, grey partridge, quail and brown hare were grassland forms which must have been favoured by the increasing fields and pasturelands. These also provided food for the rooks.

A parasitic and commensal fauna developed in and around the settlement (black rat, house sparrow, hooded crow, jackdaw, magpie). The offal attracted the Egyptian vulture and black kite.

Other species of wild fauna found at Korucutepe are the weasel, squirrel (*Sciurus anomalus*), hedgehog and wood pigeon. The finds of a jird (*Meriones sp.*) and of a mole rat (*Spalax leucodon*) may, since they are deep-burrowing animals, be of secondary character, it must, however, be pointed out that the skull of a jird (an animal from very arid biotopes) was found in a house from the Medieval period, when the landscape had become even more arid in character. The drier conditions seem also to have favoured the land tortoise (*Testudo graeca iberica*). The frequent remains of shells indicate that this tortoise was used as food. Remains of some of these reptiles, however, can come from hibernating individuals, which had burrowed down into the cultural layers. This may also have been the case with the green toads (*Bufo viridis*).

The wild fauna of Korucutepe consist mainly of ani-

mals able to endure the severe winter of this area. The absence of species such as the Syrian onager and Persian gazelle, adapted to steppes, may partly be due to the unfavourable climate, partly to the barrier formed by the wooded slopes of the outer Eastern Taurus mountains. The severe climate of the Altinova can also be the reason for the absence of fallow deer. The lack of roe deer remains is more problematic.

Finally some finds of snail shells (the maritime *Arcularia gibbosa*, imported either from the Persian Gulf or from the Mediterranean, and a fossil snail from the Tertiary period, *Tympanotonus margaritaceus*) must be mentioned. These shells were perforated for use in necklaces during the Late Bronze Age.

This book on the animal remains from a zoogeographically and historically very important area, between Europe and the Fertile Crescent, is a most welcome addition to the former works on this region. With all the facts, methods and conclusions it presents, it is also a very stimulating example for future work on the history of wild and domesticated fauna.

Gothenburg, February 1976

J. LEPIKSAAR

IRAN

Walther HINZ (et alii). *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975 (8vo, 303 pp.) = Göttinger Orientalforschungen. Veröffentlichungen des Sonderforschungsbereiches Orientalistik an der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. III. Reihe: Iranica. Bd. 3. Price: DM 96.—.

In this book Professor Hinz (henceforth: Hi.) deals with the Old Iranian material which is found in various ancient non-Iranian languages: Elamite, to begin with¹), Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian)²), Aramaic³), Hebrew³), Lycian, Lydian, Greek and Latin.

After a short introduction (pp. 7-11) and a list of abbreviations (pp. 12-16), Hi. devotes most of the book (pp. 17-279) to a list of the Old Iranian material in the various *Nebenüberlieferungen*. The reconstructed Old Iranian names and appellatives are arranged according to the Latin alphabet. There follows a reverse index (pp. 281-299) compiled by Annegret Nippa. The book ends with *addenda et corrigenda* to Hi.'s NW (pp. 301-303). The lack of detailed indexes for each of the *Nebenüberlieferungen* dealt with in this compendious book is very much to be regretted.

The reviewer would like to confine his remarks to the names and words quoted by Hi. from Akkadian sources. The following list includes a few Old Iranian entries

¹) Abbreviations as in *AHW.*, *CAD* and in the book under review, except for the following: *IOS* = *Israel Oriental Studies*; *PSb* = *Palestinischer Sbornik*; *Ranke*, *APN* = H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1-2. Glückstadt 1935-1952. — The personal determinative is omitted in the transliteration of the masculine personal names discussed below.

²) With the assistance of G. Korbel.

³) It is misleading that Hi. uses "Akkadian" to denote only the Babylonian material in contradistinction to "Assyrian" (which is also Akkadian).

⁴) With the assistance of P.-M. Berger.

reconstructed from Akkadian spellings not found in Hi. (namely: **sprda-* s.v. **husprda-*, **xurzimiya-*, **piṭṭa-dā-* s.v. **piṭṭa-*, **sambuka-* and **xvarvanata-* s.v. **vanaṭa-*).

LB *A-ru-ha-at-ti-* (p. 10) as well as its Aramaic counterpart *Ḥrwhty* (Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, p. 253: 39), reflects an Iranian metathesis (**Haravxati-*). — **abda-dāna-*. The ruler of this region bore an Akkadian name and persons who were apparently connected with the region bear Cassite names in the document published by E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden 1968), pp. 241ff., so that the toponym may well be non-Iranian. — **abdyā-*. Delete (a very common West Semitic name). — **ācina-* may be derived from *āṭr-* with adjectival suffix *-in* and thematic extension, i.e. "the fiery". A possibility that the name is Elamite cannot be excluded. LB *A-ši-na* is to OP *Ācina-* as LB *Šu-ša-an* (Aram. *Šwšn*)⁴ is to OP *Čūšā-*; cf. 1.90 below. — **axratu-* remains an alternative explanation also for the LB forms to which add *Aḥ-ra!-tu-še* (BE 9, 86a: 1); cf. 1.3 below. — **amadāta-*. The Hebrew form with initial *h* renders **hamadāta* which is an alternative explanation also for the LB and Elamite forms. — **arja-*. *Ar-za-* is alternatively West Semitic ("cedar"). — **aryamāhi-*. Delete (a common Egyptian name, *ḥr-m-3ḥ.t*, Ranke, *APN*, 1, p. 247, No. 17); Akkad. *ḥ* never renders Iran. *Ø-*. **aryavaza-*. Delete (another common Egyptian name, *Ḥrws*, cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 28, 1966, p. 156, with anaptyxis: *Ḥar-ri-ū-ma-aš*). — **aryazana-*. Delete (*Ḥa-ri-ša-nu* is a Semitic name). — **aspadasta-* "he by whom horses are trained", according to Dr. Gershevitch (private communication) who takes the name for an inverted *bahuvrihi* with **dasta-* as a past participle of Av. *daḥ-* "to teach, train" (*Air. Wb.*, 746). —

**aspajanta-*. One may look for a special phonological reason in this unique case of an interchange *s/š*⁵). If the name were **aspajand/ta-* "horse-rutting", i.e. "virile (when in rut, resembling a horse)"⁶), the *š* could be the outcome of assimilation of *s* to the *z* from the *j* of **jand/ta-*. *Ašpazanda* is mentioned with some other persons who bore Iranian names. — **aspamiça-*. Alternatively **aspaviša-*, to *viš-* as in *vištāspa-* (on which see H. W. Bailey, *JRAS* 1953, pp. 95ff.). — **baga-čīθra-*. Gk. *Μεγασιθρος* may be a transcription of an Anatolian form of this Iranian name as *-dr-* for Iran. — *θr-* is found in Lycian *ksadrabba* (cf. *Grantovskij*, p. 90). — **bagafarna-*. The NA spelling *-parar-* shows that CVC signs like *PAR* can be indifferent to vowel quality as was argued by I. J. Gelb (*Bi.Or.* 12, 1955, p. 98b), cf. LB *Ḥu-ū-na-tan-na* (CBS 5510, same person as *dla-ḥu-ū-na-ta-nu*, e.g. BE 9, 25: 19), *Ḥašāš-ba-a* (BE 10, 123: 13, same place as *Ḥaš-ba-a*, e.g. PBS 2/1, 186: 7), *Ḥašāš-da-a-a* (GCCl 2, 96: 6, i.e. *Ḥašday(y)a*). — **bagāvahu-*. The LB forms are to be read *Ma-gu-uš*,

⁴) See Driver, *Aram. Doc.*, p. 72. Aram. *ṣ* stands both for *WSem. /š/* and */s/*.

⁵) The LB transcription of OP *visadahyu-*, OIran. **visadahyu-* is *ū-ṣ-is-pi-da-a-ṣ-i*, of which *ū-ṣ-is-pi-da-a-ṣ-i*, as given in Kent, p. 208b, s.v. *visadahyu-*, is a misprint.

⁶) Private communication of Dr. Gershevitch. Cf. the Aramaic ideogram *ZKRWT* for Pahl. *zandak* (see Bailey, *BSOAS* 26, 1963, p. 81f. and Ebeling, *MAOG* 14/1, 1941, p. 21, 2h).

i.e. *magu-, with Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, p. 9, n. 1. — *bagina-. The LB form may just as well be read *Ba-ge-nu*, i.e. *bagaina- (see IOS 6, 1976, forthcoming). — *bāmu- is possibly from *bānu* "splendour" with assimilation of *n* to *m* by contamination with *bāma* which is derived from the same base (cf. *Air. Wb.*, 954, s.vv.). — *bārikiya-, *bāryaka-. Delete (very common West Semitic names). — *dārauka-. This reconstruction is acceptable only as strong form to *dāruka- "Mr Wood", -ka- extension of *dār(a)u-, see next item. — *dasauka-. Again, -ka- extension of an Iran. *u*-stem, perhaps *das(a)u- "pious", cf. Ved. *daśu* (Dr. Gershevitch, who refers on the one hand to Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.*, 2/2, p. 470, on the other to *Fs. Pagliaro* 2, p. 234). Thus all the NA names which were thought by *Grantovskij* (p. 253f.) and R. Schmitt (*apud* Mayerhofer, *OnP*, p. 287f.) to contain an Iranian suffix -uka- other than by addition of -ka- to an *u*-stem, can be explained differently (see *Bi.Or.* 33, 1976, forthcoming). — *databara-. Another *Lūda-ta-bar-ra*, *Zam-ma-as-pi*, is mentioned in *BM* 30136 (unpublished, reference kindly supplied by Mr. D. A. Kennedy). The place of issue and the date of this document (probably LB) are not preserved (cf. *jāmāspa- below). — *di-diya-ka-. Hi.'s equation of LB *di-dak-ku* with El. *ti-ti-ia-ka-as* (etc.) is supported by the fact that in LB the vowel of CVC signs like *DAK* can be *i* (cf. Gelb, *loc. cit.*). — *dizāka-. See already I. Scheftelowitz, *ZDMG* 57, 1903, p. 166. — *drvaka-. *Darmaka- was proposed by Scheftelowitz (*loc. cit.*) and may be regarded as a valid alternative explanation. — *frīnazāta-. LB *Par-ri-na-za-a-ta* may alternatively represent *Farna-zāta- ("born lucky", cf. H. W. Hilprecht, *BE* 10, p. 60b), with anaptyxis. — *frīniš-, *frīnuš-. Prosopographically the same as LB *Pa-ar-nu-uš*; hence the spellings quoted by Hi. represent *parnu- "old" (cf. p. 180, s.v.) with anaptyxis. — *ganzaka-. Delete. The LB form is *Kar-sak!-ka-*, Iran. *Krsaka- (Scheftelowitz, *loc. cit.*). — *grdiya-. The first who recognized that *kur-taš* stands for *grda- (Skt *grha-*) was W. B. Henning (*apud* I. Gershevitch, *Asia Major*, 2, 1951, p. 141f.). — *ham-bāra-. The LB toponym *Ha-am-Bā-ri* which refers to a place near Nippur is not necessarily Iranian. A toponym spelt *Ha-ba-ā[r]* and *Ha-am-ba-ri* (with -mb- from -bb-) is mentioned already in MB and NA fragments of a dream-book (see Oppenheim, *Dreams*, pp. 260, 268). It refers to a place which seems to be located west of Babylonia and Assyria, perhaps in northern Mesopotamia or in northern Syria. Near Nippur there were in the Achaemenian period not a few settlements which were named after non-Babylonian places (e.g. *Ha-za-tu*, i.e. Gaza, *BE* 10, 9, *passim*). — *hātašarga- (?). Better interpret as *Hāta-marga- "he by whom fields have been acquired". — *hidāta-. LB *Hi-i-da-ta* is possibly a Semitic name with the very common hypocoristic suffix -ā. Cf. Akkad. *hidātu* "joy" (*AHW.*, 344b, cf. 307f. s.v. *hadū* III) and the NA PN *Hi-da-ta-ni* (*ADD* 400: 2) with the hypocoristic suffix -ān. — *histāna-. Delete (a Semitic name; LB -Cd- does not render OIran. *Ct*). — *hubastāna-, BA and MA cannot be distinguished in LB; possibly -āna- patronymic of *Hu-vasta- "well-dressed". — *humafrya-

alternatively *Huvā-frya- "very dear" (cf. Av. *hvā-frita-* and Ved. *sū-priya-*) or *hva-frya-* "self loving" < "dear to himself" (?). — *humānya- (?). The document from which Hi. quotes *Hu-ma-ni-ia-* (CBS 5148, Lo. E, Nippur, 424/23 B.C.) spells the name of the same person *Hu-ma-ni-ia-* in l. 6, thereby excluding Hi.'s reconstruction. Since the name-bearer was the son of a "Lydian", his name calls for an Anatolian explanation. The name may be related to Carian *Κομνος* (J. Sundwall, *Studia Orientalia* 16/1, 1951, p. 25, s.v., from the Ptolemaic period). An element or an ending -i(h)ya- is — as Prof. V. V. Shevoroshkin kindly informs me — not known in Lydian. Note that Carian names were borne also by persons who were designated as "Ionians", see A. Goetze, *JCS* 16, 1962, p. 54 with n. 3, apparently in a geographical, not ethnical, sense. Similarly the "Lydian" may have been a Carian if -ihya- permits this. — *husprda-. Cf., without *hu-, LB *Is-pa-ar-da* (PBS 2/1, 70: 5, 9, 11, Nippur, 421/20 B.C.), Iran. *Sprda- "the zealous", unless this is "the Sardian" as Gray (*apud* Clay PBS 2/, p. 25b, s.v.) suggested, *Lyd. *šfar-da-* (cf. Shevoroshkin, *Lidiyski Yazyk* [Moscow 1967], p. 56, s.v. *šfar-*). — *humata- is a case of *scriptio plena* (cf. *Is-pi-i-ta-am-mu*, p. 226, s.v. *spitāma-, Eilers, *ZA* 51, 1955, p. 229); the female name *Hu-ma-a-tu* can not belong here, as it means "the Cilician (woman)" (see *CAD* H, 234a and cf. *URUGa-an-da-ru-i-tu* "the Gandarian (woman)" who is mentioned in l. 44 of the same document, cf. also Eilers, *ZDMG* 94, 1940, p. 201). — *humrga-. The NA forms do not belong here as both *Bit Ū-mar-gi* and *Bit Ū-ar-gi* refer to one and the same place; *Ū-mar/ar-gi* is probably a personal name and may render Iran. *Hu-arga- "well-worthy" (see Gershevitch *apud* Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, p. 78). — *hūtibāna-, there is no example for *VpV* > *VbV* in LB transcription before the Seleucid period. — *hvarmahī-. Delete (cf. above ad *aryamāhi-). — *xarabātāna-. Delete; possibly Semitic, a hypocoristic from the verbal root *hrb* (see G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* [Louvain 1934/35], 1, p. 98) plus the hypocoristic suffixes -āt and -ān (for names with two suffixes see H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* [Baltimore 1965], p. 139). — *xšaθra-farna-, *Ša-ar-par-na-* is a misspelling or *Dal-ar-par-na-* (cf. p. 82f., s.v. *dārayafarna-). — *xumbya-. Not only the reference but also the etymological considerations go back to Grantovskij. — Add *Xurzimiyā-, LB *URUHur-zi-ma-a-a* (*YOS* 7, 154: 11, reign of Cambyses, and *Dar.* 458: 11, reign of Darius I), "the Choresmian". It looks as if Aram. *Hzmy* (?) (with Schaefer, p. 68, despite Eilers, *AfO* 17, 1954/56, p. 334, n. 32) represents *xur-, against the *xvār* of Av. *Xvārizm* (acc. sing. fem.), Old Pers. *hUvārazmi-* (in the parallel Akkadian versions *Hu-ma-ri-iz-ma-*, *Hu-ma-ra-za-am* and *Hu-ma-ri-iz-mu*, *Kent*, p. 177, Herzfeld, *API* pp. 15, 30 and pl. 12) and New Pers. *Xvārizm*. LB *Hur-zi* may alternatively represent *xvar-* which perhaps underlies also Gk. *Χωρασμίν*. — *jāmāspa-*, see above ad *databara-. — *xvaršadāta-. In *TuM* 2/3, 186: 4 read *Hu-ur!-ši-da-a-tu* (kindly collated on my behalf by Dr. J. Oelsner, Jena). — *xvarvanaθa-, see below, s.v. *vana-ta-. — *kaika-. The name occurs also in LB as *Ki-e-ku*

(VAS 6, 226, Edge). — *kārahmāra-, the first who identified this Iranian term in LB was in fact Dr. M. W. Stolper who communicated it to me by letter already in November 1973. — *kāratāka-, cf. Gray *apud* Clay, *PBS* 2/1, p. 26a, s.v. Alternatively -ka- extension to *karta- "knife". — *kundāspa- and *kustāspa- are possibly Anatolian (see Goetze, *JCS* 16, p. 56 with n. 31). — *mrduka-. In view of this being a common Akkadian name, it is advisable to regard it as Akkadian, with G. G. Cameron (*OIP* 65, 84) and Mayrhofer. — *pairi-mižda-. Delete (*Pi-sa-mi-is-ki*, collated, Eg. *Psmrk*, Ranke, *APN* 1, p. 136, No. 8). — *pairišiyāti-. Dr. Fales drew my attention to NA *Pir-šā-at-ti* (*CCENA* 23: 26) which, in my opinion, belongs here. — *pāras-tama- is not a personal name but a title. — *pardaiša-. For the LB forms *pari-daisa- is to be reconstructed with Babylonian elision of the unstressed Iranian "compound-vowel". Cf. Sogd. *prδys* "enclosure" (E. Benveniste, *Vessantara Jātaka* [Paris 1946], p. 92). — *partava-. The doubling of the *m* proves that it is *Fratama- (cf. Eilers, *ZA* 51, 1955, p. 229f., not *parθama-). — *parušiyāti-, add as indicated in next but one entry. — *patičā-. *patizā (see Gershevitch *apud* Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, p. 77); LB *z* never renders Iran. /č/. — *pauručanah-. Delete (*Pu-ru-šā-na-a* is a misreading for *Pu-ru-šā-a-tu*). — *pičya-. Add from LB *Pit-ri-ia* (CBS 12861, unpublished, courtesy Dr. M. W. Stolper) and for OIran. *pišiya-, *Pi-iš-ši-ia* (*Dar.* 534: 7, 542: 7). — *patiš. Iran. /t/ may be rendered by Sem. *t* also in LB *Si-tu(-ū)-nu* (*BE* 10, 117: 3, 4, 8, 11, R, 129: 16, *TuM* 2/3, 148: 15, U.E.), name of an Achaemenian prince, which is possibly Iran. *Stuna- "pillar" (short for a name like *Rta-stuna-, cf. Gershevitch, *Fs. Pagliaro* 2, p. 195, s.v. *Irdašduna*). — *piθa-, is rather *piθa-, from *paθma- (see Henning, "Mitteliranisch", *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, 4/1, p. 113 with n. 7). Add LB *Lūpit-pu-da* (*CT* 4, pl. 27, Bu. 88-5-12, 336: 4, 8), Iran. *piθa-dā "ration-giver". — *rabābara- (?), according to the copy, the sign in question cannot be read BA. — *razambarva-, LB -ar-ma does not render Iran. *barva-*, but either *arma- or *arva-* (see Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, p. 78). — *rāzidatā-. NA *Ra-zi-da-tu* is an engraver's error for *Ra-zi-iš-tu*. — *ršara-. Delete (*Ar-<ta>-šā-ri*, cf. p. 211). — *rta-. Already Hilprecht, *BE* 9, p. 50b. — *rtagāθu-. My collation shows that only *Ar* and *tu* are certain. — *rtamiča-. Both possibilities still exist; the LB form *Ar-ta-mi-is-sa* (Hecker, *Giessen*, 47: 11) points to *rtamiša-. — *rtarauča-. See already G. Hüsing *apud* Kohler-Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben* 2 (Leipzig 1892), p. 67f. — *rtasara-. Cf. LB *dBa-ga-sa-ru* [...] (VAS 6, 302: 6'), if it really ends with *ru* it may render Iran. *baga-sara- "der mit Baga-Gemeinschaft hat". If /ū/ is to be restored it would render *bagasrava- (see p. 58f.). — *rtāšiyāti-. The LB form was already adduced by Mayrhofer (*OnP*, 8.604). — *runtaka-. Benveniste's explanation is given without the reference. *salamanah- (?) is Sem. *Šālāmān*. — Add NA *Sa-am-bu-uk* (*CCENA* 23b: 3⁷), possibly -ka- extension of *Sambu-, cf. Ved.

sambhu- "holy; generous". — *skauθika-. This etymology which was suggested by Gershevitch is confirmed by LB *Is-ku-ti-ik-ku* (*TuM* 2/3, 204: 4). — *spātar-va- (?) is ruled out since the spelling *Is-pa-ta-ru-* on which Hi. bases his reconstruction refers to a person whose name is also spelt *Us-pa-ta-ru-* and *I-si-pa-ta-ra'-ū-*, as I showed in my doctoral dissertation (*Nippur in the Achaemenian Period: Geographical and Ethnical Aspects*, Jerusalem 1974), § 176, and etymologized as *vispatarva- (as Hi. does for *Us-pa-ta-ru-* only, on his p. 266). LB *Ū-ZU-pa-!-tu-ra-* (collated), which was compared to *I/Uspataru* by Tallqvist (*NBN*, p. 216b) does not belong here as -sū- is very rare in LB and -tu-ra- cannot render Iran. *tarva-. — *stauka- is more likely to belong to *stav-* "to praise" than to *stā-*. — *šišūya-. Delete (Egyptian *ššj*, Ranke, *APN* 1, p. 405, No. 21; *σισις*, *ibid.*, 2, p. 408, col. iii). — *tūhūpar-daiza- (?) is perhaps an Egyptian name (see Eilers, *Neujahrsfest*, p. 48n.). — *uzbara-. See already Dyakonov-Livshits, *Dokumenti iz Nisi* (Moscow 1960), p. 17 with n. 33 on p. 28. — *vahunana-. Already Hilprecht, *BE* 10, p. 66b, s.v.; Heb. *mhwmn* does not belong here as Heb. *m* does not render Iran. /v/. — *vanata-. LB has also *Mun-na-tu* (*PBS* 2/1, 226: 13, *TuM* 2/3, 187: 9, L.E., son of *Bi-e-su*⁸) and *Ū-nu-at-ta* (*TuM* 2/3, 201: 12f., a "broken" spelling despite Eilers, *ZDMG* 94, 1940, p. 222f.). Perhaps also LB *Hu-ru-mun/un-na-tu* (*PBS* 2/1, p. 24a) belongs here; it may render Iran. *xvarvanaθa- "deriving victory from the Sun-god" (*Mithra*, cf. Gershevitch in J. R. Hinnels [ed.], *Mithraic Studies* [Manchester 1975], pp. 82ff.).

One gains the impression that many of the shortcomings of this book are due not only to carelessness and haste in going into print, but also because Hi., as an Elamitist, projected some Elamite renderings of Iranian phonemes into Semitic (e.g. *h* and *z* for Iran. *θ* and /č/ respectively, and Heb. *m* for Iran. /v/). It may therefore be useful to list here the renderings of Iranian phonemes in NB/LB transcription (table No. 1, p. 216).

Table No. 1

	a	b	c
paragraph	Iranian	Babylonian	
vowels (l. 1-30)			
1. 1	/a/		<a>
1. 2			<(i)>
1. 3			<(u)>
1. 4			<Ø>
1. 5	/i/		<i>
1. 6			<(a)>
1. 7			<(e)>
1. 8			<(u)>
1. 9			<Ø>
1. 10	/u/		<u>
1. 11			<i>
1. 12			<Ø>

⁷) The traces after the -UK possibly belong to the following word.

⁸) Perhaps Βῆσ(σ)ος (*Iusti*, p. 67b, name of two satraps in the late Achaemenian period).

a	b	c
paragraph	Iranian	Babylonian
1. 13	/r/	<ar>
1. 14		<a-ar>
1. 15		<a-ri>
1. 16		<ar-ʾ>
1. 17		<Cu-ur/ra>
1. 18		<ru>
1. 19		<k>
1. 20		<š>
1. 21		<Ø>
1. 22	/ā/	<-(C)a-(aʾ)>
1. 23		<-(C)a(CC)>
1. 24		<-Ca-iC->
1. 25		<Ce>
1. 26		<Ø>
1. 27	/i/	<(C)i-(i)>
1. 28		<(C)i(CC)>
1. 29		<Ca-ʾ>
1. 30	/ū/	<Cu(CC)>
diph-thongs (1. 31-35)		
1. 31	/ai/, /āi/	<Ce-(e)>
1. 32	/ay(a)/	<Ci-(ʾ)-a>
1. 33		<Ci-i-a>
1. 34	/au/, /āu/	<Cu-(u)->
1. 35		<Ø>
conso-nants (1. 36-95)		
1. 36	/k/	<k>
1. 37		<g>
1. 38		<h>
1. 39		<qq>
1. 40	/g/	<g>
1. 41		<k>
1. 42		<kk>
1. 43		<Ø>
1. 44	/x/	<h>
1. 45		<k>
1. 46		<Ø>
1. 47	/č/	<š>
1. 48	/j/	<z>
1. 49	/t/	<t>
1. 50		<t>
1. 51		<(d)>
1. 52		<dd>
1. 53	/d/	<d>
1. 54		<Ø>
1. 55	/ð/	<z>
1. 56	/θ/	<t>
1. 57		<d>
1. 58		<h>
1. 59		<s>
1. 60	/n/	<n>

In what follows reference to examples of these renderings, unless they are self-evident, will be made by quoting directly the relevant entries in the book under review, with the addition of "(R.)" where a different view has been proposed above.

1. 2. Before -zd-: *Ū-ri-mi-iz-da-ʾ*, OP *Ahura-Mazdā* (Kent, p. 164), *Mi-iz-da-bi-gi-in* (**Mazda-bigna-*). After č: *As-pa-ši-ni* (**Aspa-čana-*, Borger apud Hinze, NW, p. 58, Gk. Ἀσπαδίνης). *A-ku-pi-i-š* for OP *Ākau-jačiya-* (Kent, p. 165) is possibly due to palatalization. Cf. also *Da-a-ri-ia-muš/mu-uš* and *Da-a-ri-ia/iā-šū* for *Dāraya-vahu-š* (Tallqvist, NBN, p. 53f.). — 1. 3. When there is a *u* in the preceding or the following syllable: *Ku-gu-na-ka* (OP *Kuganaka-*, see W. Wüst, Pñμα, 8-11, 1962-65, p. 52), *Ah-ru-tu-uš-šū* (PBS 2/1, 116: 4), *(A-)xratu (same person as *Ah-ru-tu-uš*), *A-ru-ha-at-ti-ʾ*. — 1. 4. *Ha-ad-ba-ga-ʾ*, **Hāda-baga-*, *Ta-ar-ma-*

for OP *Taravā* (Kent, p. 186). — 1. 6. *Ši-in-ša-aḥ-ri-iš* for OP *Činčixri-š* (see Schmitt, BNF 6, 1971, p. 11f.), *Tir/Ti-ra-ka-am(-ma)* (**Tiri-kāma*), *Šā-ta-ba-ri* (**Šy-āti-bara-*). — 1. 7. *Te-ri-ka-a-mu* (BM 13264: 3), same person as *Ti-ri-ka-mu* (BE 9, 68: 1, 5, 8), possibly under the influence of the following /r/, cf. Τεριτουχμυς, the influence of the following /r/, cf. Τεριτουχμυς, *Ha-ša-at-ri-e-ti* (OP *Xšathrita-*, Kent, p. 180f.), *Ūr-di-e* (PBS 2/1, 105, Lo. E, (**Vrdiya-*, see III 18, 1975, p. 247 9). — 1. 8. *Ru-zu-uš-tu* (BE 8, 121: 2) (**Rvāzista-ʾ* 10). — 1. 9. *Par-de-e-su* (AHw., 833a), **pari-daisa-*. — 1. 11. Perhaps before clusters: *ū-ma-as/su-pi-it-ru-ū* (**vās-puθra-*, Eilers, Fs. Taqizadeh, p. 58f.). On *Par-ri-ni-iš* for **Parnu-* see above. — 1. 12. *Ku-un-du-ru* for OP *Kunduru-* (Kent, p. 180). — 1. 14. *A-ar-di-ma-ni-iš* for OP *Ardi-maniš* (< **Rdi-maniš*, see Schmitt, BNF NF 6, pp. 1ff.). — 1. 15. *A-ri-s/šak/q-* (BRM 2, 52: 26, Arsacid). — 1. 16. *Ar-ʾ-si-ūq-qa* (ibid., 51: 16, Arsacid). For 1. 15-16 cf. 1. 39. — 1. 17. *A-tu-ur-ba-nu-ʾ*, *Tu-ra-ba-na-ʾ* (BE 9, 28a: 15). — 1. 18. *At-ru-ba-nu-ʾ*. All the three spellings listed in 1. 17-18 refer to one and the same person (**Ātr-bānu-*). — 1. 19. *Ak-ši-ma-ak-šū*, possibly renders *Xšaya-rša* (see Cammeron, AJSL 58, 1941, p. 320f.). — 1. 20. *Āš-taḥ-šā-as-su* (TuM 2/3, 266: 8, 29) is due to the Babylonian shift *rt > št*. — 1. 21. *āš-te-ba-ri-an-na* (**ršti-bara-* plus the Akkad. pl. -ān), *Iš-tu-me-gu* (**Ršti-vaiga-*). — 1. 22. *A-ḥa-ma-ni-iš-ʾ*, OP *Haxā-maniš* (Kent, p. 212), *Ba-a-ḥa-ta-ar*, OP *Bāxtri-* (Herzfeld, API, p. 30: 16), *Ba-ga-ʾ-da-a-tū* (**Baga-dāta-*). — 1. 23. *At-ta-ra-pa-ta* (**Ātr-pāta-*). — 1. 24. *Pa-id-di-iš-ḥu-ri-iš* (OP *Pātiš-huvari-š* (Kent, p. 195). — 1. 25. *ge-te-pa-tu* (**gaiθā-pati-*, see C. C. Torrey, JNES 2, 1943, pp. 299ff.). — 1. 26. *Tu-ra-ba-na-ʾ* (**Ātr-bānu-*, cf. 1. 17) and *Pur-ru-uš-ti-iš* (BE 10, 131: 27, PBS 2/1, 147: 27, U.E.) are probably due to a mistake. — 1. 27. *Ba-ga-ʾ-ū-mi-(i)-ir/ri* (**Baga-vira-*). — 1. 28. *Tir-ra-ka-am-ma* (**Tiri-kāma*). — 1. 29. *Hu-ma-ri-iz-ma-ʾ*, OP *hUvāra-zmī*, see above, s.v. *zimiya-* (R). — 1. 30. *Ar-ta-sur-ru* (**Rta-sūra-*). — 1. 31. *Hu-ma-de-e-šū* (ZA 61, 1971, p. 257) (**Xvā-daiča-*), *Ba-gi-de-nu* (Weidner, Mél. Dussaud, p. 925 and pl. 3 after p. 928, Bab. 28178, vii: 7, **Baga-daina-*). — 1. 32. *Ḥi-ši-ʾ-ar-ši-ʾ* (*Xšaya-rša-*, see Weissbach, ZDMG 62, 1908, p. 642f.). — 1. 33. *Aḥ-ši-i-i-ar-šū*, *Ak-ši-i-re-eš-šū*, *Aḥ-ši-i-ma-ar-šū*, *Ak-ši-i-ma-ar-šū*, *Aḥ-ši-ia-mar-šū* (ibid., where more spellings are listed), *Aḥ-ši* (copy: SAL.SAL)-mar-šū (PSBA 9, 1887, p. 238: 3). — 1. 34. *Ši-š-š-š-mar-ri-ši* (BE 8, 119: 12) is possibly a mistake (cf. 1. 22). The spellings with *m*, as well as Aram. *Xšy* (ʾ) *rš* (Vinnikov, PSb. 70, 1962, p. 225) and Bibl. *hšwrvš*, may render according to Dr. Gershevitch (private communication) **Xšaya-vrša-* (to **vršan-*

9) Cf. LB *A-be-e-su-uk-ku* (VAS 4, 152: 2, 6, 8, 14), i.e. **Abi-saukā-* (cf. Gershevitch, Fs. Pagliaro 2, p. 180).
10) Superlative of **vāz-*, Av. *urvāz-* (Air Wb., 1545)? or a defective spelling of *Hu-ru-zu-uš-tu* (AFO 19, p. 79f., Amherst 258: 5).

"in charge of, commander", Ved. *vršan-* "male, man", discussed by Benveniste, BSL 45, 1949, p. 100f.) This may be a popular etymology (**vršan-* **ršan-*). The same popular etymology may be found in Ὀδρσος for Ἀρσος (Bab. *Ar-šu*, name of Artaxerxes II, see Justi, p. 31 and Cauer, RE 2, Stuttgart 1896, col. 1275f. with lit., F. W. König, RLA 1, p. 155). — 1. 34. *Gu-ma-a-tū*, OP *Gaumāta-* (Kent, p. 183) *Gu-ba-ru-* OP *Gau-ba-r(u)va-* (ibid.), *Ti-gir-ḥu-ū-du*, OP *Tigra-xauda-* Herzfeld, API, p. 30: 21). — 1. 35. *Ū-ma-aḥ-ku*, OP *Vahauka-* (Kent, p. 207) perhaps mistake for **Ū-ma-u-ku*. — 1. 37. *Za-ra-an-ga*, OP *Zranka-* (Kent, p. 211 Gk. Δράγγαι, Σαράγγαι [etc.]); *ši-in-ga[-ab-ru]*, OP *sinkabru-* (Kent, p. 209), is probably a non-Iranian word. — 1. 38. [*Ha?*]-*am-ba-nu*, OP *Kampanda-* (Kent, p. 178, very uncertain, see Weissbach, VAB 3, p. 31, § 25), perhaps non-Iranian. — 1. 39. Only in the Arsacid period: *Ar-ʾ-si-ūq-qa* (cf. 1. 16). It is in accordance with the LB practice of transcribing Gk. *κ* by Akkad. *q* on which see W. Röhl, OrNS 29, 1960, p. 377, § 1, p. 380, § 6. It is possible that the scribe copied this royal Arsacid name from the Greek, whence the *s*. — 1. 41. *Ku-bar-ra*, OP *Gau-bar(u)va-* (Weissbach, VAB 3, p. 144). — 1. 42. *Ba-ak-ka-su-ru-ū* (**Baga-srava*, one and the same person as *Ba-ga-sa-ru-ū*). — 1. 43. *A-ma-[d]a(?)nu* (UET 4, 171: 7), perhaps *Hammatāna* (see von Soden, JAOS 71, 1951, p. 267). — 1. 44. *Ši-it-ra-an-taḥ-ma*, OP *Čiçataxma-* (Kent, p. 184). — 1. 45. Only in the cluster *xš-*: *Ak-ši-ma-ar-šū* (**Xšaya-rša*), *Ar-tak-šat-su* (**Rta-xšaça-*), *Ba-ga-bu-ki(!)-šū* (*Baga-buxša-*), *Ū-ma-ku-iš-tar* (*hUvaxštra-*), see Kent, pp. 199 and 177 respectively. — 1. 46. Only in the cluster *-xšn-*: *Ru-šu-un-pa-a-tū* (**Rauxšna-pāta-*). — 1. 47. *Ši-in-ša-aḥ-ri-iš* (cf. 1. 6), *Ar-ri-ši-tir*, OP *Ar̥ya-čithra-* (Kent, p. 170), *Ar-ta-ša-ʾ*, OP *artača-* (Herzfeld, API, p. 31: 42), cf. Bowman, OIP 91, p. 64. — 1. 48. *Kam-bu-zi-ia*, OP *Kambujiya-* (Kent, p. 178f.). — 1. 50. *Se-tu-ū-nu* (**Stuna-* (R.). Note Middle Heb. *styw* for Gk. στροά (J. Levy, Wörterb. ü. d. Tal. u. Mid., 2, Berlin 1924, p. 155). — 1. 51. *Ba-ga-da-du* (**Baga-dāta-*, Eilers, Benantennamen, p. 111 with lit.), *Ba-ga-pa-da* (Pinches, Hebraica 8, 1891/92, p. 134f.: 6), i.e. *Baga-pāta-*; *VtV > VdV* occurs very rarely in NB: only *ba-aḥ-ma-a-du(!)*, variant of [*ba-a*]r-ma-tū (pl. of *baruntu > barundu*, "bunte Wolle" in the lexical text AFO 18, 1957/58, p. 330: 219, cited AHw., 110a). In the cluster *-nt-*: *Ba-gu-un-du* (YOS 7, 99: 10) (**Bagavanta-*), *Kan-t[a-la-nu]* (FuB 10, 1968, p. 45, No. 4: 13, NB) for *Kandalānu* might prove that *nt* was heard like *nd*; the spelling is possibly a hypercorrection, cf. also *āš-gan-ta* for Iran. **žganda-* (Powell, Ar.Or. 40, 1972, p. 123, n. 13, cf. 1. 95). The reading of the last sign is very uncertain, but the restoration [dū], proposed by Powell, loc. cit., is even more doubtful. — 1. 52. *Pa-id-di-iš-ḥu-ri-iš*, OP *Pātiš-huvari-š* (cf. 1. 24). — 1. 54. Only in the cluster *nd-*: *Šā-gan-na* (Nbn. 314: 16), *Āš-gan-na* (Camb. 351: 10), *Āš-ga-nu* (ZA 3, 1888, p. 225, No. 2: 30), for **žganda-* (cf. 1. 91), [*Ha?*]-*am-ba-nu* for OP *Kampanda-*, El. *Qa-um-pan-taš*, cf. 1. 38, non-Iranian? cf. also LB *lu-ri-nu* (VAS 5, 49: 11) for *lurindu* (<

lurimtu) which is a non-Iranian word (CAD L, 255f.). — 1. 55. *Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia* for OP *Artavardiya-* (Kent, p. 171). — 1. 56. For original *θ*: *Pa-ar-tu-ū*, OP *Pa-rθava-* (Kent, p. 196). — 1. 57. Only for *-θr-*: *aḥ-šā-da-ra-pa(-an)-nu*, Aram. *ḥšdrpn* (see Grantovskij, p. 90). — 1. 58. Only in *θr > hr*: *Ar-ba/ma-mi-iḥ-ri* (**Arb/va-Miθra- > *Arb/va-Mihra-*). — 1. 59. For secondary *θ* in OP (*< s*) *Su-uh-ra-* for *θuxra-*, NP *surx* (Kent, p. 188). — 1. 61. *Ba-am-mu-uš* (**Bānu > *Bāmu-? (R.)*). — 1. 62. In *-an-* stems, cf. *Ḥi-ši-ʾ-ar-šā/šū* etc. for **Xšaya-rša-* (1. 32-33). — 1. 64. Intervocalic: *aḥ-šā-da-ra-ba-an-nu* for **xšaθra-pāna* (CAD A/1, 195a; from the Seleucid period). — 1. 66. *Pa-ar-ū-mar-ti-iš* for OP *Fra-varti-š* (Kent, p. 198). — 1. 68. After *θ*: *pi-it/ti-pa-ba-ga* (**piθfa-baga-*) and *pit-pu-da* (*piθfa-dā-* (R.)). — 1. 69. *Kab_x(GAB)-b[u-zi-]iā* (GCCl 2, 218: 12), i.e. *Kambujiya-* with assimilation. — 1. 70. *Uš-ta-as-pa*, OP *Vištāspa-* (Kent, p. 209). — 1. 71. *Ū-mi-da-ar-na-*, OP *Vidarna-*. — 1. 72. *Ta-ar-ma-*, OP *Taravā-* (Kent, p. 155), *Pa-ar-mar-ti-iš*, OP *Fra-varti-š* (Weissbach, VAB 3, p. 153). — 1. 73. *I-si-pa-ta-ra-ʾ-ū* (**Vispa-tarva-* (R.)), *Gu-bar* (PBS 2/1, 100: 12), *Ku-bar-ra* (**Gau-barva-*, cf. 1. 41). — 1. 75. *Da-ri-ia-a-muš* (Tallqvist, NBN, p. 53f.). — 1. 77. *bi-ra-za-man-ni-i*, OP *brazmaniya-* (Kent, p. 201), *Kam-bu-zi-i* (*Kambujiya-*, Camb. 85: 22, 100: 2), *A-ḥa-⟨ma⟩-man-iš-ši-i*, OP *Haxāmanišiya-* (Weissbach, VAB 3, p. 136). — 1. 77. *A-ḥa-ma-ni/niš-ši-* (etc.), OP *Haxāmanišiya-* (once for *Haxāmaniš-*), see Weissbach, loc. cit., *Da-ri-ʾ-muš* (Tallqvist, loc. cit.), *Da-ri-ʾ-par-na-* (**Dāraya-farna-*), *Mi-it-ra-ʾ-in* (**Miθraina*). 1. 78. *Sik-ka-u-ma-at-ti-*, OP *Sikayabuvati-* (Kent, p. 209), *Da-ar-ra-uš₄* (BE 8, 102: 12, see von Soden-Röllig, An. Or. 42, p. 57, No. 291), *Dar-muš* (AfO 19, 1959/60, p. 77, Amherst 241), *Drwš* (Vinnikov, PSb. 67, 1959, p. 239, i.e. *Dāraya-vahu-š*), *Da-ar-par-na-* (**Dāraya-farna-*), *Šā-ta-ba-ri* (**Šyāti-bara-*). — 1. 80. *ka-al-am-ma-ri* (**kārahmāra-*), *am-ma-ri-a-kal* (**hamara-kara-*, see J. C. Greenfield, Henning Mem. Vol., pp. 180ff.). Note Aram. *Plyn*, possibly **Fryāna-* (despite Grelot, Doc. Aram., p. 501), NA *Ar-ta-la-nu* (Tallqvist, APN, p. 31a) is perhaps **Rta-rana-*. — 1. 81. In the cluster *hr (< θr)*: *Ba-ga-mi-ḥa-* (**Baga-Mihra- < *Baga-Miθra-*). — 1. 83. *Aš-pa-za-an-da-* (BE 10, 66: 4) (**Aspa-jand/ta*, cf. above, s.v.). — 1. 84. *ši-in-ga[-ab-]ru*, OP *šikabru-* (cf. 1. 37). — 1. 86. *Ar-ʾ-si-uq-qa* (1. 39), perhaps *fA-ši-ʾ-a-ba-tu₄* (Reisner, SBH 51) and *fA-si-ba-a-t[u₄]* (ZA 6, 1891, p. 226; 8, 1893, p. 112) for one and the person (also from the Arsacid period). In the cluster *št*: *A-ba-eš-ta-nu* (PBS 1/2, 87: 6) and *A-ba-as-ta-nu* (e.g. PBS 2/1, 207: 6) for one and the same place (**Abi-stāna-*, see IOS 6, 1976, forthcoming). — 1. 87. *Ar-ta-aḥ-šā-as-su* (**Rta-xšaça-*). — 1. 88. *Ar-ta-ak-šā-as-ša* (Herzfeld, API, p. 45, No. 22: 1, 9), Aram. *ʾrthšš* (Vinnikov, PSb 66, 1958, p. 213). — 1. 89. *Ar-taḥ-šā-as-ū-su* (UET 4, 193: 4, [...]-šā-as-ū-su, *ibid.*, 44), *Ar-taḥ-šā-as-ʾ-su* (*ibid.*, 92: 13). The first spelling is from 452/51 B.C. and the second one perhaps from 449/48 B.C. The spellings listed in 1. 88-90 may serve as evidence that OP /ç/ has remained for some time a

long ("geminate") consonant (see F. B. J. Kuiper, *IIJ* 8, 1964/65, p. 306), the spellings listed in 1. 89 are anaptyctic. — 1. 90. *A-ši-na*, OP *Āčina-*. — 1. 91. *Aš-gan-du*, *Šā-gan-da*, *Šā-gan-na*, *Šu-gan-du* (**Žganda-*, see Powell, *Ar. Or.* 40, p. 124f.). A shift *ž > š* before *g* is typical to Sogdian but does not occur in this word (Buddhist Sogd. *ʾzyʾnt*, *zyʾnt*, see Happ, *Glotta* 40, 1962, p. 198f. with lit.) **žganda-* "messenger" is perhaps derived from *žyad/θ-* (*Air. Wb.*, 1857) rather than from *zgad/θ-* (*< *zynd-*) as Olran. /z/ was never rendered in Akkadian as *š*. *Zgad-* (metathesis of late IE **ghsnd-*, OIE /gh/ became /j/ in Vedic and /z/ in Avestan) has developed to *γžad-*. The form *žga(n)d-* is contamination of *zg-* with *γž*, cf. Avestan *žyar-* (*Air. Wb.*, 1717). — 1. 93. (a) Initial: *Ḥa-ad-ba-ga-* (**Hāda-baga-*), (b) Internal: (ba) intervocalic *A-ḥu-ru-ma-az-da-*, OP *Ahura-Mazdāh* (Kent, p. 164f.), (bb) preconsonantal: *Ū-ḥi-e-ia-a-ga-am* (**Vahya-gāma-*, see Eilers, *ZDMG* 94, 1940, p. 202, n. 4), (bc) post-consonantal: *Pa-id-di-iš-ḥu-ri-iš*, OP *Pātiš-huvari-š* (cf. 1. 24). — 1. 94. (a) Initial: *A-da-ba-ga-* (**Hāda-baga-*, same person as *Ḥa-ad-ba-ga-* cf. 1. 93), (b) Internal: (ba) intervocalic: *Ū-mi-iz-da-*, OP *Ahura-Mazdāh*, *Da-ri-ia-muš* for *Dāraya-vahu-š*, cf. Aram. *Drywš*, *Drwš* (1x each), but much more frequent with *h*: *Drywhwš* (16x) and with metathesis: *Dryhwš* (7x). See Vinnikov, *PSb* 67, 1959, p. 239f.. *Da-a-an*, OP *Dahā-* (Kent, p. 190, perhaps with the Akkadian pl. *-ān*). (bb) preconsonantal: *Ū-ʾ-is-pi-da-a-ʾ-i*, OP *visa-dahyu- < *vispa-dahyu-* (Kent, p. 208), *Za-ʾ-tu-ʾ-a*, OP *Dātu-vahya-* (El. *Da-ad-du-man-ia*, Kent, p. 189, see Gershevitch, *Memorial Jean de Menasce* [Louvain 1974], p. 70). — 1. 95. *Ū-ma-kuš* (**Hu-vahu-* or **Hu-ahu-*, see Gershevitch *apud* Zadok, *IOS* 6, forthcoming). — 1. 96. *Ū-ḥi-e-ia-a-ga-am* (**Vahya-gāma-*) reflects Olran. /**vahiya-*/ (cf. J. Mittelberger, *Sprache* 11, 1965, p. 102f., § 8, Kuiper, *IIJ* 8, 1964/65, p. 304, Mayrhofer, *OnP*, p. 111f., 6.2.3) with *i > ē* (cf. 1. 7), i.e. /**vaheya-*/.

Table No. 2

The Iranian Values of Romanized Babylonian Graphemes.

		a	b
		Babylonian	Iranian
a		a	a, ā, (i, y), Ø
b		b	b, (p, v)
d		d	d, ḍ, (t), θ
e		e	ai, ai, i
g		g	g, k
ḥ		ḥ	h, k, x
i		i	ai, ai, i, i, Ø
k		k	k, (g, h, x, r)
l		l	r
m		m	m, (n, v)
n		n	n

		a	b
		Babylonian	Iranian
p		p	p, (b, m, v)
r		r	r, ṛ
s		s	s, θ, (ç)
š		š	č, š, ž, (ç)
t		t	t, θ, (d)
ṭ		ṭ	
u		u	au, āu, u, ū, Ø, (i)
y		y	y, (i)
z		z	ḍ, j, z
Ø		Ø	a, ā, au, āu, i, u, d, m, n, v, r, Ø

Tel-Aviv, November 1975

R. ZADOK

Friedrich KREFTER, *Persepolis. Rekonstruktionen*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1971 (125 S., 3 Tfln., 36 Beilagen) = Teheraner Forschungen herausgegeben vom Deutschen Archäologen Institut Abt. Teheran Bd. 3.

Das vorliegende Buch des ehemaligen Mitarbeiters von Ernst Herzfeld bei den Ausgrabungen in Persepolis von 1931 an ist seit der grossformatigen, dreibändigen Publikation der Grabungsergebnisse von E. F. Schmidt der erste gründliche und umfassende Versuch, die mannigfachen Probleme, die in der Architektur von Persepolis stecken, zu lösen und gleichzeitig mit den Rekonstruktionszeichnungen ein Bild der antiken Residenz zu werfen. Ausserdem versucht der Verf. die Funktionen der einzelnen Bauten neu zu bestimmen und sie in das bis dahin von Archäologen entworfene Bild einer Feststadt, bestimmt zur Abhaltung der Nowruz-Feierlichkeiten, einzuordnen (Kapitel 7). Das Hauptanliegen des Verf. sind einmal die Darstellung der Wiederaufbauarbeiten des Harim des Xerxes als Museumsbau, deren Durchführung weitgehend in seiner Hand lagen (Kapitel 2), sodann die Bestimmung des Masssystems von Persepolis (Kapitel 3), sowie damit zusammenhängend die Massbestimmung der Säulen (Kapitel 4), eine Frage, die für seine Rekonstruktion der Raum- und Gebäudehöhen von besonderer Wichtigkeit war.

Besonders hervorzuheben sind des Verf.'s perspektivische Zeichnungen (Beilage 20-35) einzelner Räume, Bauten, Baukomplexe und schliesslich der gesamten Anlage auf der Terrasse von Persepolis. Diese Zeichnungen erst vermitteln Dimension und Anschauung, ein neues Erlebnis dieser Architektur. Nach Kenntnis dieser Zeichnungen erst sieht man die Ruine mit (beinahe) richtigen Augen. Sie dürfen als eine der besten Leistungen des Verf.'s angesehen werden, wenn auch der Blickwinkel sich nach den unterschiedlichen Ansichten der Objekte richten muss und meist viel weiter ist, als na-

türlich wäre. Geschickt in die Zeichnungen hineingestellte Figuren geben den Grad der jeweiligen perspektivischen Verzerrung an.

Aufschlussreich ist der Bericht über den Zustand der Ruine vor den Ausgrabungen im Jahre 1931, sowie die Überlegungen, die damals von Herzfeld und Krefter angestellt wurden (Kapitel 1). Eine Fülle interessanter Details in Auseinandersetzung mit der bisherigen Forschung bringt die Rechtfertigung der Rekonstruktionen jedes einzelnen Bauwerkes in Kapitel 5, beschlossen jeweils von einer Zusammenstellung der Masse (metrisch und in Fuss), die sich auf die Ergebnisse von Kapitel 3 stützen. Eine Rechtfertigung des Modells, das der Verf. als Geschenk der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zur 2500-Jahrfeier des Iranischen Kaiserreiches anfertigte, beschliesst das Buch. Ein rekonstruierter Plan der Palastterrasse bildet Beilage 36.

Wie Herzfeld kann sich der Verf. „auch nach der langjährigen Beschäftigung mit Persepolis des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass hier ein einheitlicher Plan vorgelegen hat, der von Darius stammen muss. Wie anders hätte man sich sonst an die Vorbereitung der einzelnen Niveaus heranmachen sollen?“ (S. 11). Dieses Vorurteil, dem ich kürzlich in AMI 7, 1974 widersprochen habe, und die seit Herzfeld und Erdmann herrschende Vorstellung, dass Persepolis in erster Linie eine Feststadt war, bestimmen die Interpretation in Kapitel 7 und 8, sowie zum Teil auch die Rekonstruktion der einzelnen Bauten bzw. deren Begründung. Da ich die Voraussetzungen für diese Interpretation für falsch halte, kann ich auch der Interpretation des Verf. nicht folgen, was anderen Ortes detailliert zu begründen wäre.

Kritik muss sich auch des Verf. Versuch, eine „Massordnung für Persepolis“ zu bestimmen, gefallen lassen. Das von ihm gefundene Mass für Fuss und Elle von 0,3424 m respektive 0,5136 m stimmen meines Erachtens nicht. Sicherlich sind hingegen die elamische bzw. ionische Elle von 0,525 m mit dem zugehörigen Fussmass von 0,35 m verwendet worden, wie sie auch am Kyrosgrab von Pasargadae¹⁾ und an den Altären im Heiligen Bezirk am selben Ort²⁾ Anwendung fanden. Ich bin nicht sicher, ob nicht auch andere Masssysteme eine Rolle spielen, wie möglicherweise die lydische Elle von knapp 50 cm Länge. Massangaben sind in der Ausgrabungspublikation von E. F. Schmidt leider nur in wünschenswerter Genauigkeit für Details der Architektur, wie Fensterrahmen, Türen etc. angegeben. In den Grundrissen sind keine Masse eingezeichnet. Sie sind nur massstäblich 1 : 400 oder 1 : 600 wiedergegeben, in Massstäben also, aus denen genaue Masse nicht abzugreifen sind. Die im Text angegebenen Messungen reichen für eine Bestimmung des Masssystems nicht aus. Was in diesem Zusammenhang dem Verf. vorzuwerfen bleibt ist, dass er nicht Rechenhaft darüber ablegt, wie er zu seinem Masssystem kam. Darum sei erwähnt, dass bei Anwendung des Masssystems von 0,525 m für die Elle und 0,35 m für den Fuss sich für das Apadana er-

¹⁾ L. Trümpelmann, *Metrologische Untersuchungen am Kyrosgrab in Pasargadae*. Vortrag gehalten auf dem VIth Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology in Oxford 1972.

²⁾ L. Trümpelmann, *Das Heiligtum von Pasargadae*. AMI 8, 1975 (im Druck).

gibt, dass die Säulen des Säulensaales eine Höhe von 55 Fuss haben, was einem Planmass von 19,25 m entspricht. Das gemessene Mass beträgt 19,26 m, also nur 1 cm mehr als das Planmass. Nach Krefter ist mit einer Gesimshöhe von 3,50 m zu rechnen, was genau 10 Fuss entspräche. Für die Höhe des Gebäudesockels von durchschnittlich 2,61 m dürfte das Planmass von 2,625 m anzunehmen sein, was 5 Ellen oder 7,5 Fuss entspräche. Es handelt sich also um glatte Masse, die überzeugender sein dürften, als die von Krefter errechneten.

Bedauerlicherweise hat der Verf. nur die Terrasse selbst und die auf ihr errichteten Bauten behandelt. Die unterhalb gelegenen, zum Teil von Herzfeld angegraben Bauwerke berücksichtigte er nicht, obwohl sie teils früher, teils gleichzeitig mit den Bauwerken auf der Terrasse errichtet sein dürften und daher Aufschluss über die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung zur Zeit der Grosskönige Dareios und Xerxes versprechen.

Sieht man von diesen Einwendungen ab, so ist über dieses Buch eigentlich nur Lobendes zu sagen. Eine Fülle wichtiger Erkenntnisse wird vor dem Leser ausbreitet, so die von Verf. wohl richtig gesehene Freistellung des Xerxestores und vor allem die glänzende Darstellung der Dachkonstruktion der grossen flachgedeckten Säulensäule und Säulenhallen. Mit dieser Erklärung der Dachkonstruktion würdigte der Verf. das, was als die eigentliche und die Epoche bestimmende Grossleistung der Architektur im Dienste der achämenidischen Grosskönige anzusehen ist.

München, März 1975

LEO TRÜMPELMANN

HEBREEUWS - OUDE TESTAMENT

Werner SCHATZ, *Genesis 14. Eine Untersuchung*. Bern, Herbert Lang, Frankfurt/M., Peter Lang, 1972 (384 pp.) = Europäische Hochschulschriften, vol. 2, Series XXIII, Theology. Price: sFr. 48.—

The book contains a comprehensive study of the historical and literary problems of Genesis 14. In chapter I the history of research on Gen. 14 is traced from the rise of historical criticism through the successive periods of archaeological discovery of various bodies of cuneiform documents from Assyria and Babylonia, the Amarna texts in Egypt, Boghazköi, Ugarit and Mari. Schatz also discusses the rise of form-criticism with its concern for oral tradition behind the stories of Genesis (Gunkel) and tradition-history as a counter-point to literary criticism.

Three basic perspectives have evolved out of this discussion. One view is that Gen. 14 represents a historical document originally in cuneiform from the early second millennium B.C. A second opinion is that it is an ancient legendary account with a significant historical kernel transmitted by oral tradition with possible cuneiform sources behind at least part of the account. This in the end is also Schatz's own view. The third opinion is that it represents a late legend or midrash with no credible history behind it. The most recent solutions to the chapter are also reviewed.

After this survey of past discussion the book then

takes up in successive chapters various topics and problems related to Gen. 14. Chapter II deals with text-critical problems. While the discussion is quite competent the reproduction of hand-written foreign scripts is often unclear, and this is the case throughout the book. Chapter III is a short discussion on the problems of unity. Chapters IV and V contain a series of individual studies about all the names of persons, peoples and places mentioned in Gen. 14. Much of the discussion here is not directly relevant to the nature of Gen. 14 although it may be germane to the nature of the patriarchal traditions as a whole. Chapter VI deals with the deities mentioned in Gen. 14 and while El Elyon certainly calls for some comment, a discussion of the "God of Abraham" and the name Yahweh seem unnecessary. Chapter VII contains a study of vocabulary in comparison with the other sources of the Pentateuch and the rest of the Old Testament. Chapter VIII contains a tradition-history (*Traditionsgeschichte*) of certain specific topics contained in Gen. 14, but leaves to his concluding chapter a presentation of the transmission-history (*Überlieferungsgeschichte*) of Gen. 14 as a whole.

Chapter IX deals with style which includes questions of form-criticism. While this chapter is one of the shortest in the book it touches upon issues which are perhaps the most important for the whole debate. The effort to find in any part of Gen. 14 features which may be viewed as *Sage* style is entirely unsuccessful. Only through the belief that the early traditions have been drastically "reworked" can the view of a legendary *Vorlage* be mentioned. The notion that a poetic epic tradition lies behind Gen. 14 primarily on the basis of the Melchizedek blessing is also very weak especially since this unit has no strong literary connection with the rest of the chapter.

The predominant stylistic feature of Gen. 14 is the imitation of a chronographic form of writing. At one point Schatz compares this style with a passage from "Chronik K" which is described as one among other "*altbabylonischer Schriften*". The passage he quotes comes, in fact, from the Chronicles of Early Kings whose subject matter covers the period from Sargon of Akkad to the early Kassite period. But the text itself was very likely composed in the Neo- or Late Babylonian period using apodotes of omen collections which were carefully preserved in the scribal tradition down to a late period (see A. K. Grayson *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, pp. 45-49). The chronographic form is Neo-Babylonian in development and there is no justification for the statement that such chronicles existed in the Old Babylonian period.

The stylistic comparison within the Old Testament itself is equally unsatisfactory since virtually every example cited can be described by Schatz as either pre-Deuteronomistic or Dtr. without any way of deciding between them. The fact is that stylistic comparison with the Babylonian chronicles gives us the most important form-critical criterion for evaluating the whole corpus of historical narratives. The Judean scribes could not have utilized this form of writing before the early sixth century B.C. And this form-critical criterion applies entirely to Gen. 14.

The final chapter contains a summary and conclusions. The latter are arrived at by discussing its tradition-history (*Überlieferungsgeschichte*) which seems to arise primarily from the points of tension in the unity of the text, i.e., between v. 12 and 13 and the discontinuity between the Melchizedek pericope, vv. 18-20, and its context. On this basis Schatz suggests that the extant fragmentary tradition of vv. 13-16/17 and 21-24 was a original oral legend related to the tradition collection from which the J source stems. This source was then combined in the first instance with the Melchizedek tradition of vv. 18-20, an old Jerusalem tradition, to form the basic *Vorlage* of the chapter. This joint tradition was then taken together with Genesis 15 to form part of the J source, written in the 10th century, and became the model for the Davidic covenant and reflects as well David's relations with Jerusalem and its non-Israelite priesthood of the god Elyon.

The next stage in the chapter's development is the incorporation of the material in the first part, vv. 1-10, by 2 Dtr, about 550 B.C. It is suggested that this addition may be based upon a written document prior to its reworking by Dtr. Subsequent additions were made by a hand in some way related to the P source and some later "midrashic" elements as well.

This reconstruction which seems to allow for the widest range of previous opinion appears, nevertheless, most implausible. The unit of vv. 18-20 which exhibits the greatest literary tension with what precedes and follows is regarded as the work of an author combining oral sources at the very beginning of the tradition's literary development. This early literary unit experiences considerable reworking at various points but the obvious tensions between the two primitive traditions remain through centuries of continuous literary transformation. Such a literary history is unreasonable. The awkwardness of vv. 18-20 can only represent the latest redactional addition to a rather fixed literary work.

The reason for such a reconstruction of the primitive *Vorlage* has to do with allowing for those views which want to see in the Melchizedek episode some connection with the time of David (see also Emerton VT 21: 403-439). But all such reconstructions become entirely circular. Apart from a particular interpretation of this chapter there is no evidence whatever for David's relations with the non-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem or with its priesthood and sanctuary, and no evidence that the deity of Jerusalem was Elyon.

The remarks about vv. 1-10 seem to accommodate both the view that sees an ancient non-Israelite document behind this unit (see Emerton) and the view that the style and terminology is very much akin to that of the Deuteronomistic school (Astour). But the style is not so much Deuteronomistic as chronographic and the product of the Neo-Babylonian period, as indicated above. For this reason also there could not have been an ancient non-Israelite chronicle in existence in some Jerusalem archive. Furthermore, the style of presentation in vv. 13-17 is entirely the same as that which precedes and not some *Sage* form which might reflect an oral *Vorlage*. Both parts are equally fantastic from the historical viewpoint but that is not a criterion of literary form.

One can account for all the evidence that Schatz has collected regarding the connections with J, D and P as well as "late" elements by viewing the whole chapter as a late post-exilic composition utilizing the full Pentateuch. The form adopted for the story was that of a chronicle for the major portion. Besides information of peoples and places gleaned from the Pentateuch the author also included the names of some foreign rulers which became badly mutilated in the Hebrew — a common occurrence in the transmission of foreign names. These names may have been borrowed from Babylonian sources although very likely not from one source and certainly not from a historical record of such a campaign. To this late composition a still later addition was made in vv. 18-20 along with the phrase "El Elyon creator of heaven and earth" in v. 22 (see my remarks in *Abraham in History and Tradition*, pp. 296-308).

Schatz has gathered together in this volume a large amount of valuable material bearing on the discussion of Gen. 14 and for this he is to be strongly commended. On the other hand he seems to include a great deal which is very marginally related to the subject and only clouds the important central issues. I also have some serious questions about the author's literary and historical methodology which lead me to suggest that the work, while very useful, must be used with due caution.

Toronto, November 1975

JOHN VAN SETERS

* *

J. P. M. VAN DER PLOEG, *Psalmen uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd*, t. I-II. Roermond, J. J. Romen en Zonen, 1971-1972 (in-8, 400 p.) = De Boeken van het Oude Testament, t. VII b. Prix: f 42.50.

Depuis de nombreuses années, le professeur J. van der Ploeg s'attache à la version et à l'explication du Psautier. Voici qu'au terme de recherches menées avec une érudition peu commune et un sens critique averti, il nous offre les deux premiers fascicules d'un commentaire qui prendra place parmi les meilleurs parus au cours de ces dernières années.

Une introduction substantielle précède le commentaire proprement dit, qui étudie les psaumes de 1 à 68 dans l'ordre traditionnel. Préablement à l'explication de chaque psaume, l'auteur en précise le genre littéraire et cherche à lui donner dans la mesure du possible un cadre chronologique. L'attention principale se porte toutefois vers l'explication philologique et théologique des psaumes. A cette fin, le commentaire aligne et examine les principales corrections critiques; puis il fait appel aux parallèles orientaux, en particulier ougaritiques, et cela au cours d'un dialogue continu avec le Rév. Père M. Dahood; enfin il table sur un large inventaire biblique ne négligeant aucun passage susceptible d'éclairer la portée exacte du poème étudié.

Nous ne pouvons songer à entrer dans la discussion détaillée de chacun des psaumes passés en revue. Contentons-nous de quelques remarques notées en cours de

route de façon à donner une idée suffisante de la méthode et des tendances de l'ouvrage. Pour le sens de Ps. 2, 12a, van der Ploeg hésite à se prononcer définitivement, et cette réserve éclaire bien à la fois sa science et sa prudence. En 4, 3, il se garde de préférer le texte grec à la leçon masorétique. Pour le sens du Ps. 4, 5 il renvoie à 36, 5; 41, 4; 149, 5, sans toutefois préciser s'il s'agit partout d'un même contexte. Notons de bonnes réflexions sur la date et la portée théologique du Ps. 16. Au Ps. 22, l'auteur traduit le v. 17a: "Ils ont lié mes mains et mes pieds". Au v. 22c du même psaume, il écarte la suggestion d'Ibn Ezra. Au Ps. 25, 3b, *rēqām* est censé avoir le sens d'un adjectif et non d'un adverbe. Les données du Ps. 26 sont sans doute trop vagues pour permettre d'en dégager un Sitz im Leben, mais convient-il de traduire "Je puis laver mes fautes" ou, plus simplement, "Je lave mes fautes"? Accordons que le Ps. 27 comporte deux parties et que le v. 14 provient probablement d'un rédacteur qui eut le souci d'unir les deux pièces. L'auteur hésite à proposer pour le Ps. 29 une date précise. Au Ps. 29, 7 *hōšēb* est traduit "s'proieit", "répand", et au Ps. 30, 10 *'ēmēt* est rendu par "vérité": est-ce bien exact? Notons la réserve de l'auteur au Ps. 35, 15-16 et, au Ps. 37, 20, sa décision de rejeter la leçon *kiqār kārīm*. Nonobstant l'avis de nombreux collègues, van der Ploeg hésite à les suivre dans le choix du Sitz im Leben du Ps. 48. Le Ps. 49 est bien expliqué, mais on regrettera peut-être l'absence d'une opinion plus nette dans l'interprétation du v. 16. Enfin si nous n'obtenons pas une solution satisfaisante pour 51, 6a; 58, 19; 68, 14-15, *cruces* classiques, nous sommes néanmoins gratifiés d'une documentation abondante, susceptible de nous éclairer sur les difficultés du texte et éventuellement de nous permettre d'ouvrir de pistes nouvelles.

Nous n'avons pas entrepris de grouper les psaumes étudiés d'après le cadre chronologique et le genre littéraire leur assignés. Au reste une telle synthèse est prématurée. Elle exige que le commentaire soit achevé. Et puis souhaitons qu'au terme de son ouvrage l'auteur nous l'offre lui-même. Elle serait un complément des plus utiles. Elle permettrait au lecteur de s'orienter rapidement à travers tout le commentaire et de se rendre compte des progrès accomplis pour mieux situer le Psautier et son contenu religieux dans le développement de la foi et de l'espérance israélites.

Louvain, décembre 1975

J. COPPENS

* *

R. N. WHYBRAY, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*. Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, XII + 158 pp. Cloth) = Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 135. Price: DM 68.—.

This book deals with a question, which is topical today among Old Testament scholars: what are the boundaries of "wisdom", when we use this word for a part or parts of the Old Testament?

The author chooses the criterion of vocabulary to determine which parts of the Old Testament besides Prov-

erbs, Job and Ecclesiastes can be reckoned to belong to the wisdom literature in the Old Testament.

There is no evidence in the Old Testament for the existence of a class of writers known as "the wise men", or indeed of any class of men so designated (p. 54). But there was an "intellectual tradition" in Israel which was distinct from other traditions such as the historical, legal, cultic and prophetic (p. 70). The internal evidence of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes suggests that in the course of a long period in Israel's history there existed an educated class, albeit a small one, of well-to-do citizens who were accustomed to read for edification and for pleasure, and that among them there arose from time to time men of literary ability and occasionally of genius who provided the literature which satisfied the demand. The common interest in these books is an interest in the problems of human life (p. 69).

This "intellectual tradition" is examined in Chapter IV (pp. 71 ff.). The words which most characteristically express the norm of ideal of human conduct in the eyes of the authors of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes are those derived from the root *hkm*: *hākām*, "to be wise", *hākām*, "wise", and *hokmā* (also *hokmōt*), "wisdom" (p. 75).

It seems to the author to be methodologically sound to begin with a study of the distribution of the root *hkm*, and then to supplement or modify the results by means of a study of the distribution of other elements of the vocabulary of the intellectual tradition (p. 76). The occurrences in each book of the Old Testament must be judged on their own merits (p. 83). An analysis of significant occurrences leads to the conclusion, that 10 passages in the Old Testament can be reckoned to belong to the intellectual tradition (pp. 85-87).

In addition to the words which are derived from the root *hkm* there are a few words whose occurrences are restricted to books and passages whose attachment to the intellectual tradition is certain or where such an attachment cannot be ruled out a priori (pp. 142 ff.). These words are: *binā* ("understanding"), *ba'ar* ("stupid"), *kešil* ("stupid"), *lēs* ("scoffer, arrogant man"), *leqah* ("understanding, teaching, persuasiveness"), *nābōn* ("intelligent"), *sākāl* ("senseless, foolish"), *'ārūm* ("prudent, shrewd, cunning") and *tūšiyā* ("wisdom, success").

P. 154 gives us the final list of books and passages in which the influence of the intellectual tradition may be detected by the evidence provided by the terminology of the intellectual tradition. This list contains 12 passages.

The author himself is convinced of the fact that the elements of subjectivism and arbitrariness cannot be wholly excluded from the argument, and that any conclusions which are reached can never achieve more than the status of probability (p. 155).

It is not easy to summarize the contents of this book, because it is an analytical study. It is very useful for the exegesis of many passages of the Old Testament and gives much philological material which enriches our knowledge of biblical Hebrew. The remarks on the verb *'abad* (qal) (p. 26) and about many words which belong to the characteristic terminology of wisdom in the Old Testament can be mentioned as very useful for

every reader of the Bible; cf. pp. 106, 107 about *'ārūm* and *hiskil*.

One can differ with the author about some questions, but the main objection of this reviewer is that he cannot see the difference between a class of men known as "the wise men" for the existence of which there is no evidence in the Old Testament according to the author (p. 54) and what he calls "the more gifted members of an adult educated class, whom their contemporaries and successors honoured with the epithet *hākām* (pp. 60, 61).

I cannot appreciate the term "intellectual tradition" and am asking myself if the reading for pleasure was playing a prominent part in the pre-exilic time. Was there a sort of spiritual upper ten? In Israel every father was obliged to teach his children in the knowledge of the history of their people which was the history of the deeds of God (cf. e.g. Ps. 78). The whole people has an intellectual and religious interest. Besides there was the circle of priests and Levites, who were teaching the people in the law. Therefore the criterion of vocabulary to determine the boundaries of "wisdom" is more effective than that of looking for a circle wherein the intellectual tradition flourished. Form-criticism is an inadequate method for detecting the presence of the intellectual tradition (cf. pp. 72-74). But every part wherein "wisdom" is found is a part of the context, wherein it stands. And the meaning of a word is determined by the context.

At any rate the wisdom of Israel was religious. Also we have to work with incomplete material and we do not know much about the "Sitz im Leben" of a piece of literature in Old Testament.

This book helps us forward by drawing narrow boundaries round the "wisdom" in the Old Testament. It is a warning for us not to call the whole written legacy of the old Israel "*hokmā*" and reminds us that we should pay attention to the vocabulary.

A printer's error: p. 13 "Gen. 14₃₃" read: "Gen. 41₃₃".

Amstelveen, February 1976

W. H. GISPEN

* *

Rainer SCHMITT, *Exodus und Passah; ihr Zusammenhang im Alten Testament*. Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz u. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 112 S.) = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 7. Preis: Sfr. 16.—.

Diese kleine Studie (sie umfasst nicht mehr als 90 bedruckte Seiten) untersucht den Zusammenhang zwischen Passah (Blutritus) und Exodus: Alter und Art, Begründung und Wachsen der Verbindung. Zur Entlastung der eigentlichen Darstellung werden drei kurze Abschnitte vorausgeschickt: I „Die Herausführung aus Ägypten als Urbekenntnis Israels“; II „Literarkritische Analyse von Ex 11-13, 16“ (sic); III „Herkunft und Wesen des Passah“ (11-33). In dieser Weise werden die Elemente Exodus und Passah introduziert und stellt

der Autor ohne eingehende Argumentation seine Stellungnahme dar. Das Herz der Studie schlägt in den Kapiteln IV-VI (35-86), wovon das Erste das Umfangreichste und Wichtigste ist (35-63): „Die überlieferungsgeschichtliche Zusammenhang von Exodus und Passah in der vordeuteronomistischen Tradition“; im V. und VI. Kapitel wird derselbe Zusammenhang erörtert, wie er im Dt, in der deuteronomistischen Paränese und in der Priesterschrift erscheint. Zum Schluss folgt noch: „Das Passah als Ort des Exodusgedächtnisses“ (87-98). Man sieht wie das Schema Wellhausens hier noch mal in seiner ursprünglichen Funktion, d.h. zur Entfaltung der Geschichte, benützt wird. Übrigens zeigt sich hier ein wesentlich grössere Würdigung des historischen Fond der alten Tradition; mit gesunder Nüchternheit befürwortet der Autor „betrachtliche Zurückhaltung“ nicht nur „hochkomplizierten Schichtenanalysen“ (67) sondern auch ingeniösen literarischen Rekonstruktionen traditionsgeschichtlicher Art gegenüber. Schmitt betrachtet das Passah als ein altes Fest, das in Anbetracht von Ex 11f schon früh mit der Auszugstradition verknüpft worden war und zwar weil man die zehnte Plage mit dem apotropäischen Blutritus verband (historischer Kern: 4, 22f): eben dieser erklärte, weshalb die Plage den Türen der Israeliten vorübergegangen war. Man wird dem Autor gestehen müssen dass eine völlig einwandfreie Rekonstruktion nicht zu erreichen ist und dass man in diesem Sinne kaum über begründete Vermutungen herauskommen wird: zu selten wird bedacht dass die Geschichte nicht notwendig den Gesetzen der Logica folgt und sich daher auch nicht notwendig logischen Linien entlang rekonstruieren lässt. Das kann man in unserem Fall dem Autor zum Trost bemerken, denn seiner Rekonstruktion fehlt eine verwundbare Stelle nicht: man fragt sich wie der Tod des ägyptischen Kronprinzen, des Erstgeborenen Faraos, zum Tod aller Erstgeborenen Ägyptens geworden sei (60); und die Verknüpfung von Passah-Ritus mit dem Tod des ältesten Sohnes Faraos (4, 23) kann diese Ausweitung nicht begründen, weil der Umstand dass der Kronprinz stirbt und die Söhne der Israeliten am Leben bleiben kaum eine ähnliche Erklärung erfordert. Wenn man aber annehmen soll dass alle Erstgeborene Ägyptens ums Leben gekommen sind, stellt sich eine qualende historische Frage, die zu völlig verschiedene Antworten führen könnte (etwa die Lösung Velikovskys zum Beispiel?). Dazu wird in den Texten, von Ex 11, 7 ab, keinen besonderen Wert darauf gelegt dass eben die Erstgeborenen Israels geschont worden seien.

Es bleiben selbstverständlich über Passah und Exodus und folglich über diesen Themencomplex schwierige und grundlegende Fragen übrig: das wird keiner dem Autor übel nehmen können.

Die Bündigkeit des Ganzen bringt inhaltlich und stilistisch ihre Beschwerden mit sich: oft beschränkt Schmitt sich auf eine kritische Inventuraufnahme und nicht selten lässt die Studie sich nur mühsam lesen, weil der Autor zu viel in einem Satz sagen will und dazu innerhalb des selben Satzes mehrmals auf Fussnoten verweist, die aber glücklich ihren Namen verdienen. Aber trotzdem zeichnet die grosse Linie des Ganzen sich klar ab; der Leser bewundert dabei die eingehende und

scharfsinnige Textinterpretation, die ausgeglichene und nuanzierte Darstellung, den kritischen Sinn und die wohlherwogene Beweisführung. Man kann zum Schluss bestimmt sagen dass R. Schmitt sich in der Beschränkung als ein Meister erwiesen hat.

Tilburg, November 1975

NIC. J. TROMP

* *

Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972 (8vo, XII + 152 pp.) = The Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series, 2. Price: \$ 11.50, £ 3.60.

The intelligent reader of the Old Testament should be able to associate the city of Gibeon with a coalition of city-states which entered a treaty relationship with Joshua, leading to the latter's victory over an anti-Gibeonite group of kings led by Adonibezek of Jerusalem (Josh. 9-10). He may also be expected to locate at Gibeon Solomon's reception of a favourable dream revelation from Yahweh (I K. 3). He might not remember that this was also the site of the controversy between Abner and Joab (II Sam 2), and David's vengeance upon the descendants of Saul (II Sam. 21). But even professional scholars might be surprised to learn that Gibeon is mentioned some forty times in the Old Testament, thus ranking with Jerusalem, Bethel, Hebron, Shechem, *et al.* in importance.

Blenkinsopp discusses in some detail all of these references, but his interests are even broader. He also considers the other "Gibeonite" cities who were engaged in the treaty with Joshua: Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim. And although his main interest is in the history of Gibeon and the Gibeonites from the "settlement" to the reign of Solomon, he also deals with the post-exilic period, relevant material from ancient Near Eastern inscriptions, and the results of Pritchard's excavations at el-Jib (which is accepted as the proper site). His work may thus become "a standard work of reference on the subject", to quote the publisher's blurb.

The arrangement of the material is approximately in chronological order: (I) Gibeon and its cities, (II) the ethnic identity of the Gibeonites, (III) the Gibeonite-Israelite treaty, (IV) the Battle of Gibeon and its sequel, (V) the Gibeonite cities during the period of the Judges and the reign of Saul, (VI) Gibeon and the ark: a hypothesis, (VII) Gibeon during the reigns of David and Solomon, and (VIII) the Gibeonite sanctuary in later sources. As might be expected from a rewritten doctoral dissertation (Oxford, under G. Henton Davies), the work is provided with copious footnotes (although, curiously enough, no bibliography).

Many of Blenkinsopp's conclusions are well-informed and open to no serious question, such as the identification of the Gibeonites with a Hivite enclave enjoying close relationships with both the Edomites and the Jebusites. Other opinions will raise some eyebrows, however.

Among the more questionable hypotheses (in the reviewer's judgement) are Blenkinsopp's dating of the Israelite-Gibeonite treaty to the late Amarna period, and thus its dissociation from the main phase of the conquest (following the Alt-Noth school, the author prefers "settlement"). In this connection we read that Joshua's plea, "Sun, stand thou still at Gibeon" (Josh. 10 : 12 RSV) is to be interpreted as an appeal to ŠMŠ, the solar deity venerated by the Gibeonites, not to participate in the battle, thus giving all credit for the victory to Yahweh.

But Blenkinsopp's main interest is in the period of Saul. He claims that Saul was related to groups from which the Gibeonites came, and that he tried to make Gibeon his capital because of the religious significance of the ark-sanctuary located there. Indeed the ark was located at Gibeon, rather than at Kiriath-jearim, immediately prior to its removal to Jerusalem by David. The reason why this is not more apparent to the casual reader is that later pro-Jerusalem circles, particularly the Deuteronomists, systematically distorted the tradition and played down the significance of Gibeon; "it would certainly have been in the interests of the new cult-centre in Jerusalem to conceal or make little of the fact that his [Yahweh's] prior choice had been among the Gibeonites". We may also detect, the author claims, a violent anti-Saul polemic. The importance of the city accounts for the fact that the "divine authentication" of Solomon's reign (I K. 3) is given "not at Jerusalem, as we might have expected, but at Gibeon"; this, says Blenkinsopp, strengthens his hypothesis that the city had been a royal sanctuary in earlier times. Other suggestions are less crucial: that the Mizpah of Judges and I Samuel (at least) was at Nebi Samwil, that the latter may be the "high place of Gibeon" (an opinion shared by Pritchard), and that the Gibeathelohim where a Philistine garrison was located (I Sam. 10 : 5) is not Gibeah of Saul/Benjamin, but Gibeon.

Blenkinsopp's theories are the result of his ingenious combination of widely-scattered references, and his assumption that there was a strong anti-Gibeon bias at work in the editing of the materials. He protects himself by disclaiming any absolute proof for his views, but frequently suggests that there is a "strong possibility" that he may be correct. In the reviewer's opinion, we have here an elaborate thesis constructed from an amalgam of rather dubious conjectures. This work illustrates the danger of reconstructing whole periods of Israelite history on the basis of a narrow analysis of references to one place, or one figure, or one institution. One thus loses perspective and balance, and runs into the danger of explaining the whole by one of its parts. This is the curse of the average doctoral dissertation or *Habilitationschrift*, and the editors of a series such as the SOTS monographs should take this into account when reviewing manuscripts.

Alexandria, Virginia, December 1974 JAMES F. ROSS

* *

Vitus HUONDER, *Israel Sohn Gottes*. Zur Deutung eines alttestamentlichen Themas in der jüdischen Exegese des Mittelalters. Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz u. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, 231 S.) = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 6. Preis: Sfr. 34.—.

Was ist im Judentum im Laufe der Geschichte aus dem Thema der Gottessohnschaft Israels geworden, während das Christentum darin sein Charakteristikum zu entdecken meinte?

Um diese Frage zu beantworten hat Huonder das hebräische Schrifttum exegetischer Richtung des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters (11.-15. Jahrhundert) untersucht. Er gibt die einschlägigen Bibelstellen nach dem Masoretischen Text und den Targumim, behandelt die Interpretation der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur (Talmud und Midrasch) und geht schliesslich ausführlich auf die Kommentare der jüdischen Exegeten des Mittelalters ein. Hinsichtlich der Traditionsliteratur bemerkt der Autor dass er sich zu eine skizzenhafte Aufarbeitung des Themas beschränken musste, „da bisher dafür keine gründliche wissenschaftliche Untersuchung vorgelegt wurde“ (18). Die Exegeten des Mittelalters also liefern das eigentliche Quellenmaterial, das einer gründlichen Untersuchung unterzogen wird. Der Leser stellt dabei bald fest dass das Verfahren sich hier kaum wesentlich von dem im ersten Fall gefolgt unterscheidet: es wird etwa keine Entwicklungsgeschichte der Idee in jenen Jahrhunderten gegeben, die Unterschiede zwischen die palästinensische-italienische Linie (Raschi) und die arabisch-iberische Linie (Ibn Ezra, Qimhi) werden nicht systematisch herausgearbeitet u.s.w. Das Quellenmaterial wird übrigens (immer so weit ein Laie in diesem Bereich es zu beurteilen vermag) fachgemäss und klar behandelt; der Überblick über den untersuchten Stoff wird dem Leser erleichtert durch Zusammenfassungen der Ergebnisse die am Ende jedes Kapitels und des ganzen Buches geboten werden. Das Studium umfasst:

- I Der erstgeborene Sohn (Ex 4, 22f; Jes 63, 8; Hos 11, 1).
- II Gottessohnschaft im Vollzug (Dt 14, 1).
- III Söhne oder Nicht-Söhne (Dt 32, 5).
- IV Söhne und Töchter (Dt 32, 19; Jes 43, 6).
- V Sohnschaft in der Krise (Dt 32, 20; Jes 1 und 30; Jer 3 und 4).
- VI Sohnschaft im Zukunftsfeld (Jes 45, 11; Jer 31, 20; Hos 2, 1).
- VII Ausblick und Zusammenfassung.

Es ist klar dass das Sammeln und Sichten dieses Materials eine Leistung von Geduld und Akribie darstellt. In einer Kombination von Zuversicht und Bescheidenheit schreibt der Autor: „Wenn wir auch nicht von einer erschöpfenden Wertung von Quellenmaterial sprechen dürfen, so wird uns die getroffene Auswahl für die Behandlung unseres Themas doch eine massgebliche Sicht erlauben. Wesentlich neue Einsichten aus weiteren Quellen dürften kaum zu erwarten sein“ (16).

Das bedeutet dass wir ihm ein wertvolles Inventar schwierig zugänglicher Daten über ein wichtiges Thema

verdanken, ein Inventar und eine erste Aufklärung. Wir werden dabei in Kauf nehmen müssen dass ein erster Versuch dieser Art über diese Ebene hinaus kommen kann. Das Resümee des ganzen Buches zeigt übrigens was wir gewonnen haben (204-206): die Gottessohnschaft Israels stellt ein bescheidenes Thema dar; es zeigt sich dass einerseits die Kommentatoren des Mittelalters Grundsätzliches der Traditionsliteratur entnommen haben, andererseits eine grössere Treue zum Aussagewert der Schrift verraten. Das Thema umfasst Ideen wie „die Auserwählung Israels, seine Existenz als Volk Gottes, Dienst und Gehorsam, den er Gott schuldet, das Glaubensbekenntnis, das auf engste mit der sohnschaftlichen Stellung zusammenhängt, die Verantwortung, die aus diesem bevorzugten Sein Israel zufällt, die deshalb das Versagen Israels auch umso schwerwiegender erscheinen lässt, schliesslich die ausserordentliche Liebestat Gottes seinem Volk gegenüber“ (206).

Dazu wird „die Gottessohnschaft als Privileg Israels allgemein stark unterstrichen“. Augenscheinlich hat auch die Auseinandersetzung um die Gottessohnschaft Christi eine „nüchterne und sachbezogene Interpretation von Israels Sohnschaft“ gefördert (205). Man wird aber bezweifeln können, wie weit damit die anfängliche Frage beantwortet worden ist. Es bleibt ein Rätsel, wie die Christen die Gottessohnschaft als *ihr* Charakteristikum betrachtet haben können: offenbar war das Thema den jüdischen Kommentatoren gut bekannt und waren christliche Sachkenner wie Raimund Martini und Nikolaus von Lyra durchaus mit der Lage vertraut. Dieses Problem wird vielmehr in einem Studium christlicher Autoren und ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der Synagoge zu untersuchen und zu beantworten sein. Das war aber nicht die Aufgabe dieses Buches.

Tilburg, November 1975

NIC. J. TROMP

PALESTINA

A. D. TUSHINGHAM, *The excavations at Dhiban (Dhibân) in Moab, 1952-53*. Cambridge, Mass., Published by the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1972 (4to, XIV + 172 pp., 38 figs., 42 plans) = AASOR XL. Price: \$ 12.50.

The excavations at Dhiban were not the first ones undertaken by the American School. In 1950 and 1951 campaigns had been led by Dr. Fred. V. Winnett and Dr. William L. Reed. In 1952 and 1953 Dr. Tushingham was director of the Dhiban excavations.

In the introduction of this report the author states that, working with Miss K. M. Kenyon in Jericho, he had the opportunity of learning new methods of excavation. One of the results of this is that in this report stratigraphical sections are published. This is certainly an advantage over the former Dhiban publications.

Dhiban shows five periods — the Moabite, Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and Arab. The Iron Age, Moabite, finds consist mainly of part of the defence walls of Dhiban (including a tower) and a few house walls. The Iron Age can be divided in three parts. The first period shows a city wall and part of some buildings

close to it. The date is probably the middle of the ninth century. The second period shows a city wall outside of the one of the first period and in places connected with it (probably) making the two a casemate wall. A square tower belongs to this system as well. The date is given as about the last quarter of the eighth century. Period three shows a strengthening of part of the city walls. Also part of a wall and a bin was excavated belonging to this period. The desertion of Dhiban is placed at the beginning of the sixth century.

Dr. Tushingham tries to connect the archaeological finds with historical dates. He comes to the tentative conclusion that Dhiban was founded by King Mesha about 840-30 B.C., the king whose stela was discovered on this site. The defensive works of the second period could be a result of the relative prosperity enjoyed because tribute was paid to the Assyrians from 731 B.C. This tribute was the cause of the cessation of inroads and plundering by the Assyrian armies. The occasion for extending defensive works could be the joining of the revolt by Ashdod against Sargon II in 713-2 B.C. The end of Dhiban came undoubtedly when Moab as a state was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 582 B.C. Since that time Dhiban lay deserted, undefended and apparently unoccupied for about five and a half centuries.

The Nabataean period, the next period of habitation of Dhiban is divided in two. The first period started around A.D. 10 and saw the founding of a temple on a platform with a staircase leading to the temple. The first period ended by an earthquake and/or weakness of the Nabataean kingdom caused by nomadic incursions around the middle of the first century A.D. The second period shows a rebuilding of the damaged staircase and some building activities around the temple where former structures had been damaged. There is no sign of final destruction of Nabataean Dhiban, it is apparently abandoned. The probable date for this abandonment is in, or soon after, A.D. 106, the death of king Rabbel II.

The Roman period in Dhiban is attested by the finding of two inscriptions and of coins. No structures, however, or even pottery has been found. Possibly there are two exceptions, one is a tomb, the other is a bath complex excavated by Dr. Winnett. But it is rather unsure.

The Byzantine period shows, on structural basis, three phases. The main structure excavated is the so-called North Church. This church is assigned to phase B and its founding is dated to the second or third quarter of the sixth century. The church continued into phase C where some structural changes were made and ended in the beginning of the Umayyad period, i.e. around A.D. 600. To phase A is assigned a 'piazza', S.E. of the North Church, and the so-called Gateway Church. This church is mainly conjecture as the findings consist of a baptistry and some fragments of rather strangely angled walls.

The Arab period at Dhiban consists of the Umayyad and the Ayyubid period. The Umayyad occupation of the site started probably in A.D. 735. A few 'buildings' can be attributed to this period, i.e. a platform, the use of which is uncertain, here and there bits of wall, and a rather large building probably with vaulted roofs. In the next period the buildings of the Umayyad period are

partly re-used, partly there are some new walls/buildings. The occupation of the tell ceased probably some time in the fourteenth century.

Finally, in looking for Iron Age tombs around the tell, several tombs were discovered although most of them not Iron Age. Also a couple of tombs were found on the tell itself during the excavations. Five Iron Age tombs were found during 1952/3, cut out of the rock in the side of the wadi, dating from about the middle of the ninth century B.C. to shortly after 600 B.C. Also found is a questionable Roman tomb, 18 Byzantine ones and some ten more graves of the same period.

When reading this excavation report it is advisable to use the former Dhiban publications as well. Otherwise a name such as 'Gateway area' for instance is hardly intelligible. Also it would have been easier to put in this volume as well a map of Dhiban and surroundings. From the text (p. 24 for example) one has to conclude that excavations are apparently not in the main city but on an adjoining site to the south of it. It would have been easier to get to know this by looking at a map than by inferring it from the text. It would be handy too if a map were present with indication of the areas where tombs have been found and of the excavation proper.

As mentioned before the publication of stratigraphical sections is an improvement on former Dhiban publications. Nevertheless one wonders if the sections really reproduce what was seen during digging as on p. 17 is said 'our idealized section G-G ...'. Also a section drawing on the scale of 1 : 200 really asks for a magnifying glass.

On p. 41 is noted that 'section H-H represents the west side of the balk left by Dr. Reed between his areas B and E on the west and C on the east'. But when one looks at sheet 3 plan 2 section H-H is seen on the east of areas B and E so not touching area C at all and looking at the section drawing this position seems to be correct.

On sheet 6 plan 5 the situation of section J-J was not drawn although the text (p. 60) refers to it. On sheet 1 — the key to the shading in section drawings — there is differentiated between Byzantine A, B and C. On the plan, however, there is no indication of these three phases. Yet the three Iron Age periods are indicated on the plan but not on the sections. The same is true for the two Nabataean periods.

On the whole the attribution of the different bits of wall to buildings and periods looks a clever bit of work. So much is not known, for example the pottery information is lacking to a high degree, a heritage largely from the earlier excavations, that every attempt at reconstructing is a considerable job. But notwithstanding the rather scanty information and the difficulties that nearly always arise out of robbed out walls and re-use of them one has to conclude, I think, that the reconstruction as presented certainly is a possibility, for a part even a probability.

Leiderdorp, August 1975

VERA I. KERKHOFF

ARAMEES - CHALDEEUWS

Edward LIPÍŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, I. Leuven, Leuven University Press, 1975 (8vo, 240 pp.) = *Orientalia Lovanien-sia Analecta*, 1. Price: 750.— Bfrs.

This book consists of a table of contents (pp. 5-7), a list of principal abbreviations (pp. 8-10), a foreword (p. 11), an introduction (pp. 12-14), ten chapters (pp. 15-208), a conclusion (pp. 209-210) and ten indexes (pp. 211-240). Professor Lipiński offers translation and commentary of various Aramaic inscriptions from Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in nine chapters (i-ii, iv-x). One chapter (iii) is devoted exclusively to onomastics.

The reviewer would like to confine his remarks to the onomastics *. P. 17 with n. 5 (*Id-ri-li-i*). Not only the reference but also the explanation is found in Fales, CC, 7. — P. 49. *Nb'* in Sefire (the eighth century B.C.) surely does not represent *Nabû*, but possibly a variant *Nabê*, cf. NA *Na-bê-ra-mu* (ADD 294, r. 5, 700/699 B.C.) and the NB spellings (d) *Na-bi-e*, *Na-bê*, and *dAG-e* which are attested in PNs, together with the more frequent *dAG*, from the second quarter of the seventh century down to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. inclusive (as far as the documents are dated): *dNa-bi-e-na-tan-nu* (*BagM* 5, 1970, p. 242, No. 29: 8, cf. H. Hunger, a.l.), *dNa-bi-e-ta₅-gab-bi* (*TCL* 12, 8: 11, cf. below ad p. 107f.), *dNa-bi-e-lišir* (*SLSA*) (*GCCI* 2, 219: 6), *dNa-bi-e-im-me-e* (*Nbk.* 76: 14), *Na-bi-e-ši-ru* (*VAS* 6, 6: 7), *dAG-e-ši-im-me* (*BIN* 1, 177: 16), *dAG-e-iš-im-me-e* (*ibid.*, 151: 7), *dAG-e-id-ru* (*GCCI* 1, 239: 6), *dAG-e-na-tan-nu* (*BIN* 1, 177: 15), *dAG-e-na-ta-nu* (*ibid.*, 108: 2), *dAG-e-šā'* (*An. Or.* 9, 4, iii: 29), *Ni-din-Na-bê* (*JAOS* 36, 1917, p. 335: 32) and the toponym *Bit* (*É*) *šā dNa-bê* (*Nbk.* 373: 20). *Aram.* renders *-ê* in LB *ma-li-e* (*Warka*) for *mī'* (cf. Vinnikov, *Palestinskiy Sbornik*, 74, 1964, p. 194). The form *Nabi* is already attested in OB Mari in the PN *Na-bi-rē-i-šu* (*ARM* 7, 73: 4). A form *Na/eba* is attested in NT and Dura *Βαρνάβας* (*Dura* 5, 453-454, 497, *Brnb'*, not *Brnbw* which is transcribed in Dura *Βαρνέβους*, *ibid.*, 506) and *Νεβαβαλος*, cf. *Νεβοβαλος* (*Wuthnow*, p. 131b, s.v. *Nbwbl*). Night (*lyl*) is found in the hypocoristic *La-a-a-li-e* (*APN*, pp. 119, 292). Source is perhaps found in the NA name *E-na-ṭa-bi*

*) Abbreviations as in *AHW*, CAD and in the book under review, except for the following: *Air. Wb.* = Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904; *Benz, PNPI* = F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Studia Pohl, 8. Rome 1972; *Dura* = M. Rostovzeff et al. (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura Europos Conducted by the Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters*, Preliminary Reports, 1-9. New Haven 1929-1946; *Huffmon, APNMT* = H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965; *Stark, PNPI* = J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971; *WdM* = H. W. Haussig (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Stuttgart 1965; *Wuthnow* = H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930. — The personal determinative is omitted in the transliteration of the masculine personal names discussed below. — The two names quoted below from unpublished texts which were kindly given me by Dr. M. W. Stolper are included in his dissertation *Politics and Management in Later Achaemenid Mesopotamia: New Texts from the Murašû Archive* (Ann Arbor 1974), vol. 2.

(*TH* 23: 3), "Ayn ('source') is good". — P. 50. For *Maribā* (*Mryb'*) cf. the NA toponym *URUMa-ri-bat Ū-a-ri* (*ADB* 1 = CC 1, i: 23, suburb of Til Abnā not far from Harran) which may be interpreted as "Maribā of (a person named) *Uari*". *U-a-ri/ru* is attested as a PN in NA documents (*APN*, p. 238b, Saggs, *Iraq* 36, 1974, p. 206). For *Mazzeḥ* (*Mzzyh*) cf. the NA toponym *URUMe-ze-e* (*TH* 35: 11). The NA toponyms hardly refer to the same places. — P. 59, n. 1. The reading of the royal name is only *Arame*. — P. 63. For NA *Se'-pa-rak-ka* cf. NA *Bi-il-parakku* (*BARA*) quoted on p. 65, n. 4. The *i* of *simki* possibly shifted to *u* (*sumki*)

because of the following *m*. Add *Ba-bi-e-sum-ki* (*Iraq* 36, p. 206, No. 98 [= pl. 34], *ND* 2477: 6). The reading of the name of the Moon-god is probably only *Se-e'*. Of the alphabetic names quoted here only *Šgbr* and *M'š* probably contain the theophoric element *Še'*. *Am-si-i* and *Am-ma-ši'* are probably derived from *-M-Š*. — P. 69. Perhaps also NA *Šu-mu-qi* (*TH* 39: 2) and *Su-mu-qi* (*ibid.*, 41: 1) belong here. — P. 71. The alternative reading *sē-ki* is very doubtful. The reading of the NA name is not *Hadad-sā-ka₄-a* but *Adad-al-na₁-a* "Adad has replied" (the reading of the third sign was kindly confirmed by Prof. A. Shaffer). The DN is phonetically spelt in NA as *Ad-di* (*Ad-di-id-ri*, *APN*, p. 12b), *A-da-di* (*ṬA-da-di-ta-al-li*, K 1753+: 28, the predicative element is probably *ṭall-* "shadow, protection"), with dissimilatory *n*: *An-da* (*An-da-il*, *Lie, Sar.*, p. 46: 290), *Ḥa-an-da₁*) (*Ḥa-an-da-la-rim*, *Iraq* 23, 1961, p. 25, *ND* 2440 r. ii: 5, for the predicative element cf. *APN*, p. 305b, s.v. **rw*) and with *a > i*: *Id-di* (*Ma-ri-id-di*, *ibid.*, p. 134), *-Ci-du* (*Ḥa-ab-di-du*, *TH* 21: 14, possibly "servant of Adad"); NB/LB has *Ad-du* (e.g. *dAd-du-ra-ḥi-i*, *Nbn.* 578: 6), *Ad-da* (*dAd-da-idinna*, *CT* 22, 44: 5), *Ḥa-ad-du* (*S/Sam-su-ḥa-ad-du*, *Cyr.* 37: 1, i.e. *Šamši-Adad*), cf. the hypocoristica *Ḥa-ad-di-ia*, *Ḥa-ad-da-a* (*Tallqvist, NBN*, p. 66a), *-Ca-du* in *Ni-iq-ma-du-* (*Nbn.* 356: 3, cf. A. F. Rainey in Y. Aharoni [ed.] *Beersheba 1* [Tel Aviv 1972], pp. 61-69) which was one and the same person as *Ad-di-ia* (*Nbn.* 85: 5, 187: 4, *Ad-di-ia* is a hypocoristic on a posteriori of *Ni-iq-ma-du-*), *-Ca-du* (*Su-lu-ma-du* = *Slmd*, *BE* 8, 27:4²). For NA *Sa-ka-ēl(i)* cf. LB *Ili* (*DIN-GIRMEŠ*)-*šā-ka-* (*BE* 9, 86a: 5). — P. 73. *dSamaš-ki-i-ni* (*YOS* 7, 58: 3, LB) is possibly *qal* imperative 3rd sing. m. (the object) plus suffix of 1st sing. of *Š-K-Y*. — P. 87. *Na-an-na-a* may well be a hypocoristic of *Nanā*. The same applies to *Na-a-ni(-i)* and *Na-ni-i/a* (p. 112f.). — *Dd* for 'dd (*Adad*) is found in NA *Gi-ri-da-di* (*APN*, p. 81) and perhaps in NA *Da-di-su-ri* (*ibid.*, p. 67) and *Δαδιλίτης* (*Dura* 9, 2, D. 80), "A. is my strength". — P. 98f. The interpretation of the DN

¹) Cf. NA *Ḥa-an-du-a-te* for *Aram. Ḥdwh* (*ARU* 313, [327]). Cf. also G. Jucquois, *Phonétique comparée* ... (Louvain 1966), p. 268f., the Amorite names with the theophoric element (*Y*) *andu* and *Ni-iq-ma-an-du* who was one and the same person as *Niqmadu* at Ugarit (see Huffmon, *APNMT*, p. 157f., s.v. 'DD, despite A. Westenholz, *JNES* 34, 1975, p. 28).

²) *Gbrd* (*CIS* 2/1, 75) may be the same name as *Adad-gab-ri* (*AJSL* 16, 1899/1900, p. 75, No. 20: 10, cf. 'Αδαγγαβάρος, *Dura* 5, No. 601, 'Αδαγγαβάρος, *Dura* 4, No. 241: 3), "A. is strong" with inverted order.

šngl as "the Moon-god of the palace" seems very doubtful; its reading is possibly *š/Ša(n)gil* in view of NA *Bur-dSa-gi-li-e* (STT 1, 47, iii: 39). *GAL* in *Bur-dSa-gal-e* (RLA 2, pp. 422-423, one and the same person as *Bur-dSa-gi-li-e*) is indifferent to vowel quality (cf. Gelb, *Bi.Or.* 12, 1955, p. 98b³). — P. 107f. Further proof that the first consonant of *Tameš* was */š/* may be the Elamite transcription from the Achaemenian period. The onomastic material from Persepolis includes the names *Ba-ri-ik-sa-mi-iš* and *Ba-ri-ik-ti-mi-iš* (Mayrhofer, *OnP.* 8.258) which probably render Aram. */Barik-Sameš/* "blessed by the Sun-god". El. *s* renders OP */θ/* (*/t/*) (*ibid.*, p. 52, 2.371ff., p. 91, 4.1.14, p. 94, 4.2.66). The same OP phoneme is rendered at least once by El. *-ti-* (*ibid.*). El. *Ša-am-iš-ki-in* (*ibid.*, 8.1490) may render Aram. *Š/Samiš-kin* which is the same name as LB *Il-tam-meš-ki-i-ni* (YOS 6, 183: 13, name of an Aramean of the Piqudu tribe), "the Sun-god (the deity of justice in Mesopotamia) is right". El. *ša* may render OP */θ/*, */ç/*, */s/*, */š/* and */z/* (Mayrhofer, *OnP.* 2.309-318, 324, 328, 333, 341). It seems that if it renders such a wide range of OP phonemes it may also render Sem. */š/*, so the reading may be either **Šamis/š/š-kin* or **Šamis/š/š-kin*.

There is an understandable reluctance to use Elamite transcription, but here it may not be a case of explaining *obscurum per obscurius*, in view of the large corpus of Elamite renderings of foreign names from Persepolis; most of these names are Iranian.

The conclusion reached above is not contradicted by any of the NB/LB spellings, viz. *(d)l-Ta/Te/Tam-meš* listed above and *Il-ta-am-ša-nu* (*TuM* 2/3, 189: 5; a hypocoristic consisting of *Tameš* with the hypocoristic suffix *-ān*, cf. LB *Ša-am-ša-nu*, *PBS* 2/1, 126: 18).

The spelling *Te-meš* (in *Abi-il-te-meš*, *Nbn.* 638: 4) rules out the possibility that *TA* in *Ta-meš* can be a copyist's error for *ŠA* which resembles *TA*; internal NB/LB *š + a* was written in non-literary texts almost always with the *ŠA* sign. The spelling *Tam-meš*, e.g. in *dTam-meš-ḫi-zi-in-ni* (VAS 6, 205: 9)⁴ and *dTam-meš-il* (*DINGIRMEŠ*) (*RA* 25, 1928, pp. 74 and 78, No. 10: 2) may, on the face of it, be interpreted as a phonetic spelling assuming that here, like in some other certain examples, intervocalic *m* was graphically doubled, as a single intervocalic *m* may also represent */w/* in NB/LB. However, it is more likely that *Tam-meš* is a pseudo-logogram *UTUMES*. *Tameš* was identified by the Babylonian scribes with the Mesopotamian Sun-god *dUTU* as may be inferred from the spellings *Il-ta-meš-id-ri* (*BIN* 1, 1: 1), *dUTUMES-id-ri* (*ibid.*, 169: 1) and *dUTU-id-ri* (YOS 3, 82: 1) for the name of one and the same person who was the inspector (*Lūqipu*) of the Ebabbara temple at Larsa in the reign of Cyrus.

UTUMES is not the only pseudo-logogram which was employed by the NB/LB scribes. It would be instructive to compare its chronology and distribution with another pseudo-logogram employed by the same scribes, namely

DINGIRMEŠ for *'Il(u)* (see M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Name in the Murašû Documents*, Harvard Dissertation, 1971 [1973], p. 80). *UTUMES* appears in NB from the seventh century B.C. onwards and perhaps in one NA toponym (*Mu-še-zib-Tam-meš*, Parpola, *AOAT* 6, p. 252). *DINGIRMEŠ* is seen in NA *Ā-tar-DINGIRMEŠ* (*ADD* 118, r. 6, Nineveh, 673/72 B.C.), the name of the eponym which was written in other NA documents without the plural determinative *MEŠ* (*APN*, p. 47). *DINGIRMEŠ* is already found three years earlier. In the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre, the DN *Byt* is written *Ā-a-ti-DINGIRMEŠ* (Borger, *Esarh.*, 109, iv: 6). The spelling of the DN perhaps reflects the Phoenician *plu-ralis maiestatis* *'lm*. (Benz, *PNPPI*, p. 267). *DINGIRMEŠ* is found in NB from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. onwards. The component *'l* was rendered in most West Semitic names from Achaemenian Babylonia by *DINGIRMEŠ*. *'l* is written *DINGIRMEŠ* in 90.2% of the West Semitic names in the Murašû Archive whereas only in 9.8% of the *'l*-names in this Archive it is written *DINGIR*. Likewise, *UTUMES* is included in most West Semitic names from Achaemenian Babylonia whose theophoric element is the name of the Sun-god. This divine name is written *UTUMES* in 78.5% of the West Semitic names which contain it as a theophoric element in the Murašû Archive whereas only in 21.5% it is written *dUTU* (the remaining, being one example, is written *dIl-tam-meš* 5).

As was stated above, *Tameš* can go back to **Šameš*. The phonetic spellings of the name of the Sun-god in West Semitic names which are recorded in Akkadian transcription render forms which are the outcome of assimilation or dissimilation: **S/š/Šams* in the LB spelling *S/Sam-su* 6).

Both phenomena, namely assimilation and dissimilation, are quite expected in a name which contains two sibilants; it should not be forgotten that the original (Pr. Sem.) form of the name of the Sun-god is unknown 7). Owing to the ambiguous nature of some cuneiform signs the first or last consonant of which may represent any unvoiced sibilant there are no certain examples of **Šameš* and **Šameš* in NA 8) and NB/LB transcriptions. In addition, the NA transcription has a double rendering of *WSem. /s/* and */š/*. It usually transcribes (1) *WSem. /s/* by *š* and (2) *WSem. /š/* by *s*.

Examples of *WSem. /s/* = NA *š* are listed in *APN*, pp. XVIII-XIX, e.g. *Ba'al-ia-šu-pu*, *Mil-ki-a-ša-pa* and

5) *Ba-ri-ki-dIl-tam-meš* (*BE* 10, 123: 11). The name of one and the same person is spelt *Ba-rik-ki-dTam-m[ēš]* (*ibid.*, 99: 15).

6) *S/Sam-su-ḫa-ad-du* (see above), *Īl-tar-s/šam-su-ra-ḫi-iā(?)* (*Dar.* 366: 17) and *Īl-tar-s/šam-su-ḫi-e-ri* (*ibid.*, 3). The last two names apparently contain a theophoric element *Īl-tar-s/šamsu* "the deity *S/Šamsu*" and the predicative elements *r'y* (from *R-ṯ-Y* "be content, wish") and *ḫyr* (cf. Arab. *ḫayr* "good") respectively. These predicative elements show that *Īl-tar-s/šamsu* was a male deity (the West Semitic Sun-god was either a male or a female deity, cf. M. Pope, *WdM* 1, p. 308f., M. Höfner, *ibid.*, pp. 467f., 528f.).

7) See C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, p. 234.

8) *Man-nu-li-sa-me[š]* (1) (*Iraq* 25, 1963, p. 90 [= pl. 20], *BT* 102: 12) and *Man-nu-li-sa-mēš* (*ibid.*, pp. 93-94 [= pl. 21-22], *BT* 113: 11, 114: 9), "who is like *Šameš*?" (with *aphaeresis* *li* for *ilī*?), may also belong here.

-ši-im-ki for *B'lysp*, *Mlk'sp* and *-smk(y)* respectively; examples of *WSem. /š/* = NA *s* are also listed *ibid.*, e.g. *Ā-ū-se*, *Mi-in-si-e* and *U-ru-sa-li-im-ma/mi* for Heb. *Hwš*, *Mnšh* and *Yršlm* respectively. Cf. also *Ia'-su* for *Yw's* (see A. Malamat, *BASOR* 204, 1971, p. 107f.).

However, the literary norm is, as was pointed out by I. M. Diakonoff (*Henning Memorial Volume* [London 1970], p. 111, n. 37), (1) NA *s* for *WSem. /s/* and (2) NA *š* for *WSem. /š/*. (1) may explain the spellings of the personal names *Sa-ma-ka* and *Sa-ma-ku* (*APN*, p. 191a) in contrast to the usual spelling *š* for the sibilant in the names or the name-elements which are derived from *S-M-K* ("support"); perhaps also the sibilant of *nasiku* "prince" (*AHW.*, 796b) and of the names or name-elements which are derived from *N-S-K* (*dNabū-na-sa-ka* and *Ma-an-sa-ku*, *APN*, pp. 127, 156, 297) is rendered in the same manner. Diakonoff's interpretation may apply to the interchange *s/š* in the spellings of the toponyms *Bit Sa'ali* and *Bit Silāni* 9) and the personal names *Ša-ū-la-a-nu* (*ADD* 412, R.E. 1) and *Ša-ū-li-i-ni* (*ibid.*, 1194, v: 12) 10).

WSem. /š/ was rendered by *s* in NA transcription, cf. *Sir'-la-a-a* and *Sa-ru-gi* (Parpola, *AOAT* 6, pp. 306, 312) for (Y)šr'l and šrwg respectively and also *i-sa-pi-qu* from *š-P-Q* "to suffice" (see von Soden, *Or. N.S.* 37, 1968, p. 265, No. 129).

WSem. /s/ was rendered by *s* in NB/LB transcription. Both *WSem. /š/* and */s/* were usually rendered by *š* in NB/LB transcription (*APN*, p. xviii). Examples of *WSem. /š/* are *Šā-lam-ia-a-ma* (Weidner, *Mél. Dussaud*, p. 928 and pl. 1 opposite p. 924, *Babylon* 28122: 31, r. 22), *Šā-ma-aḫ-ū-nu* (*BE* 9, 45: 2), *Ši-li-im-mu* (e.g. *ibid.*, 14: 5, 9, one and the same person as *Šil-li-mu*, *BM* 13264: 5, unpublished, courtesy of Dr. M. W. Stolper), *Šu-bu-nu-ia-a-ma* (*APN*, p. xix), *Ū-še-eḫ* (*PBS* 2/1, 60: 13, Lo. E.) for Heb. *Šlmyh*, *Šm'wn*, *Šlm*, *Šbnyh* and *Hwš* respectively. Diakonoff's explanation may account for the exception *Su-lu-ma-a-du* = *Slmd* (see above and cf. *Šu-lum-mad*, *TuM* 2/3, 90: 9). *Nap-sa-an* (*BE* 9, 82: 5) is a special case in which *š* probably shifted to *s* and this is perhaps the case of some more Semitic names 11). Re */s/* there are no certain NB/LB examples; nevertheless, we can probably rely upon the following names which yield reasonable etymologies: *A-a-šā-ag-gi-i* 12), *Šā-ra'-il*

(*DINGIRMEŠ*) 13) and *Ši-qa-a* 14). In one name, *dAdad-sa-ra-aḫ* (Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 2a), *WSem. /š/* is probably rendered by NB/LB *s* 15). It might well reflect the shift *š > s* which occurred in later Aramaic.

In view of the aforesaid, it is very probable that NA *s* sometimes renders all the West Semitic unvoiced sibilants and there is no clue which of the three unvoiced West Semitic sibilants is rendered in the NA phonetic spellings *S/Šam-si* 16) and *Sa-am-sa/se/si* 17). The initial sibilant in the NA phonetic spelling *Šā-mas/š* 18) may be either *WSem. s* or *š*, but the final one may be any West Semitic unvoiced sibilant. The same applies to the initial sibilant in the NA spelling *S/Šam-si*, but the second sibilant viz. that in *-ši* may render only *WSem. /s/* or */š/*; this spelling is attested only in the name of an eponym, a name which is sometimes written *S/Šam-si-DINGIR* and *Šā-mas/š-DINGIR* (see above). It should, however, be pointed out that hardly any example from the NA and NB/LB transcriptions rules out the possibility that both forms, viz. **Šameš* and **Šameš*, existed. The alphabetic spelling *שמש* in the Aramaic inscriptions may render *š/švms/š*. The spelling *šms* (*S₁MS₃*) occurs only in a Proto-Arabian inscription which was found at Nippur in the NB stratum 19) and suits the Arabian spellings of the name of the Sun-god (see G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Names and Inscriptions* [Toronto 1971], p. 358).

From the material evaluated above it is clear that the secondary */t/* in *Tameš* should go back either to *WSem. /š/* or */s/*. We have no decisive proof that the secondary */t/* should go back only to */s/*. We do have decisive proof that the secondary */t/* in the name of the West Semitic Moon-god should go back only to */š/*. One should also bear in mind the existence of "enge Zusammengehörigkeit" between *š* and *t* as has been recently demonstrated by W. Diem who has brought examples of the shift *t > š* 20). Evidence for *š > t* was

13) E.g. *BE* 9, 16: 16, *WSem. šr'l*.

14) *BE* 8, 87: 11. Possibly Arab. *šiq* (< *šiq) "mountain" plus the hypocoristic suffix *-ā*. Cf. the hypocoristic *šyqn* in Palmyra (Stark, *PNPI*, p. 114a). The NA toponym *Si-qa-a* might well belong here (for the suffix *-ayn* in toponyms see J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* [Leipzig 1894], p. 319, n. 5).

15) Cf. the Biblical name *Seraḫ* (var. to Num. xxvi, 46: *Seraḫ*) for which see Noth, *IPN*, p. 180.

16) *S/Šam-si/š-DINGIR* (one and the same person as *Šā-mas/š-DINGIR*, *APN*, p. 215a, *RLA* 2, p. 422f.), *S/Šam-si-PAPMEŠ(?)*-a (*VAS* 1, 88: 26), *S/Šam-si-id-ri* (*APN*, p. 191b), *S/Šam-si-ila-a-a* (*ibid.*) and *Ab-di-S/Šam-si* (King, *Catalogue*, Supplement, p. 283).

17) *Sa-am-si* (*Iraq* 32, 1970, p. 132 [= pl. 19], *BM* 123360: 25), *Ša-am-se(-e)* (Winckler, *Sar.*, p. 100: 27), *Sa-am-sa-a-a* (Postgate, *Royal Grants*, 18: 18), *Sarrat-sa-am-s[e]* (*ABL* 636: 2) and the toponym *sa-am-si-mu-ru-na* (Parpola, *AOAT* 6, p. 303).

18) *Šā-mas/š-a-a-li* (*ADD* 288: 1), *Šā-mas/š-id-ri* (*TH* 25: 6), *dŠā-mas/š-ia-da* (*ADD* 1152: 3), *dŠā-mas/š-ia-da-a* (*ADD* 350, r. 13), *dŠā-mas/š-qa-na-a* (*ADD* 742, r. 19), *Bir-dŠā-mas/š* (*ADD* 148, R.E. 1).

19) R. Biggs who published this inscription in *BASOR* 179, 1965, pp. 36-38 has transcribed it *Sms*. The transcription here follows the Proto-Semitic values assigned to the ESA signs by A. F. L. Beeston (*JSS* 7, 1962, pp. 222ff.).

20) *ZDMG* 124, 1974, pp. 226ff. (esp. p. 249f.).

3) NA *Sa-gi-il-bi-di* (*ADD* 248, r. 11) may also belong here.

4) The predicative element is possibly a *qal* imperative of *H-Z-Y* "to see" plus the object suffix 1st pers. sing.

9) Parpola, *AOAT* 6, pp. 88-90. *Š'-L* has the same meaning in West Semitic and Akkadian. There are several examples where *š* in Akkadian names of Babylonians was rendered by *s* in NA (see Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 11, n. 28 and add NA *Mura-su-ū*, *ARU* 116: 4, which is possibly the exclusively Babylonian name *Murašū*).

10) Possibly with the hypocoristic suffix *-in*, cf. LB *Ḫa-as-ša-di-ni* (*PBS* 2/1, 12: 6), possibly from *Ḫ-š-D* "to harvest" (plus the suffixes *-in* and *-i*). For the meaning of the latter name cf. OB *E-ši-da-num* and *E-ši-dum* (*AHW.*, 253a) and NA *E-ši-da-a-a* (*Iraq* 23, 1961, p. 52 [= pl. 27], *ND* 2785, R.E. 14), from Akkad. *ešedu* "to harvest". The suffix *-in* is also found in LB *Qaq-qa-di-ni* (Tallqvist, *NBN*, p. 329).

11) A shift *pš > ps* seems to occur at Alalah (cf. Huffmon, *APNMT*, p. 240f., s.v. *NPS*).

12) *GCCI* 1, 202: 2, "Ay(ya) is great" (*WSem. šgy*).

thought to be found at a certain stage of the traditional pronunciation of Ethiopic²¹), but it cannot be verified²²). A shift of *s* to *t* is attested only in a non-Semitic dialect, namely Old Persian (see Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 37, § 103).

Another example of NB *t* = WSem. /š/ is the PN *Il-ta-gi-bi* (PBSA 10, 1888, pls. 4-6 [after p. 146]: 50, Babylon, 650/49 B.C.) which probably renders /*Ilša-gib*/. Other NB/LB examples are *Ta₅-gab-bi-il* (FuB 12, 1970, p. 54f., No. 5: 8), *Ta₅-gi-bi-il* (e.g. ABL 1052: 7), *Na-bi-e-ta₅-gab-bi* (see above). Cf. NA *Il-ta₅-gab* (ADD 927, ii: 2, cf. TCAE, 308) which is possibly the full name of the eponym *Sagab* (651/50 B.C.). Š-G-B is written with *s* in the NA toponym *Sa-ga-ba-tū ša* "Mar-duk-ia (in the Chaldean territory of Bit Awukāni, OIP 2, p. 53: 46), i.e. "the stronghold of Mardukiya". — To the spellings of the name of the Moon-god add NA *Te-er-nādin* (AŠ)-*apli*(A) (ADB 5, ii: 3, 11, i: 5, collated) from the region of Harran which was an important centre of the cult of the Moon-god (see Fales, CC, *passim*). The deity *Il-te-ri* is mentioned once in the *Verse Account* (BHT, p. 86, v: 11) and from the context there, it is clear that he was identified with the Moon-god (see Landsberger-Bauer, ZA 37, 1926/27, p. 92 with n. 4). The name *Il-te-ri-nu-ru* appears in a document found at Neirab²³) which was also an important centre of the cult of the Moon-god. Some names from Neirab contain the theophoric element *Še-e-ri* (RA 25, p. 72, s.vv., Pr. Sem. *Šahr) which was probably identified with Sin at Neirab. Š/Š'gbr, the priest of Šahr at Neirab bore a name with the theophoric element Š/Šē < S/Sin (see S. A. Kaufman, JAOS 90, 1970, pp. 270-271), a dialectal form of Sin, common in northern Syria²⁴). The DN Šēr was written at Neirab with the logogram XXX (Še) plus the "phonetic complement" -er (RA 25, p. 72). In first millennium Babylonia there is no example of the Akkadian form Šer as a theophoric element in West Semitic names: *Tehr* (*Il-te-(e)h/hi-ir/ri*) is much more frequent as a theophoric element in West Semitic names from first millennium Babylonia. Like the predicative elements in *Tameš/Sameš* names, the predicative elements in *Tehr/Šahr* names are all West Semitic, mostly if not all, Aramaic (see the lists in J. Lewy, HUCA 19, 1945/46, p. 427f. with nn. 128-129, 132-133 and add LB *Il-te-eš-la-a-a*, PBS 2/1, 180, 5, 8²⁵) and *Il-te-eš-ri-na-aq-qi* ibid., 106: 23, L.E. 26). The theophoric element *Te-ri* in the West Semitic name *Te-ri-ḫi-li-ia* (BE 10, 80: 5, 10, -iā, ibid., Lo. E.) reminds one of

Te-ri, which is the theophoric element in the Iranian name *Te-ri-ka-a-mu* (BM 13264: 3, unpublished, courtesy of Dr. M. W. Stolper). Both names occur in the Murašū Archive. The name of the latter who was the son of *Ba-ga-pa-nu*, apparently an Iranian, is also spelt *Tir-ri-ka-am-ma* (PBS 2/1, 11: 1, 5, 8, 10), *Ti-ri-ka-am* (ibid., 28: 2) and *Tir-ra'-a-ka-am* (ibid., 159: 9). Already C. T. Torrey (*apud* Clay, *ibid.*, p. 39a, a.1.) recognized that it is the Iranian name **Tiri-kāma*- "according to *Tiri*'s wish". The spellings *Te-ri* and *Ti/Tir-ra* show that this theophoric element in Iranian names was pronounced not only *Tiri* but also *Tēri*. Note *Τερίτουχμας*; i.e. **Tēri-tauxma*- (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg 1895], p. 323), the hypocoristic *Ti-ra-a* (BE 10, 80: 7, 10, R) whose bearer was, like his colleague *Te-ri-ḫi-li-ia/iā*, a slave of *Gu-su/sur-ri*?, i.e. Iran. **Gau-sūri*-, and *Ti-i-ri-a-ia₅-muš* (PBS 2/1, 5: 11), i.e. Iran. **Tiriya-vahu*- "he of whom what is good derives from *Tiri*(ya-)". The origin of the DN *Tiri*(ya-) is not known. Since *Tiri*(ya-) is already attested in Old Iranian (although not in Iranian texts) it is unlikely that it goes back to Old Iran. *tištrya*- (Air. Wb., 651f.). We may therefore assume that **Tē/iri*(ya-) was the form already in the Old Iranian stage, *Tirā* may be the same name with the Aramaic hypocoristic suffix -ā, i.e. **Tiria*- with contraction. *Tiri* in Middle Iranian denoted the planet Mercury as did *tištrya*- earlier in Avestan. Mercury simply denoted "planet" in Babylonian Aramaic (*kwkb*, BT Sabbath, 156a, cf. Jastrow, *Dict.*, p. 619a). As Professor Gershevitch (private communication) informs me, Sogdian *tyr*- (Old Iran. *trya*-) means "to

go" 27) and Yaghnobi *tir*- means "to go away, leave" 28), denotations which — as professor Gershevitch kindly pointed out to me — may suit a planet. May we assume that the Iranians (possibly the Medes in Assyria or in eastern Anatolia) borrowed the West Semitic DN *Tehri*- from the Arameans but at a certain stage it ceased to denote the Moon-god among the Iranians and contaminated with the Iranian word for the planet Mercury? — P. 112. The element *Bēr* (*Bir*) may be found in the LB toponym *Bi-ir/ri(-i)-il/li/lu* (Tallqvist, NBN, p. 291), i.e. "B. is god". — P. 123, n. 6. *Ra-qi-a-nu* is to *Ra-ḫi-a-nu* as *-ra-qi-i* (in *Adad*(U)-*ra-qi-i*, KAV 132, r. 3, *Hdrqy*, CIS 2/1, 74 29) is to *-ra-ḫi-i* (in *Abi* (AD)-*ra-ḫi-i*, ADD 752: 23, *Abi-ra-ḫi-i*, ADD 78: 5, 245: 7, CC 23: 15). — P. 131. *Me-ḫe-ni-i* may alternatively be read *Mi-ḫi-ni-i* and interpreted as *Ma'in* with *Vokalharmonie* and the hypocoristic suffix -i-. — P. 138. *Id-ru-nu* may be read *It-ru-nu* and interpreted as **Yitrōn* (cf. Bibl. *Yitrān*) in which case it may be a Canaanite name. — P. 149. For *nbš* cf. Hebr. *nbškm* in an ostrakon from Arad near the Judean Desert (Aharoni, *Eretz Israel* 9, 1968/69, p. 11 with n. 13). It is not

27) I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1961), p. 29, § 185.

28) M. C. Andreyev and E. M. Peščereva, *Yagnobskie Texty* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957), p. 335b.

29) To be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

30) Although *npš* with the meaning "funerary stele" is not attested before the Hellenistic period (see J. Licht, *Encyclopaedia Biblica Instituti Bialik*, 5 [Jerusalem 1968], col. 903), it may be one of the words which have survived in post-Biblical Hebrew from an earlier period.

impossible that the Biblical toponym *Hannibšān* which refers to a place in the Judean Desert, is derived from *nb/pš* "funerary stele" plus the suffix -ān. It is mentioned in Jos. xv, 62 together with other toponyms which may originally be appellatives. For the meaning cf. the West Semitic toponyms *Na-ši-ba* (EA 206: 4, possibly Bibl. *Nēšib* in Judea, cf. Knudtzon-Ebeling-Weber, *ibid.*, p. 1296, a.1.), NA *Na-ši-bi-na* (etc., Parpola, AOAT 6, p. 258f.), *Nēšibin* and LB *Na-ši-ba-a-ta* (YOS 7, 105: 1) which mean "stele(s)" or sim³⁰). LXX *Νεβσα(ν)* agrees with MT so that there is no need to emend (with F. Hitzig, *Psalmen* [1835/36], 2, p. 65 and J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*² [Berlin 1883], p. 344) to *Hakkibšān* "the furnace". The explanation of W. Borée (*Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* [Leipzig 1930], p. 73), namely a *niqṭal* formation from *B-š-N*, is very doubtful as this formation is very rare in West Semitic onomastics. — P. 187, n. 1. The shift *ā* > *ō* is not seen also in *Il-iā-ta-a-nu* and *la-ta-na-e-li* (APN, p. 97a, NA). The former name was borne by a sheikh of Tubliāš(in eastern Babylonia).

In this interesting book Professor Lipiński has revealed once more his unique acquaintance with the vast corpus of Aramaic inscriptions from various periods and has contributed much to their elucidation.

Tel-Aviv, November 1975

R. ZADOK

* *

Paul-Eugène DION, *La Langue de Ya'udi. Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest*. Waterloo (Ontario, Canada), La Corporation pour la publication des études académiques en religion au Canada, 1974 (in-8°, 512 pp.). Broché. Prix: \$ 4.50.

Le domaine des études araméennes vient de s'enrichir d'une nouvelle grammaire, consacrée cette fois au parler des inscriptions des statues de Hadad et de Panamuwa II, auxquelles s'ajoute la brève épigraphe du clou votif de Kilamuwa que l'auteur appelle "gaine". On sait que quelques sémitisants avaient contesté l'appartenance de ces inscriptions à la branche araméenne des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest. L'étude fouillée de P.-E. Dion vise à résoudre ce problème et, à notre avis, y réussit très bien grâce à un examen méthodique des isoglosses entre le "yaoudien" et l'araméen commun, d'une part, et entre le "yaoudien" et les langues du groupe "cananéen", d'autre part. Les recherches de l'auteur aboutissent à la position longtemps dominante que H. L. Ginsberg énonçait nettement au vingt-quatrième congrès des orientalistes: "Le yaoudien entre dans une même accolade avec l'araméen commun, mais, avec ce dernier, il fait partie de l'araméen tout court".

Après avoir esquissé l'historique des recherches et des études, P.-E. Dion donne une translittération et une traduction personnelle des inscriptions dites "yaoudiennes". Il traduit d'abord la brève inscription de Kilamuwa (p. 26) qui remonte au IX^e siècle a.n.è. et dont les formes *lh* (ligne 5) et *hy* (ligne 7) prouvent à suffisance le caractère araméen et non phénicien. L'auteur ne se

rend malheureusement pas compte de l'importance de cette inscription dont les données, croit-il, n'apportent rien de notable (p. 16). Il ne remarque pas, — pas plus que ses devanciers, — que les voyelles finales ne sont point marquées dans cette antique inscription araméenne. Le nom *smr*, que P.-E. Dion traduit par "timon(?)", est en réalité un substantif féminin signifiant "clou". Il est attesté à Mari sous la forme *samrūtum/samrātum* et est orthographié ici *smr* au lieu de **smrh*. Le mot *qn*, que l'auteur rend par "orner(?)" (pp. 26, 244), est certainement le verbe *qny*, "acquérir", écrit *qn* au lieu de *qn'*, tout comme le nom du père de Kilamuwa est orthographié *hy* au lieu de *hy'* et que le pronom démonstratif du féminin apparaît sous la forme *z* au lieu de *z'*. Contrairement à l'opinion de l'auteur (pp. 16, 157), ce *z* n'est pas un pronom relatif. L'inscription du clou votif de Kilamuwa se traduira donc de la manière suivante: "Kilamuwa, fils de Hayya, a acquis ce clou pour Rakib-El. Que Rakib-El lui donne longueur de vie!" On notera que l'orthographe des mots *z*, *qn* et du nom *hy* constitue une donnée d'importance capitale qui permet de conclure à l'emploi de l'aleph final comme *mater lectionis* dans les deux grands textes "yaoudiens" plus tardifs et même dans d'autres inscriptions araméennes.

L'auteur traduit ensuite les inscriptions des statues de Hadad et de Panamuwa II (pp. 26-43, cf. pp. 380-386). Le texte adopté pour l'inscription de la statue de Hadad est basé avant tout sur le fac-similé paru dans le *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* de M. Lidzbarski, tome II, pl. XXII (cf. p. 5). Comme ce fac-similé n'est pas toujours fidèle à l'original, la translittération de P.-E. Dion contient quelques lectures manifestement erronées. Toutefois, cette situation ne conditionne que dans une mesure limitée la suite de l'ouvrage où l'auteur examine successivement l'écriture (pp. 44-87), la phonologie (pp. 88-124), la morphologie (pp. 125-226), la morphosyntaxe (pp. 227-274) et la syntaxe (pp. 275-318) des inscriptions "yaoudiennes". Dans le dernier paragraphe, il tire les conclusions de ses recherches analytiques (pp. 319-343). Les notes sont rejetées à la fin du volume (pp. 372-504), après la bibliographie (pp. 348-371). La clarté et la précision qui caractérisent l'ensemble de l'ouvrage en font un excellent instrument de travail. Aussi certaines questions et suggestions nous sont-elles déjà venues à l'esprit et nous voudrions les exposer brièvement aux lecteurs de cette recension.

L'auteur affirme à plusieurs reprises que le *waw* final du nom de *pnmw* représente de voyelle *ū* et que la voyelle finale -a de -*muwa* était alors tombée (pp. 58, 102, 391, 393, 421, n. 3). Il lit en conséquence *pnmw* comme *Panamū*, tout en maintenant pour le *klmw* du clou votif la lecture *Kilamuwa*. Cette hypothèse va de pair avec la mention de la seule forme incomplète *Pa-na-am-mu* de ce nom louvite dans les sources assyriennes et avec une méconnaissance regrettable des attestations plus tardives du même anthroponyme. En fait, le nom de Panamuwa II apparaît dans les documents néo-assyriens sous la forme *Pa-na-am-mu-u*, dont le *u* final peut représenter le son *wa* dans un nom étranger, comme il résulte, par exemple, de l'emploi de la graphie *Qu-u-a-a* pour **Quwaya*, "celui de Quwe", dans le texte de Téglat-phalasar III mentionnant *Pa-na-am-mu-u*. Il ne faut

21) Cf. E. Mittwoch, *Die traditionelle Aussprache der äthiopischen* (Leipzig 1926), p. 11.

22) Cf. J. Cantineau, *Mélanges Gauthier-Demombynes* (Cairo 1939-1946), p. 317. Note the toponym *Terqa* (Ur III and OB) or *Serqu* (once in OB, otherwise in NA) which refers to one and the same place (see Lewy, HUCA 19, p. 431, n. 141, Gelb, *AJS* 55, 1938, p. 83f., *ARM* 15, p. 136).

23) RA 25, pp. 64, 76 and 80, No. 19, r. 2.

24) Cf. *Šnzrbn* (Akkad. *Sin-zēra-ibni*) at Neirab (KAI 225), Bibl. *Šen'ašsar* (Akkad. *Sin-ušur*) and *Šin'ab* ("Sin is father"). Note *Ši-ni-at-ri* (cf. *Da-gan-a* [t-r]i) at Mari (Huffmon, *APNMT*, p. 206f., s.v. *htr*).

25) Hypocoristic (with *r* > 1).

26) "Ittehi is pure" (cf. APN, p. 298a, s.v. **nqy* and add *Nin-qa-a-a*, ABL 368, r. 6, with dissimilatory *n*).

point oublier, en effet, que le syllabaire néo-assyrien proprement dit ne disposait pas d'un signe cunéiforme notant la syllabe *wa*. Par ailleurs, les attestations hellénistiques du nom de Παναμουα ou Παναμουα et l'emploi de l'élément *-μουα* dans l'onomastique cilicienne prouvent à suffisance que la prononciation *-muwa* s'était maintenue à travers les âges dans la région même d'où proviennent les inscriptions "yaoudiennes".

P.-E. Dion voit encore dans *mt* une particule non identifiée (p. 179), alors qu'il s'agit de toute évidence du mot akkadien *mātu*, "pays", attesté en araméen par l'inscription éditée par A. Caquot dans les *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (pp. 9-16), par un inédit de Bruxelles datant du VII^e siècle a.n.è., etc. Le terme en question apparaît six fois aux lignes 12-14 de l'inscription de Hadad. Nous traduisons ce passage de la manière suivante: "Et aux jours où je succédai [à mes] pères, je voulus nantir (*wbymy hlb[t]y*) 'bt[y] 'hb) les dieux et ils daignèrent accepter le pays de ma main. Et quoi que je demandasse aux dieux du pays, ils me le donnaient (*y[t]n*) *w ly*), et les dieux du pays favorisèrent le ... de Qurala. Et puisque Hadad a donné [le pa]ys à mes [pè]res (*l[b]ty*), il m'a appelé à rebâtir. Et quand je pris la succession, il donna le pays ... [.....] à rebâtir. Et j'ai rebâti le pays et j'ai [é]rigé cette statue de Hadad" (Hadad 12-14).

On remarquera que ce passage comporte un exemple supplémentaire d'une phrase dont le complément direct précède le verbe: *wmt yqhw mn ydy* (ligne 12). Cette construction, dont l'auteur relève à juste titre l'emploi en araméen antique (p. 288), se rencontre fréquemment dans les inscriptions de Sfiré (cf. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, I, pp. 27-28, 39), contrairement à l'opinion de R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, § 82 (mais cf. *ibid.*, pp. 121 et 122). Par ailleurs, on s'abstiendra de considérer *hlbt* (Hadad 12) comme une forme erronée pour *hlbt*. *Hlbt* est très probablement un infinitif pa'il. Cette attestation "yaoudienne" de *hlp/b* permet de résoudre la question restée jusqu'ici en suspens de l'emploi du pe'al ou du pa'il de ce verbe au sens de "succéder".

Il n'y a pas, semble-t-il, de *mt* à la ligne 28 de l'inscription de Hadad où il faut lire *bm'h*. *ntrsh* à la place de *bmsh*. *mt nsh*. Nous suggérons de traduire *ntr sh y'mr* par "le découpeur de l'agneau dira". Si notre interprétation est correcte, le personnage en question sera l'haruspice. L'expression parallèle *rsh y'mr* de la ligne 29 doit signifier: "l'accusateur dira". Il ne semble pas que le texte comporte ici un mot *nš*, "serment", que l'on ne saurait du reste rattacher à l'akkadien *nšū* pour des raisons tant stylistiques que phonétiques (cf. St. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, p. 153). On notera que notre interprétation des lignes 28 et 29 implique deux attestations supplémentaires d'une construction "yaoudienne" avec le sujet précédant le verbe. L'opposition entre l'araméen commun et le "yaoudien", que l'auteur se plaît à souligner en l'occurrence (p. 289), est ainsi relativisée.

On retrouve le nom *mt* dans l'inscription de la statue de Panamuwa II, lignes 4 et 10. On traduira le premier passage comme suit: "et le pays débordait d'une quan-

tité de prisons", *wytrh.mt.ml.msgrt*. Le passage de la ligne 10, que l'on comparera aux lignes 11-12 de l'inscription phénicienne de Kilamuwa, pourra se traduire de la manière suivante: "et aux jours de mon père Panamuwa, il a fait (des gens) du pays des propriétaires de villages et des propriétaires de chars". On rapprochera la forme "yaoudienne" **kapir* du nom "village" des toponymes bibliques *kēpīrā* (Jos. 9, 17; 18, 26; Esdr. 2, 25; Néh. 7, 29) et *kēpīrim* (Néh. 6, 2).

Nous estimons devoir récuser la traduction de la phrase *wyšb 'l mšby mlk 'l y[dy]* (Hadad 20-21), "et s'assoira sur mon trône comme roi de Ya'udi" (pp. 31, 241). En effet, "roi de Ya'udi" se dirait *mlk y'dy*, tandis que *mlk 'l y'dy* doit signifier "devenant roi de Ya'udi", tout comme le *mlk 'l kyšry* de l'inscription de Pyrgi veut dire "régnant sur Caere" (contrairement à l'opinion de l'auteur, p. 480). Le *mlk* de Hadad 20 est donc un participe dont l'auteur aurait dû traiter à la p. 271. On peut noter aussi que la lecture *mšbh* semble être matériellement aussi probable que *mšby*.

Selon l'auteur, le verbe *pšš*, qui apparaît à la ligne 8 de l'inscription de Panamuwa, ne saurait être identifié à l'akkadien *pašāsu* "car le š yaoudien ne peut correspondre à un s akkadien" (p. 89). Or, le s néo-assyrien est régulièrement transcrit par un š en araméen et l'on possède, en l'occurrence, un exemple de l'orthographe néo-assyrienne *pašāšu* (ABL, n° 437, ligne 17). Un emprunt à l'akkadien est d'autant plus probable que *pšš* est employé ici à l'intensif et que l'intensif du verbe akkadien signifie "détruire", sens qui est précisément exigé par le contexte de l'inscription "yaoudienne".

L'auteur retient à la ligne 12 de l'inscription de Panamuwa la lecture traditionnelle *brš* (p. 40), où *rš* serait *r's*, "tête" (pp. 120, 212-213), avec syncope de l'*aleph*. Les traces du signe lu *r* ne conviennent cependant pas à cette lettre, mais peuvent appartenir à un *m* qui suggérerait la lecture *bmšn*: "Et son seigneur, le roi d'Assyrie, le plaça au-dessus de rois puissants comme lieutenant". Le mot *mšn*, qui transcrit le néo-assyrien *masennu*, est attesté en araméen par deux textes(?) inédits de Bruxelles datant du VII^e siècle a.n.è. Le cas de la forme *qrny* (Hadad 13), que l'auteur se refuse à rattacher au verbe *qr* (pp. 213, 381-382), est différent car les laryngales *'* et *h* s'assimilent facilement, en araméen, à une pharyngale ou à *r* qui les précède immédiatement (cf. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, I, pp. 106, 122, 125). On observe le même phénomène dans les dialectes néo-araméens. Dans le parler de Thūma, par exemple, le *'* peut s'assimiler à *r*, comme le montre la prononciation des mots *'arra*, "terre", *tarra*, "porte", *zarra*, "semence" (cf. H. Jacobi, *Grammatik des thumischen Neuaramäisch*, p. 80). Le passage *qar'ani* > *qarrani* ne doit donc point susciter d'étonnement.

Le chapitre consacré à la notation des voyelles finales appelle quelques observations. L'auteur, avons-nous dit, n'a pas remarqué que ces voyelles n'étaient pas notées dans l'inscription du clou votif de Kilamuwa et il n'a donc pas pu utiliser cette donnée pour démontrer l'emploi "yaoudien" de l'*aleph* en guise de *mater lectionis* d'un *a* final. P.-E. Dion croit du reste que l'*aleph* pouvait servir à marquer diverses voyelles à la fin d'un mot.

C'est ainsi que le /ē/ final serait représenté en "yaoudien" par un *aleph* ou par un *yod* (pp. 57, 392, n. 19). Cette hypothèse suppose qu'une même forme du verbe *bny* pourrait s'écrire de deux manières différentes dans la même inscription: *lbn*, "pour bâtir", dans Hadad 13 et 14, et *lbnny*, "pour bâtir", dans Hadad 10. Cette difficulté s'accroît du fait que l'*aleph* pourrait représenter ailleurs le /ā/, le /ē/ et peut-être le /ā/ (pp. 59-62), tandis que le *yod* marquerait aussi le /i/ (pp. 55-56). En réalité, la *mater lectionis aleph* semble représenter partout la voyelle *a*, notamment à la fin des mots qui se terminaient originellement par la diphtongue *-ay*. Le passage *ay* > *ā* est bien connu en paléo-akkadien, en paléo-assyrien et en moyen-assyrien où, par exemple, l'infinitif de *bny* est *banā'u(m)* et non *banū(m)*, comme en babylonien. Le même processus semble être attesté en sémitique occidental. On peut relever ainsi la réduction *-ay* > *-ā* de la désinence de certains noms propres et l'orthographe arabe "qutlay" employée pour les noms féminins du type *qutlā*, comme *suḡrā*, "plus petite". En tout cas, le "yaoudien" paraît refléter ce passage *-ay* > *-ā* puisqu'on peut ramener à ce phénomène la plupart des emplois vocaliques de *aleph*: **l-banā* < **l-banāy*, **laylā* < **laylay*, "nuit" (Hadad 24), **šatā* < **šatay*, "il but" (Hadad 9). Le nom *hr*, "rage", attesté dans Hadad 23 et 33, où la lecture *hr* est plus probable que *hm*, est à rapprocher du verbe *hry* (III-yl). Le sens de *hb*, dans Hadad 20, n'est pas encore bien établi et toute explication de l'*aleph* final est donc sujette à caution. Quant à *lbnny* de Hadad 10, ce pourrait être le pluriel oblique du mot "brique" désignant des constructions en briques, tout comme dans l'akkadien de Mari.

Nous ne croyons donc pas, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, que l'*aleph* pouvait indiquer la présence d'une voyelle quelconque. La graphie *nb* du nom du dieu Nabû en Sfiré I A 8, à laquelle P.-E. Dion se réfère (pp. 85-86), doit s'expliquer à la lumière de l'orthographe méso-assyrienne *Na-bi-um* qui présuppose une prononciation **Nabi'u*, généralement supplantée par la forme babylonienne *Nabû*. Quant à la transcription *l'm* de l'akkadien *limmu* (p. 86), que l'on rencontre aussi dans des documents araméens inédits du VII^e siècle a.n.è., elle pourrait refléter une prononciation néo-assyrienne **l'mu*, parallèle à celle du mot *l'mu*, "mille", en babylonien *limu*. Mais ce pourrait être aussi une adaptation d'un ancien terme ouest-sémitique *l'm* signifiant "prince". Les deux explications sont peut-être complémentaires, mais la question doit encore rester ouverte.

L'auteur examine ailleurs le problème de la finale vocalique de l'afformante à la première personne du singulier *qtl* (pp. 182-183). Il n'utilise pas les données de l'onomastique araméenne connues grâce aux textes cunéiformes dans lesquels on trouve, par exemple, le nom *Sa-a'-a[l]-ti-DINGIR* (TR 4001, ligne 23, édité par J. N. Postgate, Iraq, 32, 1970, pp. 31-35) ou *Sa-al-ti-DINGIR* (J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*, London, 1973, n° 104, ligne 8), c'est-à-dire *Sa'alti-El*, "J'ai interrogé El". Nous savons ainsi que l'araméen antique possédait une première personne *qa-talti*, bien que nulle donnée épigraphique ne laisse apparaître la voyelle finale de cette afformante araméenne. On notera que l'orthographe cunéiforme ne laisse aucun

doute quant à l'origine ouest-sémitique de cet anthroponyme (contrairement à l'opinion de M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 63, n. 7), que l'on retrouve plus tard dans la Bible sous la forme *šlty'l* (I Chron. 3, 17; Esdr. 3, 2, 8; 5, 2; Néh. 12, 1; Aggée 1, 1; 2, 23) et *šlty'l* (Aggée 1, 12.14; 2, 2), avec chute de l'*aleph* intervocalique. Le nom n'est pas hébreu, mais araméen, comme l'indiquent ses attestations dans des textes néo-assyriens.

Toujours au chapitre de l'orthographe, il nous paraît abusif de considérer la graphie *brkb* de nom de Bar-Rakib (Panamuwa 19) comme une haplographie (pp. 50 et 389, n. 3). Plus important est le problème soulevé par la double graphie du mot "jour", écrit toujours *ym* dans l'inscription de la statue de Hadad et *ywm* sur la statue de Panamuwa II (pp. 72-73). L'auteur suppose que le *waw* de *ywm* n'est qu'une *mater lectionis* et il envisage trois possibilités: *yām* > *yōm*, *yūm* et *yawm* > *yōm*. L'existence d'un nom /**yūm*/, "jour", dans les langues sémitiques n'est qu'une hypothèse mal fondée, bien que l'auteur soit enclin à chercher ce *yūm* en akkadien, amorigite, ugaritique et phénicien. En fait, l'akkadien *ūmu* dérive de **yawmu*, conformément à des règles phonétiques reconnues (W. von Soden, GAG, p. 56, § 54k; cf. p. 14, § 11a, et p. 23, § 22c). La forme du mot "jour" en amorigite est jusqu'ici inconnue, tandis que l'ugaritique *yū-mu* (cf. p. 401) représenterait normalement **yōmu* < **yawmu*, puisque le *u* des signes cunéiformes syllabiques peut marquer *o/ō/ô*. La lecture *yag-mu* = **yāmu* est cependant possible au même titre que *yū-mu* = **yōmu*. Quant aux raisons d'une lecture **yūm* du mot phénicien *ym*, elles nous échappent. Considérant donc que le pluriel hébraïque *yamim* ne peut provenir que de **yām* et que la tendance à la diphtongaison des voyelles longues (**yām* > *yawm*) est bien attestée dans les langues sémitiques, il nous paraît que la forme **yām* est primitive. L'araméen *yēmāmā*(') confirme ce point de vue, puisque le schéma C₁ - C₂ - C₂ est sémantiquement identique ou apparenté au schéma C₁ - *ṽ* - C₂. Le passage "yaoudien" de *ym* à *ywm* s'expliquerait donc le mieux par une diphtongaison survenue durant le demi-siècle qui sépare ces deux graphies. L'unique exemple du nom *mšb*, "siège", ne témoigne pas nécessairement du processus contraire (*mōšab* < **mawšab*), vu qu'une forme araméenne *miqtal* (au lieu de *maqtal*) est attestée aussi bien à Teimā, où l'on trouve *mytb* = **mitab* < **mittab*. *Mšb* peut donc se lire **miṭab* ou **miṭṭab*.

Dans la discussion du pronom personnel "yaoudien" *'nky/nk* (pp. 103, 105, 331), l'auteur ne mentionne jamais le pronom *'nuky* attesté à deux reprises sur un fragment d'inscription palmyrénienne (Tadmora 18, lignes 3 et 4). Sans doute, J. Cantinneau envisageait la possibilité d'un emprunt palmyrénien à l'hébreu (Syria, 17, 1936, p. 272) et J. T. Milik soutient que le corps de l'inscription est rédigé en phénicien (*Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, pp. 289-292, 296-300). Cette hypothèse est cependant sujette à caution, comme le montre le recours de J. T. Milik à la forme néo-punique *t* de l'exposant du complément direct, son embarras devant des expressions typiquement araméennes comme *'u* ou *qbl 'l* et son explication de la forme *mtw* qui "représenterait l'orthographe araméenne du phénicien (et de l'hébreu)

mš(ʿ)w". L'inscription a tout l'air d'être rédigée en araméen et elle apporte même de nouveaux témoignages du passage *ā < ō* qui caractérise un des dialectes parlés à Palmyre. Il y a lieu de citer ici non seulement *nwky*, mais aussi le pronom *nḥnw < nḥnh/*, "nous" (ligne 8), et peut-être le nom *mṭwtw < mṭwt*, "la faveur", "le pardon" (ligne 6), dont l'emploi s'accorderait très bien avec celui de l'expression *ʿqbl ʿlh*, "je porterai plainte contre lui" (ligne 5). Le pronom personnel *nky* du "yaoudien" n'est donc pas isolé dans le groupe des dialectes araméens puisqu'on le retrouve à Palmyre, dans une inscription de la fin du I^{er} siècle a.n.è. qui reprend peut-être le texte d'une loi sacrée plus ancienne. Le pronom *nwky* semble y désigner la divinité elle-même qui parle aux humains et l'emploi de cette forme solennelle et archaïque du pronom personnel doit probablement s'expliquer à la lumière de cette circonstance. Le pronom "yaoudien" se prononçait sans doute **anāki*, puisqu'il manque de preuves d'un passage *ā > ō* en "yaoudien".

Dans le domaine des formes verbales, il faut faire une réserve importante. À savoir, la grande lacune de Panamuwa 4 ne permet pas d'affirmer que les formes *tšmw* et *thrgw* (Panamuwa 4-5) traduisent des actions accomplies, comme l'auteur le soutient (pp. 37, 264-265). Le fait seul que ce "prétérit" n'apparaîtrait qu'en cet endroit invite déjà à la prudence.

P.-E. Dion souligne avec raison l'importance des inscriptions de Sfiré pour l'étude de l'araméen antique en général (pp. 21-22). Il s'y réfère lui-même à plusieurs reprises, notamment à propos de *yʿrrn* (Sfiré I A 41), de *yʿwrn* (Sfiré II B 4), de *ʿhbd* (Sfiré II C 5) et du passage de Sfiré III 22. L'auteur met en doute la lecture *yʿrrn* et soutient que "le *quttal* ne paraît guère s'être vraiment développé qu'en hébreu et en arabe" (p. 200). Il admet évidemment l'existence d'un participe, mais ne croit pas à l'emploi des formes conjuguées en araméen ancien. L'onomastique invite cependant à plus de circonspection. Par exemple, le scribe babylonien attribué au général victorieux que Cyrus nomma gouverneur de Babylone le nom évocateur de *Gu-ba-ru* (KB III/2, p. 134, col. III, 20), entendu probablement au sens de **Gubbar*, ou de *Ug-ba-ru* (*ibid.*, col. III, 15.22), à savoir **Ugbar* ou **Hugbar*. Les deux noms ont en araméen la même signification, "Il a été rendu puissant", mais le premier est formulé au pu'al, tandis que le second l'est au ho'f'al. Ce sens, que le scribe paraît donner — à tort ou à raison — au nom du gouverneur perse, constitue pour nous une indication précieuse. La forme *yʿrrn* peut donc très bien être une troisième personne du féminin pluriel de l'imparfait pu'al de *ʿwr*: "elles seront dénudées". Quant à *yʿwrn*, il faut probablement corriger cette lecture en *yʿwdn* et y voir un pa'el dénomiatif de *ʿwd*, "témoin" (cf. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, I, pp. 45-46).

L'auteur interprète la forme *ʿhbd* (Sfiré II C 5) dans le sens d'un imparfait ha'f'el de *ʿbd* en admettant une moins grande stabilité d'*aleph* qu'il n'apparaîtrait par l'orthographe habituelle (p. 221). A titre d'hypothèse, nous avons proposé (op. cit., p. 47) de distinguer en Sfiré II C 4-5 un ha'f'el de *ʿbd* (*ʿhbd*) et un ha'f'el de *bdd* (*ʿhbd*), dont le sens correspondrait à celui de l'intensif arabe, "dispenser", "éliminer". L'emploi de *badādu*

en néo-assyrien et en néo-babylonien, qui peuvent avoir emprunté ce verbe à l'araméen, semble pourtant indiquer que c'est l'intensif qui avait ce sens. Aucune autre forme n'est du reste attestée dans les textes cunéiformes. Quant à Sfiré III 22, où le scribe aurait omis le *n* de *mnk*, "plus que toi" (p. 298), nous en avons donné une interprétation basée sur le texte même de la stèle: *ky ltbh ʿmk*, "car j'abdiquerai pour son bien" (op. cit., p. 48). Bien sûr, P.-E. Dion ne pouvait pas encore prendre position vis-à-vis de cette explication.

L'auteur se réfère une fois à l'inscription de l'une des coupes en bronze du Luristan sur laquelle J. Naveh lit *nbšh* au lieu du *nbšg* de l'éditeur. P.-E. Dion croit que J. Naveh corrige le texte (p. 413, n. 7), alors que celui-ci suggère simplement une correction de la lecture du texte, ce qui est bien différent.

Cette recension critique témoigne de l'intérêt que nous avons porté à l'ouvrage de P.-E. Dion. Si elle met surtout en relief des points de désaccord, c'est qu'il était peu utile, croyons-nous, d'insister sur des points où les vues de l'auteur nous ont paru convaincantes. Le lecteur les trouvera exposées dans le volume même avec toute la clarté désirable.

Bruxelles, décembre 1975

E. LIPÍŃSKI

* *

Heidi JACOBI, *Grammatik des thumischen Neuaramäisch (Nordostsyrien)*. Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH, 1973 (in-8°, XXIV + 288 pp.) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XL, 3. Broché. Prix: DM 28.

Cette grammaire du dialecte néo-araméen de la tribu de Thūma est une dissertation doctorale présentée en 1972 à la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Sarrebruck. Le dialecte faisant l'objet de cette étude appartient au groupe des parlers néo-syriaques orientaux. Il était parlé à l'origine dans le Kurdistan turc que la tribu de Thūma a dû fuir en 1915 pour s'installer, une quinzaine d'années plus tard, sur les rives du Khabour, entre Ras el Ain et Hassake, dans l'actuelle République Arabe de Syrie. Le dialecte de cette tribu s'apparente plus aux parlers néo-syriaques des environs de Mossoul et d'Al-qosh qu'à ceux de la région du lac Urmia. Bien que D. T. Stoddard eût déjà tenu compte du parler de Thūma dans sa "Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language, as spoken in Oroomiah, Persia, and in Kurdistan", JAOS, 5 (1856), pp. 1-180, le dialecte de cette tribu n'a jamais été étudié d'une manière systématique. On se réjouira donc de disposer désormais d'un ouvrage précis et bien agencé sur ce dialecte néo-araméen, tel qu'il est parlé actuellement sur le Khabour, et l'on félicitera l'auteur de cette belle réussite.

Heidi Jacobi décrit le dialecte de Thūma sur le plan structurel et s'en tient strictement à une approche synchronique. Son ouvrage comprend la phonologie (pp. 1-81), la morphologie (pp. 82-249) et un choix de textes transcrits phonétiquement et traduits (pp. 250-285). Les

questions de syntaxe ne sont abordées qu'occasionnellement dans la partie consacrée à la morphologie.

Bien que l'auteur se soit délibérément abstenu de faire des considérations d'ordre diachronique, son travail n'en contient pas moins une riche documentation intéressante l'historien de la langue araméenne.

En ce qui concerne la phonologie, on retrouve dans le dialecte de Thūma le passage bien connu *b > w* que l'on rencontre, par exemple, dans les mots *kokwa*, "étoile", ou *ḥalwa*, "lait". Ce développement n'a pas lieu si */b/* se trouve au début du mot, comme dans *bḥāya*, "pleurer", s'il était originellement redoublé, comme dans *tābah* ou *tabbah*, "août", s'il est désonorisé, comme dans *ʿarpa < ʿarba*, "quatre", et dans *šapta < šabbatā*, "semaine", ou s'il apparaît dans un mot d'emprunt, tel que *kbira*, "grand". En position intervocalique, *w* peut être réalisé comme *[β]*, ainsi que l'indiquent les prononciations *tāwa* et *tāβa*, "bon", signalées par l'auteur. Dans le voisinage de *u* ou de *o*, qui sont interchangeables (p. 81), le *b > w* peut s'assimiler complètement à la voyelle, qui devient longue. On trouve ainsi *kṭū < ktub*, "écris!". Le mot *gōra*, "mari", s'explique de la même manière, *gōra < gubrā*, à moins qu'il ne faille tenir compte, ici, d'une contraction de la diphtongue *aw*: *gōra < gawra < gabrā*.

La prononciation spirante de *k > ḥ* ne paraît pas liée, à première vue, à la position postvocalique de la consonne. C'est ainsi que l'on rencontre, d'après Jacobi, les prononciations *kokwa* et *koḥwa* du mot "étoile", que "nourriture" se dit *meḥulta* (*< m'klṭ*), alors que "jugement" ou "administration" se prononce *ḥukma*, que "pleurer" est *bḥāya*, tandis que le mot "roi" est articulé *malka*. Un examen attentif des exemples cités mène cependant à la double conclusion que le processus de spiration du *k* postvocalique n'est plus vivant dans le dialecte de Thūma et que la prononciation spirante s'est maintenue même là où l'élément vocalique est disparu. C'est ainsi que *kokwa* suppose un état antérieur du mot, à savoir **kawka* (cf. pp. 78-79), tandis que *ḥukma* est un emprunt à l'arabe. *Koḥwa* pourrait être une prononciation "hypercorrecte" de *kokwa*. D'autre part, *bḥāya* provient de *bākāya*, où le *k* était précédé d'un élément vocalique. Le phonème */k/* se maintient au début des mots, mais il est parfois palatalisé, comme l'indiquent les deux exemples cités par l'auteur: *kēpa/čēpa*, "pierre", et *karma/čarma*, "vignoble" (p. 80).

Le *t*, même s'il provient de */t/*, garde généralement sa valeur d'explosive s'il n'est précédé d'aucun élément vocalique. Il peut devenir spirant (*[t]*) s'il est précédé d'un élément vocalique, si minime soit-il. Les transcriptions de Jacobi peuvent parfois donner l'impression contraire, car l'auteur n'établit pas de distinction entre les phonèmes */t/* et */t̪/*, pas plus qu'il ne le fait pour */s/* et */s̪/* ou pour */h/* et */h̪/*. Il ne semble reconnaître à ces paires que la valeur d'allophones d'un phonème unique dont la réalisation comporte, dans certains mots, une corrélation d'emphase ou des particularités d'articulation accessoires. Il importe cependant de savoir qu'une forme *qatlah*, "nous tuons", provient de **qatlah*, que *ḥatte*, "froment", est une réalisation de *ḥettē* et que *mātra*, "pluie", est *mātra*. C'est le */t̪/* qui explique ici la prononciation explosive du *t* postvocalique. Le cas de *māṭa*,

"ville", est différent, car le *t* n'y était pas postvocalique, la forme primitive du nom étant *māḏintā*.

L'auteur distingue en revanche les phonèmes */t̪, d̪/* de */t, d/*, tout en signalant que */t̪, d̪/* peuvent toujours se prononcer *[t, d]* (pp. 77-78). Il croit qu'une évolution *t̪ > t* et *d̪ > d* est actuellement en cours et qu'elle est beaucoup plus avancée dans le cas de *d̪ > d* (p. 78, n. 1). En d'autres mots, on assisterait aujourd'hui au même processus que celui qui a marqué l'évolution phonétique de l'araméen au premier millénaire a.n.è. Il est cependant remarquable que l'évolution *t̪ > t* aille de pair avec l'alternance *t̪/š* relevée par l'auteur dans les mots *tāya/šāya < √ty*, "venir" (avec apharesse de *'a* comme dans *ḥatwāta*, "soeurs", et dans bien d'autres mots), *bēta/bēša*, "maison", *daliṭa/dališa*, "sarment, vigne", *šaḡta/šaḡša*, "canal, cours d'eau" (pp. 80-81).

Le */h̪/* est réalisé comme *h*, mais l'on trouve des exemples de */h̪/* prononcé comme un *h* emphatique (p. 17): *haq = haqq*, "droit", *saḥya = šaḥya*, "assoiffé", *hammāl = hammāl*, "porteur", *hāla = ḥāla*, "sur ce". Ces exemples ne témoignent toutefois pas d'une survivance de */h̪/ = [h̪]*. En effet, sur les quatre cas signalés par l'auteur, trois sont des emprunts à l'arabe.

Le cas du *š* ne se présente pas de la même façon, car on retrouve parmi les exemples de *š* emphatique relevés par Jacobi les mots *hālš*, "il se sauve", *ašarta < √šhr*, "l'après-midi", *šōma*, "jeûne", *šəpya*, "clair, lumineux" (p. 16). Il arrive aussi que *š* soit réalisé comme *z*, si la prononciation *ḥazda* pour *ḥšd*, "moisson", est correcte. Cette réalisation s'expliquerait par une assimilation partielle de *š* à la sonore *d*.

Le *>* peut s'assimiler à la consonne contiguë, spécialement à *r*, comme le montre la prononciation des mots *arra*, "terre", *tarra*, "porte", *zarra*, "semence". Mais l'on trouve aussi *yaddən*, "je sais", à côté de *yadʿən* (cf. p. 80).

Du point de vue comparatif, il est intéressant de relever le passage *h > ʿ* dans les pronoms personnels *ʿaw*, "il", *ʿay*, "elle" (p. 217), et dans les pronoms démonstratifs *ʿawa*, "celui-ci", *ʿaya*, "celle-ci", *ʿaw*, "celui-là", *ʿay*, "celle-là". On notera aussi la métathèse *ʿaḥnan > ʿanaḥna* dans le pronom "nous" (p. 217).

Parmi les prépositions (pp. 226-232), on remarquera *gō*, "dans", *< gāw*, "l'intérieur", *qā*, "pour, à", *< qātu*, "main" (akkadien), *qam < qadām*, "devant", *l-qūla-d < l-qublā-dī*, "vis-à-vis de", *rāš*, "sur", *< rēš*, "tête", *bar*, "après, derrière", *< baʿtar*, "par suite de", étymologiquement "sur la trace de". Les formes originales réapparaissent généralement devant les suffixes pronominaux.

La conjugaison est caractérisée par une grande diversité des temps, dont plusieurs sont composés. L'auteur distingue trois classes verbales, dont les temps conjugués nous paraissent dériver des participes pa'al, pa'il et af'el. Le présent et les temps dérivés sont formés à partir du participe actif auquel les afformantes personnelles s'ajoutent directement, comme dans la flexion du parfait ouest-sémitique et du statif ou permansif akkadien. En revanche, le passé et le plus-que-parfait sont formés à partir du participe passif suivi de la préposition *l* régissant un suffixe pronominal.

Il est peut-être intéressant de relever encore les noms

des mois utilisés par la tribu de Thūma: *nisan*, "avril", *yār* < 'iyyār/'ayyār, "mai", *hīran*, "juin", < (?) *hinzūri* (nom de mois à Nuzi), *tāmuz*, "juillet", *tābah* ou *tabbah*, "août", < *ṭabbah* ("immolation", nom de mois à rapprocher de *zḥ* phénicien), *'ilun* < *elūnu/elūlu*/'ilūl, "septembre", *čēri qāmaya*, "octobre", < *tešri qadmaya*, *čēri hāraya*, "novembre", < *tešri aḥraya*, *kānun qāmaya*, "décembre", *kānun hāraya*, "janvier", *'əšwat* < *šəḥaṭ*, "février", *'āḏar* < *ad(d)aru*/'āḏār, "mars".

Ces quelques observations faites en marge de l'ouvrage de Heidi Jacobi visent à montrer que le lecteur y trouve plus que ce que l'auteur lui-même avait l'intention de lui offrir. Il suffit que le lecteur ajoute le point de vue de la diachronie à celui de la synchronie.

Bruxelles, décembre 1975

E. LIPINŃSKI

* *

Solomon I. SARA, *A Description of Modern Chaldean*. The Hague-Paris, Mouton, 1974 (in-8°, 113 p., 4 figs.) = Janua Linguarum. Series Practica, 213. Prix: f 48.—.

Dans cet ouvrage, le Dr. Sara décrit le Chaldéen moderne "from a functional-structural (Praguian) point of view", c.-à-d. "as an entity which has its realization in speech events". L'auteur ne s'occupe donc pas de cette langue en tant qu'aboutissement de l'évolution du chaldéen classique.

Le Chaldéen Moderne, nous dit l'auteur dans son *Introduction*, appartient à la branche araméenne des langues sémitiques et se rattache spécialement au Syriac. Il est actuellement parlé par env. 10.000 habitants de la ville de Mangesh, ville située dans le nord de l'Iraq en plein territoire kurde et tout près de la frontière turque. Le Dr. Sara est lui-même originaire de cette ville et le Chaldéen Moderne est sa langue maternelle.

Le premier chapitre traite de la *Phonologie*. Les phonèmes vocaux et consonnantiques ainsi que leur prononciation y sont analysés (pp. 22-36). Leur description est intéressante, mais on en regrette un peu le caractère abstrait. Quelques exemples de comparaison, pris dans les autres langues sémitiques, auraient donné une image plus concrète de leur prononciation. Des études sur la distribution de ces phonèmes à l'intérieur d'un nom, des "consonnant clusters" et de la syllabe, terminent ce chapitre (pp. 36-48).

Le second chapitre est consacré à la *Morphologie*. L'auteur y décrit les thèmes habituels. Après avoir donné les règles morphophonémiques (pp. 49-51), le savant chaldéen étudie les substantifs (pp. 52-55), la flexion (pp. 55-57), les adjectifs (pp. 57-60), les numéraux (pp. 60-63) et les pronoms (pp. 63-65).

Puis l'auteur s'attaque à la description de la conjugaison des verbes (pp. 65-86). Il s'agit là, comme dans toutes les langues sémitiques, d'une matière fort compliquée. Mais Dr. Sara a réussi d'en donner un exposé clair. Les sémitisants s'y intéresseront spécialement. C'est pourquoi nous donnerons ici quelques détails sur la conjugaison du verbe transitif régulier qui est à la base des autres conjugaisons.

L'*infinitif masc.* est de la forme CCaC (= qtal): *qṭala*, "to kill". Son correspondant fém. est *qṭalta*, "a simple act of killing".

Le *participe actif* est de la forme CaCaC: masc.s. *qaṭala*, pl. *qaṭali*; fém.s. *qaṭalta*, pl. *qaṭalyaṭa*.

Le *participe passif* est de la forme CCiC: masc.s. *qṭila*; fém.s. *qṭilta*; pl. com. *qṭili*.

L'*impératif* est de la forme CCoC pour les verbes se terminant par une consonne: 2p.com.sing. *qṭol*; pl. *qṭulu*. Pour les verbes se terminant en y ou ? il est de la forme CCV (V = voyelle): 2p.s.m. *ṭṭi*, "drink"; fém. *ṭṭe*; pl. com. *ṭṭo*.

L'indicatif du verbe transitif a quatre paradigmes; l'actif, le transitif absolu, le passif et le parfait. A son tour, l'actif peut être simple, défini ou putatif.

L'*actif simple* est de la forme CaCC à laquelle s'ajoutent les désinences personnelles: lp.s.m. *in*, f. *an*; 2p.s.m. *it*, fém. *at*; 3p.s.m. reste sans désinence mais est de la forme CaCiC: fém. *a*; lp.pl.com. *ux*; 2p.pl.com. *utin*; 3p.pl.com. *i*. Ainsi: *qaṭlin*, "I kill", etc.

Les suffixes verbaux s'ajoutant tout simplement à ces désinences personnelles. Ces suffixes sont: lp.s.com. *li*; 2p.s.m. *lux* et fém. *lax*; 3p.s.m. *li* et fém. *la*; lp.pl.com. *lan*; 2p.pl.com. *loxin*; 3p.pl.com. *le*. Ainsi: *qaṭilli*, "he kills me" etc.

Le *passé* est caractérisé par le suffixe *wa* qu'on ajoute après les désinences personnelles: *qaṭilwa*, "he killed" et avant les suffixes verbaux: *qaṭilwali*, "he killed me".

L'*actif défini* a la même conjugaison que l'actif simple mais est caractérisé par les préfixes *k* ou *g* selon la nature de la consonne qui le suit. Ainsi: *kṭaqṭlin*, "I actually take" et avec suffixe verbal: *kṭaqṭilli*, "he actually takes me" et au passé: *kṭaqṭilwali*, "he actually took me".

Le *putatif* a également la même conjugaison que l'actif simple, mais il est caractérisé par le préfixe *b* ou *p*: *pqaṭlin*, "I will kill"; *pqaṭilli*, "he will kill me".

Le *transitif absolu* ne diffère de l'actif simple que par le préfixe *kim*: *kimqaṭil*, "he killed"; *kimqaṭilli*, "he kills me"; *kimqaṭilwali*, "he had killed me".

Le *passif* est de la forme CCiC: *qṭilin*, "I am killed"; *qṭilinwa*, "I was killed".

Le *parfait* est de la forme CCiC ou CCiC (participe passif). Ce qui est caractéristique ici c'est que les désinences personnelles sont les mêmes que les suffixes verbaux. Ainsi *qṭilli*, "I killed", mais avec CCiC: *qṭilali*, "I killed her" et *qṭilawali*, "I had killed her".

La conjugaison du *subjonctif* est la même que celle de l'actif simple mais est caractérisée par le préfixe *d* ou *t*: *tqaṭlin*, "that I kill"; *tqaṭilli*, "that he kill me"; *tqaṭilwali*, "that he may have killed me".

Puis l'auteur traite du *factitif* dont le préfixe *m* ou *ma* est caractéristique. La forme avec *m* est employée pour rendre les verbes intransitifs transitifs ou pour former des verbes dénommatifs. Ainsi *psama*, "to be happy", *mbasomi*, "to make happy"; *dugla*, "a lie"; *mdagoli*, "to lie". La forme avec *ma* s'emploie avec les intransitifs comme les transitifs: *dmāxa*, "to sleep"; *madmoxi*, "to put to bed"; *qṭala*, "to kill"; *maqṭoli*, "to get someone killed". L'auteur fait ensuite la même analyse des différentes divisions de ce verbe comme il l'a fait pour le verbe actif.

Les *verbes défectifs* sont traités dans les pages 82-85 et la conjugaison régulière du *verbe intransitif* est donnée aux pages 85-86. Par une étude sur les *indéclinables* (prépositions, conjonctions et adverbes), pp. 87-88, et la *formation des adjectifs* au moyen de préfixes et de suffixes, se termine ce chapitre sur la Morphologie.

Le dernier chapitre concerne l'étude de la *Syntaxe* (pp. 91-106). Il est suivi par une liste bibliographique et un index (pp. 107-113).

Ce livre n'est pas toujours facile à lire à cause de caractère parfois trop abstrait des descriptions, et de son manque de comparaisons. Les nombreux termes techniques demandent un effort de mémoire qui peut décourager le lecteur. Mais il sera certainement le bienvenu parmi les linguistes et spécialement parmi les sémitisants pour lesquels ce livre est une mine de renseignements. L'intérêt de cet ouvrage est d'autant plus grand qu'il s'agit ici de la première description d'une langue sémitique vivante qui, étant donné le milieu dans lequel elle est encore parlée, ne tardera pas à disparaître.

St. Gillis Waas, février 1976

A. VAN DEN BRANDEN

JUDAICA

Andreas NISSEN, *Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. Untersuchungen zum Doppelgebot der Liebe*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1974 (8vo, XVI + 587 S.) = Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 15; Preis Ln. DM 115,—.

Cette étude sur l'un des thèmes les plus importants dans le "Gespräch" entre Judentum et Christentum a été faite par la Philipps-Universität Marburg als theologische Dissertation angenommen und nachher in leicht gekürzter(!) Form in die Öffentlichkeit gebracht. Der Verfasser hat sich bemüht, seine Aufgabe auf gründliche Weise zu bewältigen. Dass er sich hierbei nicht Alts Adagium „Was man nicht auf hundert Seiten sagen kann, lässt sich überhaupt nicht sagen" vergegenwärtigt hat, ist ihm, wegen der Kompliziertheit der hier erörterten Fragen kaum übel zu vermerken. Wohl hat er sich der Gefahr ausgesetzt, eine Arbeit zu leisten, die nicht immer den Eindruck der Einheitlichkeit macht. Hin und wieder lädt das Buch ein, nur einzelne Kapitel zum Durchlesen auszuwählen. Nicht nur enthält es grössere und kleinere Exkurse über oft interessante „Vorfragen", sondern auch einen grossen Aufsatz über Philo (S. 417-502, und eine Rechtfertigung dieses Verfahrens auf S. 31 und Anm. 135), welcher jedenfalls den Eindruck der Weitläufigkeit dieser Studie bestätigt. Vor allem jedoch ist das Buch auch über das eigentliche Thema hinaus, eine wahre „Fundgrube" und eine gute Einführung in die einschlägige altjüdische und moderne Literatur, sowie in die Methoden und Probleme der jüdischen Hermeneutik und Ethik. Der Leserkreis dieser Studie braucht sich wenigstens nicht auf Neutestamentler und Forscher der Judaistik zu beschränken. Dies wird folgende Inhaltsübersicht klarmachen:

Die Aufgabe der Arbeit wird in einer m.E. wichtigen Einleitung am Anfang des Buches deutlich gemacht (S.

1-9). N. weist auf die moderne jüdische und christliche Tendenz hin, Jesus in apologetischer Hinsicht „heim ins Judentum" (I, S. 2) zu holen, was für manche Interpretationen Konsequenzen hat. Die Sittlichkeit Jesu wurde vor allem zum Konvergenzpunkt christlichen und jüdischen Forschens. Aber diese Konvergenz hat die christlich-jüdische Auseinandersetzung eher verschärft als aufgehoben. Deutlich ist, dass Jesus nur als eine Gestalt des antiken Judentums verstanden werden kann, aber damit ist sein Platz im alten Judentum noch nicht gesichert. Im Zentrum der Auseinandersetzungen steht immer wieder die „Ethik", und die Frage, welche Rolle innerhalb dieser Ethik der Liebesgedanke im Judentum und bei Jesus gespielt hat. Im Brennpunkt des Interesses steht das Problem, ob die Liebe zum Nächsten im Judentum partikularistisch eingeengt war und erst von Jesus universal erweitert worden ist, oder ob diese Erweiterung schon im Judentum vollzogen wurde. Im Judentum hat man, nach N., niemals die *Absolutheit* der Liebe für sich beansprucht, ja, die unterschiedslose Liebe Gottes zum Sünder wie zum Gerechten abgelehnt. Trotz des durch Jesus begründeten Doppelgebotes der Liebe in der altjüdischen Tradition, ja, im Alten Testament, gibt es einen jüdischen Protest gegen die Liebe Gottes zum Gottlosen. Es gilt, folgende Frage zu lösen: „Liegt das „Unjüdische" Jesu in den Spitzen — als blosser Auswuchs einer Vereinseitigung des „Jüdischen" —, oder weist es auf die Grundlagen zurück?" (S. 8). Es geht hierbei nicht nur um eine historische Detailfrage der möglichen Herkunft des Doppelgebotes, sondern vor allem um die systematische Grundsatzfrage seines Ursprungs. Ist überhaupt ein Doppelgebot im Sinne Jesu im Judentum möglich? Wichtig ist die Meinung des Autors, dass der Botschaft Jesu nicht eine Fülle jüdischer Materialien, sondern die Botschaft des Judentums selbst gegenüberzustellen ist. Es geht nicht um Einzelfragen sekundären Ranges, wie wichtig sie immer sein mögen, sondern um die Voraussetzungen, die Begleitmomente usw. jedes Einzelgedankens im Rahmen des jüdischen Glaubens. Aus der sogenannten Systemlosigkeit der jüdischen Tradition erwächst die Notwendigkeit der systematischen Methode. Die verborgene Einheit der verschiedenen Meinungen der jüdischen Lehrer sieht N. in dem gemeinsamen Bezug auf die das Leben Israels begründende Gottesoffenbarung. Bekanntlich hat das Judentum nie ein geschlossenes dogmatisches System, wohl aber eine innere Ordnung, „eine ihm von den Zentrallaussagen seiner Offenbarung eingetragene Struktur" (S. 13). Dogmen, nicht in ihrer kirchlichen Ausprägung, sondern in der allgemeineren Bedeutung zentraler Glaubensinhalte, hat das Spätjudentum wohl gekannt. Hier hätte der Verfasser auf die „value concepts" M. Kadushins, *The Rabbinic Mind*, hinweisen sollen, weil diese jetzt in einer Auseinandersetzung über „das System" der altjüdischen Theologie nicht mehr unbeachtet bleiben können. Überdies ist fraglich, ob die Selbstmitteilung Gottes in Geschichte und Gegenwart nur eine Voraussetzung jüdischen Glauben ist, weswegen die Struktur dieses Glaubens auf der Eigenart dieses Gottes in seiner Selbstmitteilung beruht und nicht vielmehr auf der jüdischen Interpretation dieser Selbstmitteilung (S. 15).

N's Untersuchung beschränkt sich nicht auf apokryphische, pseudepigraphische und tannaitisch-rabbinische Quellen, sondern sie wertet die gesamte Literatur der vorrabbinisch-rabbinischen Epoche bis zum Aufkommen der mittelalterlich-jüdischen Religionsphilosophie und der Karäerkämpfe aus. Eingehend setzt er sich sodann mit den verschiedenartigen Quellen auseinander (S. 16-41). Der erste Hauptteil des Buches befasst sich mit dem Thema „Offenbarung und Erwählung“ (S. 42-98), in dem nacheinander „Der Offenbarungsgedanke“, „Erwählung und Offenbarung“ und „Universalität und Partikularität“ behandelt werden. Letztgenanntes Thema gliedert sich wieder in Subthemen, z.B. die Erörterung der Exklusivität des einen Gottes in Israel, der Tora und der Partikularität (erst die Partikularität der Tora ermöglicht und erfordert das Offenbart werden der himmlisch-universalen Weisheit Gottes auf Erden). Weiter kommen auch Haggada und Halaka in Beziehung zum Thema „Universalität-Partikularität“ zur Sprache.

Der zweite Hauptteil trägt den Titel „Gerechtigkeit und Gnade“ (S. 99-329) und ist der weitaus grösste des ganzen Buches. Dieser Hauptteil zerfällt in vier Teile: „Gerechtigkeit und Gnade Gottes“; Gerechtigkeit und Gnade unter Menschen“; „das Verhalten gegenüber Gott und dem Nächsten“, und schliesslich „das Verhalten gegenüber den Mitmenschen“. Auch jetzt findet man wieder eine weitere Aufgliederung der Teile in Unterteile und Subunterteile, in denen wichtige Fragen angeschnitten werden: z.B. „Gerechtigkeit und Gnade bei der Umkehr“; „Der Gott der Umkehr“; „Der Mensch der Umkehr“; „Mensch und Gott bei der Umkehr“; „Der Umkehrgedanke Qumrans“ (Exkurs); „Gerechtigkeit und Gnade in der Leidenstheologie“ (mit Exkurs über den „Gerechte“); weiter Themen wie: Gehorsam; Furcht Gottes (im A.T. im Judentum); Liebe und Furcht (idem, wobei noch Spezifisches im Rabbinentum); Gerechtigkeit (Exkurs: zur Frage der Durchführbarkeit der Ethik) und Barmherzigkeit (Erweisungen derselben und Wohltätigkeit); Liebe (im A.T. und Judentum); das Verhalten gegenüber dem Feind (in dem Lev 19: 17f. in der antik-jüdischen Auslegung zur Sprache kommt) usw.

Im dritten Hauptteil wird das Thema „die Tora und ihre Gebote“ behandelt (S. 330-416). Diesen Teil halte ich deshalb für wichtig, weil N. hier versucht, den Kern der jüdischen Torabetrachtung aufzudecken. Nicht nur Fragen wie Offenbarung und Offenbarungsmittel der Tora, schriftliche und mündliche Tora, zentrale Einzelworte und die Summe der Tora bei Männern wie Hillel, Elazar von Modiim, Aqiba usw. werden ins Auge gefasst, sondern auch Fragen hinsichtlich Erleichterungen, Dispensationen, Aufhebungen usw. der Toragebote, in denen betont wird, dass der Mensch eigentlich kein Recht hat, von sich aus das Mass und die Gestalt seines Gehorsams Gott gegenüber zu bestimmen. Die Schlussfolgerung des Verfassers lautet: „Die Frage nach den Geboten ist als Frage nach der Tora die Frage nach der Offenbarung: nach dem Gott, der sich erkennbar, zugänglich und verpflichtend gemacht hat in ihr, die als Gottesoffenbarung die irdische Abprägung und Präsenz seiner selbst ist, strukturiert gemäss seinem

eigenen Wesen, gefüllt gemäss seinem Wesen mit seinem Willen, als Gottessetzung eingefügt in sein Handeln, als personhafte Gotteswirklichkeit in der Welt geschichtlich umgrenzt, und als Ort der Begegnung zwischen Gott und Mensch gebunden an die Erwählung, deren Grund, Ziel und Inhalt sie ist“ (S. 145). Doppelgebote als Summe der Tora sind unmöglich, und ein Doppelgebot der Liebe erachtet N., „wäre es mehr als eine Koppelung zweier grosser Gebote“, als nicht-jüdisch (S. 416). Und er schliesst mit der Frage ab: „Sollte aber Jesu Doppelgebot der Liebe Summe und Mass des Gotteswillens gewesen sein — was bedeutet es dann, wenn es heisst: Jesus war Jude?“

In dem oben erwähnten ausführlichen Exkurs über Philo kommt N. zur Schlussfolgerung, dass bei Philo ein Doppelgebot der Liebe in seiner jüdischen Bedeutung unmöglich war. Zu wenig war er hierfür noch Jude, zu wenig auch ist er Jude, „um dem Doppelgebot der Liebe Jesu den Weg bereiten zu können in einer Welt, in die Jesus als Jude gekommen ist“ (S. 502).

Diese Studie, die mit übersichtlichen und nützlichen Registern abgeschlossen wird, verdient, obgleich sie vor allem die jüdischen Konzeptionen über Gott, Offenbarung, Tora und Doppelgebot enthält, nicht nur eine jüdische Antwort, sondern auch ein christliches „Gegenstück“ und überdies gebührende Beachtung in jenem zu Anfang erwähnten „Gespräch“.

Badhoevedorp, im Februar 1976

M. J. MULDER

* *

Moshe SILBERG, *Talmudic Law and the Modern State*, translated by Ben-Zion Bokser, edited by Marvin S. Wiener. New York, Burning Bush Press, 1973 (xiii, 224 pp.).

The author, the celebrated former deputy president of the Supreme Court of Israel and Professor Emeritus of Law of Personal Status at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, first published this work in 1961 in Hebrew under the title *Kakh Darko Shel Talmud*. It was immediately hailed as of major significance in the field of contemporary Israeli legal thought, and triggered off considerable discussion on the problem of using traditional Jewish legal source material in contemporary Israeli law. For its whole aim is to argue that „Jewish“ law can contribute much to „Israeli“ law, and is indeed essential for its future development.

A brilliant jurist and a brilliant Talmudist, he builds up his argument on material culled from Talmudic law, material for the most part over fifteen hundred years old. This he demonstrates to be of lasting legal value and of urgent contemporary significance. In his chapters VI and VII, on „Law and Morality“ — the most scintillating chapter I would venture to suggest — and „Law and Equity“, he points out that Jewish law bases its authority on religious and moral grounds, and has to rely upon the consent of the litigating parties. Hence, the unique position of the judge in Jewish law as an

arbitrator; hence also the tendency to formalism. Or to quote Silberg (p. 54): „If the goal of the legislator, the ideal towards which he aspires, is not the resolution of conflicts between persons *post factum*, but incipiently to set forth to each his ethical behaviour, the ... precision and clarity ... prevails and the inevitable result is: legal formalism“.

The Talmud is well-known to be a rich source for social, economic, folkloristic and philological material. But it must never be forgotten that it is first and foremost „a legal, juridical creation *par excellence*“ (p. xii). With this in mind, rather than through recourse to sterile references to distant anthropological phenomena, we may understand „these seemingly grotesque examples, particularly uncommon in real life, which are sometimes cited to illustrate the laws of the Gemara“ (p. 20). The reason, argues Silberg, in his chapter on „Casuistic Form“ lies in the „advantage of a hypothetical, artificially constructed case over a real-life situation in that in such a case it was possible, in an artificial manner, to eliminate all accidentals ... and thus isolate, free from all extraneous considerations, the legal principle that it wished the case to exemplify as being the sole determining factor in the decision rendered“ (p. 21).

The book is full of illuminating insights, such as the distinction drawn between normal „evasion of the law“ which usually means evading, not the law, but its administration, the tax or customs authorities, police etc., and the Talmudic „*ha'aramah*“ which means evading the law by means of the law itself. While the former act is negative, the latter „is a manifestation of wisdom and not of guile“ (p. 22). The author occasionally touches upon very problematic scholarly issues, such as the nature of the „editing“ of the Mishna (p. 12), but here too takes a clear, though perhaps not wholly probable, stand. But ultimately it is more a collection of essays, or better still, lectures — which is what it started out as —, each fascinating and important, rather than a coherent thesis, i.e. a real coherent argument. The first seven chapters do not really lead up to the plea voiced in the eighth and final chapter.

These final comments in no way detract from the value of the work as a whole. Much of Silberg's wishes and requests are gradually coming to partial fulfillment. Jewish law taken into account by the Israeli legislator, is studied in Israeli law schools, and institutes to study and classify Jewish legal precedent material are flourishing. Much of this pioneer work is being continued by Prof. M. Elon in the Hebrew University's Institute for Research into Jewish Law. This book constitutes something of an exposition of the philosophical background to and justification for such activities. It is excellently translated and edited, attractively published, and the translator has added a brief introduction which is valuable in its own right. This volume should be of interest to students of Talmud and Law alike.

Jerusalem, December 1975

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

S. EPPENSTEIN (ed.), *Perush Rabbi Josef Kara Li-Nevi'im Rishonim* (Rabbi Joseph Kara's commentary to the Former Prophets). Jerusalem, Mosad Harav Kook, 1972 (24 + 167 pp.).

Mosad Harav Kook is to be congratulated for producing this important volume of commentary on the Former Prophets, by Joseph Kara. Kara was born c. 1060-70 and lived mainly in Troyes, though he spent a period of his life in Worms; he is known to have taken part in theological discussions with Christians. He studied under his paternal uncle Menahem b. Helbo, and was a student and colleague of his great contemporary Solomon b. Isaac, (1040-1105, usually called Rashi). As a commentator he attempts to convey the *peshat* (= literal) meaning of the text, (cf. 1 Sam. 1. 17, p. 47 etc.), and only occasionally permits himself to deviate to *derash* (= homiletical exegesis). Of particular interest is the incidental light he casts on Rashi's commentaries. There is much that is similar between them, and common to both of them, but occasionally the differences are striking, (eg. 1 Kings 7. 33, p. 125, cf. note 20). Undoubtedly Rashi influenced him greatly, but, argues the editor in his introduction (p. 21), reciprocally he too influenced Rashi. This is a point of considerable importance, which is only lightly touched upon here, and requires further examination.

The present volume actually appeared for the most part over half a century ago. It did so as a series of articles that were published in the *Jahrbuch der jud. Lit. Gesellschaft*, 4 (Frankfurt am Main, 1906), 5 (1907), 7 (1910), 8 (1911), 13 (1916). (Correct the editorial preface's introductory remarks accordingly!) However, all these articles only reached the end of 1 Kings. 2 Kings remained in manuscript form in the hands of the author's son, who handed them over to the press in order to complete his father's work. The introduction (pp. 7-24) has been translated from the German. The whole is attractively produced with a minimum of misprints.

One may perhaps voice regrets that the editor left his notes somewhat sparse. Sadly lacking are explanations of the non-Hebrew words (mediaeval French, as a rule) contained in the commentary. Mosad Harav Kook would have done well to fill in some of these lacunae, as well as to update his introduction, adding supplementary modern bibliographic information. However, notwithstanding these peripheral reservations, the work constitutes an important item in the library of mediaeval Hebrew Biblical commentaries.

Jerusalem, December 1975

DANIEL SPERBER

* *

PIRKE ABOTH, edited with Introduction and Notes, by Benzion DINUR. Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1972 (148 pp., Hebrew).

This is one of the last books the late Dinur (Dinaburg) saw published before his death in 1973. Born in 1884, he settled in Israel in 1921 and set his stamp upon the country's cultural and educational character. He was

among the founders and editors of two very important Israeli journals, *Kirjath Sepher* and *Zion*, initiated and largely carried out major projects, such as *Sepher ha-Yishuv* (1939-44), *Sefer ha-Ziyyonut* (1938, 1954²), *Toldot ha-Hagganah* (1954-59), etc. He served as minister for education and culture from 1951 to 1955. He will best be remembered for his history of the Jewish people in two parts, *Yisrael be-Arzo* (1938) and *Yisrael ba-Golah* (1926, 1958², 1961-66).

The small work under present review was actually in embryonic form already in 1908-09, when he gave a course in Pirke Avot in the teachers seminary at Kiev. Over sixty years later he returned to his "juvenalia" and produced a pleasant little work, which however does not really do him credit as a scholar or as an educational thinker. It can be hardly be called a popular work — the thirty-two pages of introduction do not attempt to be — but neither is it academic. The historical analysis of the chronological layers in the tractate (pp. 24-25) is simplistic, to say the least. The bibliography on Avot (p. 29-33), admittedly not intended to be full, is nonetheless sadly insufficient. For example, no reference is made to Y. Cohen's bibliography of commentaries on and translations of Avot in *Kirjath Sepher*, 40, 1964, of M. Higger's studies on Avot in *Horeb*, 2, 1926, and 4, 1928, or of A. Marx's remarks on H. L. Strack's edition of Avot (*JQR*, N.S. 6, 1915-16, pp. 423-32). Furthermore, he makes too little use of manuscript material. For a random example see p. 46, (Avot 1.8) where he reads with the standard printed editions: *ke-'orkhei ha-dayyanim*, which he explains are officials involved in preliminary investigations, *ἀρχαῖοις* in Greek (misprinted there). However, several manuscripts read *ke-'archei*,

which would correspond to the Greek *ἀρχή* — meaning chief. Whichever reading be the original, the point certainly needs noting. (See on this issue in detail S. Sharvit, Tractate Avot according to the Geniza, unpublished M.A. thesis, Ramat-Gan, 1968, pp. 37-39.) Perhaps of even greater significance is a manuscript variant found in Avot 4.11. While the standard editions have *le-shem shamayyim*, some mss. have *le-shem mizvah*, a phrase both thematically and theologically of a different tenor. Dinur (p. 101) makes no note on this point (cf. Sharvit, *ibid.*, pp. 43-44).

Thus this work seems academically to fall somewhat between two stools, being neither truly popular, nor really academic. Nevertheless, it is a handy and very cultured presentation of what has long been appreciated to be both a literary gem in Jewish literature as well as a profound historical, cultural and moral document of the early Rabbinic period. Dinur was the epitome of the cultured scholar; he wished to reach the intelligent lay reader and present him with material both educational and palatable. And this, we venture to state, he did here succeed in doing. The volume is in the Bialik Institute's "Dorot" series, a series of paper-back pocket-book classics of Jewish literature. The whole series was one of Dinur's ideas, and it is only fitting that his swansong should appear in the child of one of his dreams.

Jerusalem, December 1975

DANIEL SPERBER

ARABICA - ISLAM

LEXIKON DER ISLAMISCHEN WELT. Hrsg. K. KREISER, W. DIEM, H. G. MAJOR. Stuttgart, Verlag Kohlhammer, 1974 (8vo, Bd. I. 212 S., Bd. II. 212 S., Bd. III. 192 S.) = Urban Taschenbücher. Preis: DM 12.—.

Nach dem Vorwort entstand dieses Lexikon aus der Zusammenarbeit von rund hundert Fachleuten aus über zwanzig Ländern. (S. Autorenverzeichnis Bd. I. S. 7-11). Die Stichworte sind, soweit sie auf islamischen Ausdrücke beziehen, in der allgemein üblichen Schreibweise angeführt (Z. B. Muezzin), der jedoch die wissenschaftliche Transkription folgt (mu'addin). Der Benutzer findet kurzgefasste jedoch exakte Angaben über die rein religiösen, rechtlichen und kulturellen Seiten des Islam, jedoch enthält das Lexikon auch eine ausreichend grosse Zahl von Artikeln über Philosophie, Geschichte, Sprachen, Literaturen, Kunst und Musik, Geographie, Geschichte der Medizin, Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften, soweit sie im Bereiche des Islam von Bedeutung sind. Dazu kommen noch genügend Stoffe über die Rolle des Islam in der heutigen Staatswelt, Volkskunde, Realien und Alltagsleben. Gleicherweise finden sich Beiträge über die Begegnung des Islam mit anderen Kulturen, die morgenländisch-abendländischen Beziehungen, die Stellung der Christen und Juden im Islam mit vollständigen Angaben über die orientalischen Kirchen nebst aktuellen politischen und sozialen Fragen. Auch die Biographien der bedeutendsten Orientalisten fehlen nicht. Jedem Artikel folgen Angaben über die wichtigsten das Thema betreffenden Werke in europäischen Sprachen. Zahlreiche Illustrationen bieten gute Skizzen islamischer Kunstgegenstände. Der Nichtorientalist kann sich bei Benützung dieses Lexikons über jedes Gebiet der islamischen Welt Auskunft verschaffen, und auch jeder, der sich dem Studium der Orientalistik widmet, hat für den Anfang eine vortreffliche Einführung bevor er die grosse Enzyklopädie des Islam heranzieht.

Cairo, Oktober 1975

ERNST BANNERTH

* *

J. J. G. JANSEN, *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (gr. 8°, XII + 114 S.). — Hfl. 24.

Die Dissertation von J. J. G. Jansen, die hier angezeigt werden soll, ist eine willkommene Ergänzung zu dem Buch *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)* von J. M. S. Baljon (siehe die Anzeige im Jahrgang 1962 dieser Zeitschrift). Der Verfasser beschränkt sich zwar, im Gegensatz zu Baljon, auf die Besprechung von Korankommentaren, die in neuerer Zeit speziell in Ägypten erschienen sind, greift aber in anderer Hinsicht weit über seinen Vorgänger hinaus. Nicht nur dadurch, dass er wichtige Kommentare einbezieht, die seit 1960 erschienen sind, sondern auch durch die Art und Weise, in der er die verschiedenen Arten der neueren muslimischen Koraninterpretation in einem grossen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang betrachtet und gewisse Entwicklungslinien von der Moderne bis in die Zeit der klassischen arabischen Literatur zurückverfolgt. In die-

sem Zusammenhang werden auch Autoren wie Ṭabarī (S. 56, Anm.) und Zamaḡṣārī (S. 62-4) vortrefflich charakterisiert.

Das Hauptgewicht liegt natürlich auf der Berichterstattung über die Koraninterpreten der neueren Zeit. Nach einem einleitenden Kapitel (S. 1-17: I. Introduction) kommen Muhammad 'Abduh und Raṣīd Riḍā zu Wort (Kapitel II, S. 18-34). Über diese beiden Theologen und ihren Korankommentar ist zwar in Goldziher's *Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), J. Jomier's *Le commentaire coranique du Manār* (1954), Rotraud Wielandt's *Offenbarung und Geschichte im Denken moderner Muslime* (1971) und in anderen Veröffentlichungen schon viel geschrieben worden. Dass Jansen das Thema noch einmal aufgreift, ist trotzdem sinnvoll. Seine vorzügliche Berichterstattung hebt die Besonderheiten des Werkes und der beiden Verfasser hervor, belegt sie mit Beispielen aus dem Text und setzt dabei neue Akzente. Auch der Fachmann, der über den Gegenstand schon orientiert zu sein glaubt, sollte bei der Lektüre des Buches nicht bloss oberflächlich über dieses Kapitel hinweglesen.

In den drei folgenden (und letzten) Kapiteln bespricht Jansen drei Typen moderner Korankommentierung — Typen, die zwar kaum einmal in Reinkultur vorkommen, aber doch deutlich erkennbar sind, sobald man nach dem Schwerpunkt fragt, auf dem und aus dem heraus die Deutung des Textes in den einzelnen Werken erfolgt. An erster Stelle (S. 35-54: III. Koran Interpretation and Natural History) behandelt der Verfasser sachlich-kritisch und zugleich verständnisvoll die Werke der sog. wissenschaftlichen Exegese, d.h. Kommentare, die nachzuweisen versuchen, dass alles Wissenswerte, vor allem auch Errungenschaften der modernen Naturwissenschaft und Technik, schon im Koran angekündigt sind. Die Reihe der ausführlicher besprochenen Autoren endet mit Tanṭāwī Ḡauharī, Farīd Waḡdī und Ḥanafī Aḥmad. Anschließend werden einige Muslime aus älterer und neuerer Zeit aufgeführt, die sich gegenüber der „wissenschaftlichen“ Koranexegese kritisch geäussert haben, als letzter Amīn al-Ḥilī.

Positiver als die „wissenschaftlichen“ Kommentare werden die Werke des zweiten, sprachlich-philologischen Typs bewertet (S. 55-76: IV. Koran Interpretation and Philology). Jansen referiert zuerst über frühere Vertreter dieser Deutungsmethode und unterscheidet dabei zwischen der Deutung koranischer Wörter und der syntaktischen Analyse. Als Beispiel der Wortdeutung nennt er Ibn 'Abbās, als Beispiele der syntaktischen und stilistischen Analyse Abū 'Ubaida und Zamaḡṣārī. Aus neuerer Zeit werden als Zeugnisse der Wortdeutung angeführt: das Werk *Kalimāt al-qur'ān* von Ḥasanain Muḥammad Maḥlūf (1956), das nach der Reihenfolge der Suren und Verse angeordnet ist, und das von der Akademie der Arabischen Sprache 1940 in Angriff genommene und 1970 fertiggestellte Lexikon *Mu'jam al-fāz al-qur'ān al-karīm* sowie Muḥammad Ismā'il Ibrāhīm's *Mu'jam al-alfāz wal-a'lām al-qur'āniya* (1968). Eingehend gewürdigt werden als Vertreter einer modernen philologischen, historisch-kritischen Koranexegese Amīn al-Ḥilī, der an der Ägyptischen Universität in Gīza Koranexegese lehrte und 1967

verstarb (S. 65-8), und dessen Gattin und nunmehr Witwe Dr. 'Ā'īša 'Abdarrahmān, Professor für Arabisch an der 'Ain-Šams-Universität in Heliopolis, die seit den 30er Jahren unter dem Pseudonym Bint aš-Šāṭi' schriftstellerisch tätig ist und in den 60er Jahren einen zweibändigen Kommentar über 14 Suren der ersten mekkanischen Periode veröffentlicht hat (S. 68-76).

Das letzte Kapitel ist dem praktisch-religiösen, vor allem auf die rechtlichen Vorschriften ausgerichteten Typ der Koranexegese gewidmet (S. 77-94: V. Practical Koran Interpretation). Behandelt werden als Vertreter der allgemein erbaulichen Koranauslegung: Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāḡī, Amīn al-Ḥilī (Rundfunkvorlesungen über koranische Themen) und 'Abdarrahmān al-Bannā', ein Bruder des Gründers der Ḡam'iyat al-Iḥwān al-Muslimīn. Im Hinblick auf die Kommentierung der rechtlichen Verse (*āyāt al-aḥkām*) stellt Jansen fest, dass die Kommentatoren erstens selten auf die technischen Einzelheiten des Rechts eingehen, zweitens nicht darauf hinweisen, dass das islamische Recht im modernen ägyptischen Recht nur eingeschränkte Bedeutung hat, drittens dass sie das islamische Recht apologetisch behandeln und hochloben. Der Rest des Kapitels gilt dem Problem des *Iḡtihād*. Nach Jansen wird neuerdings allgemein die These vertreten, dass *Iḡtihād* erlaubt ist, doch besteht Unklarheit darüber, was dieser Terminus genauer bedeutet, und wo die Grenzen liegen. Referiert wird über die Stellungnahme von Muḥammad 'Abduh und Raṣīd Riḍā, von Abū Zaid aus Damanhūr (sein 1930 erschienener Korankommentar wurde von einem Kollegium von Azhar-Gelehrten verurteilt) und von Maḥmūd Šaltūt (gest. 1964). Schliesslich kommt noch die Diskussion über das spezielle Problem der Polygamie zur Sprache. Der Verfasser leitet seine Berichterstattung ein mit der treffenden Bemerkung: „It should be borne in mind that *Iḡtihād* is not the real motor of change in Islamic law, even if the theory of the Moslem jurists would so prescribe. *Iḡtihād* serves to justify in retrospective the changes that are brought about by outside forces, first of all Western influence on ideas in the Arab and Moslem world on what is socially desirable“.

Das Buch schliesst mit ein paar Betrachtungen allgemeiner Art. (S. 95-7: Conclusions), einem ausführlichen Literaturverzeichnis, einem Sachindex, einem Verzeichnis der zitierten Koranverse und einem Namenindex. Alles in allem ist es ein Werk reifer Gelehrsamkeit, das trefflich orientiert und auch in der Art der Darstellung hohe Anerkennung verdient.

Tübingen, November 1975

RUDI PARET

* *

Mohamed Ahmed SHERIF, *Ghazali's Theory of Virtue*. Albany, N.Y., Published by the State University of New York Press, 1975 (XIII, 205 pp.) = Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science.

This work, although of normal length, contains a world of information concerning both the general out-

lines of Ghazali's thinking and the narrowed and technical topic of his theory on virtue, as embedded in the whole of Ghazali's thought. The author begins by focusing the reader's attention on one outstanding feature of Ghazali's thought, namely its "basic unity", which underlies any specific topic of discussion in Ghazali's work. The author argues his point as follows: "His (Ghazali's) inquiry into different sciences was extensive and for the purpose of understanding their fundamental principles. He did not move haphazardly from field to field, but tried to discover the relationships among them. By examining his writings on all these subjects one can discern a movement which finally fulfilled Ghazali's quest for truth. Because the unity of his thought only emerges when we are aware of this movement, Ghazali's true teaching cannot be adequately understood by examining certain of his doctrines to the exclusion of the others" (p. 2). Therefore the author's choice of a central theme in Ghazali's writings fell on his system of ethics (*'ilm al-akhlāq*), since this topic as a representative of all the disciplines to which Ghazali contributed, should make it possible to explore this unity (p. 3).

The author then discusses in an original way the place of ethics in the division of sciences (p. 4-19). From this point of view Ghazali's main works are approached and investigated, namely the *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah* (Aims of the philosophers), the *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (Incoherence of philosophers), the *Mī'yār al-'ilm* (Standard of knowledge), the *Mizān al-'Amal* (Criterion of action), the *'Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Revival of religious sciences), the *Risālah al-Laduniyyah* (Treatise on mystical knowledge) and the *Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* (Deliverer from error).

Here it appears that Ghazali's epistemology on the one hand does form a unity, but on the other hand, this unity must be viewed as consisting of three interdependent levels:

a) rational (philosophical) knowledge; b) religious knowledge; c) mystical knowledge (p. 15).

Accordingly, every general topic under discussion, especially one such as virtue or ethics, must be viewed and treated on each of these three levels. The author in our opinion, does not make it explicit enough that the above organization of sciences (pp. 14-17) is taken from part two of the *'Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* (Book III) and is followed up in a later work, the *Risālah al-Laduniyyah*. This subjective subdivision of the realm of knowledge, evidently based on the individual's personal experience, is, in our opinion, not sufficiently contrasted with the more objective and empirical subdivision of sciences to be found in the first part of the *'Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, discussed by the author on pp. 10-14. In any case, the author comes to the following conclusions at the end of his introductory chapter:

a. The ethical (we should also say epistemological) theory of Ghazali forms an architectonic whole, which incorporates and synthesizes three interdependent and complementary levels, which consist of a philosophic (*aqliyyah*), a religious (*shariyyah*) and a mystical (*laduniyyah*) element. "This means that each one of these elements had to undergo certain changes and modifications; only in such a way could Ghazali have constructed

a "whole" out of different and sometimes contradictory elements. This "whole" is not merely the sum of the parts, but has its own characteristics as an ethical theory" (pp. 21-22).

b. One aspect of Ghazali's ethics which is specific and at the same time central, in the sense that it pervades all the important characteristics of the theory and reflects the problems which are peculiar to a composite ethical theory, is the aspect of virtue. Ghazali deals with this aspect especially in the "Criterion" and in the "Revival" (p. 23).

The theory of virtue then becomes the author's key-stone in his attempt to prove the correctness of his outlook on Ghazali's entire ethical theory. This is done in the chapters II-V, in which he discusses, respectively, the philosophic, religious and mystical virtues in order to verify his main hypothesis (p. 21-22).

Chapter II deals with the Philosophic virtues (p. 24-76). It becomes clear that Ghazali in this respect follows closely the teachings of Avicenna. Basing himself on the Koran, Ghazali insists that knowledge of the soul is the foundation of religion, but this assertion does not reveal the content of that knowledge. Since this question seems to be left open in the Islamic religious tradition, Ghazali introduces the philosophic analysis of the soul to provide the substance of that knowledge. The philosophic analysis of the soul is considered as not being in conflict with Islamic religious teachings, and is to be accepted as a "natural" starting point to be developed beyond the strict philosophic limits (pp. 27-28, 37-37, 55-56, 73-76). The "practical faculty" (*quwwah 'āmilah*), at least on the philosophic level of virtues, determines human ethics. It is interesting to note that Ghazali defends the view that "good habits" (*ādah*) should reinforce the "natural disposition" (*fiṭrah*) of the human soul, in the sense that the acquisition of virtues is more "natural" to the human soul than the acquisition of vices. Good habits can thus create a "second nature", (or automatism), giving external form to the inborn "natural disposition" (p. 32-33). This Koranic concept of "natural disposition" (*fiṭrah*) should perhaps be reinvestigated in the light of the results of the so-called "Positivity-Bias-hypothesis", nowadays a basic topic in the field of "naive psychology". We believe also that Ghazali's view on good habits may provide an additional explanation for his insistence that every Muslim should always perform the external ritual (*Ẓāhir*) of worship (*'ibādāt*) and customs (*'ādāt*).

The second part of chapter II deals, in a very technical way, with the four principal philosophic virtues, called "the mothers of character" (*ummahāt al-akhlāq*), namely: wisdom (*ḥikmah*) which corresponds to the rational faculty; courage (*shajā'ah*) which corresponds to the "irascible faculty"; temperance (*'iffah*) which corresponds to the "concupiscent faculty" of the soul; and justice (*'adl*) which has the task of properly ordering these first three faculties in relation to one another (cf. p. 38-76). More details on the subdivisions of these cardinal virtues are to be found in Appendix II (p. 177-189).

Chapter III (p. 77-104) deals with the religious-legal virtues. Man has to achieve not only the goods of the

soul (i.e. the four principal philosophic virtues) but he needs also the goods of the body, — health, strength, beauty and long life, — and the external goods, — wealth, family, fame, and noble birth. These last two categories of goods are called "bounties" (*ni'am*), "forms of happiness" (*sa'ādah*) or "virtues" (*ḥudūd*) (p. 77). They are necessary and useful instruments in bringing about the virtues of the soul. However, to obtain these bounties and to make the virtues of the soul effective a fourth, and superior, category of "goods", called "the virtues of divine assistance" (*al-ḥudūd al-tawfiyyah*), or "theological virtues" are needed. Those virtues are "divine guidance" (*hidāyah*), "direction" (*rushd*), "leading" (*tasdīd*) and "support" (*ta'yīd*). Those virtues can bring human beings real happiness in the hereafter, not as a state man is entitled to, but as a "bounty", or a free gift from God, called "*ḥādī*", "*ni'mah*" and "*ḥādī*" (p. 79). Ghazali's approach here has to be seen in the light of the Ash'arites rejection of any causal or deterministic factor besides God and of their theory of man's "acquisition" (*iktisāb*) of his own actions (p. 83-85). The best way to practice the theological virtues in order to call forth God's blessing and, in doing so, to reach the state of happiness, is by performing actions directed to God. The type par excellence of such actions are, obviously, the divine commandments, to be found in God's own revelation (p. 85). Ghazali divides the divine commandments in acts of worship (*'ibādāt*), — to help man preserve his relation with God and enable him to appeal to God for the divine assistance necessary for the attainment of happiness in the hereafter (p. 86-92) —, and customs (*'ādāt*) — the religiously prescribed and approved "habits" and moral imperatives, originating in God's commandments (p. 92-101). This is also precisely the point where Ghazali introduces his well known division of the external (*ẓāhir*) and internal (*bātin*) meaning of the divine commandments. The multitude of the believers (*al-'āmmah*, or *al-'awāmm*) can only understand the external aspects, while the few (*al-khāṣṣah* or *al-khawāṣṣ*) are able to understand both the internal and external aspects (p. 98, 102-104). To attain the understanding of the few, and the ultimate happiness in the hereafter still another kind of virtues is needed: the mystical ones, dealt with in chapter IV (p. 105-160).

Ghazali calls the mystical virtues "commendable character traits", "qualities of salvation" (*al-ṣifāt al-munjiyyāt*), "stations" or "stages" (*maqāmāt*). Just as the philosophical virtues, they are basically passions, in particular fear, hope, and love; Love is the highest mystical virtue man can acquire during his life (p. 109-110). They purify the soul, and free it from the body as far as possible, so that it may devote itself entirely to the highest passion, namely, love of God, which results in "nearness to God" (p. 111). Whereas each philosophical virtue is composed of four elements — namely "faculty", "knowledge", "positive disposition" and "action", —, Ghazali enumerates only three elements for each mystical virtue: the first is "knowledge", which produces the second, a "positive disposition" (*ḥāl*), which in turn causes the third, "action". The category "faculty" is eliminated, probably, as the author assumes, because such a psychic faculty is of no importance in relation to

a discipline which relies on divine assistance (p. 111-112). The mystical virtues then are divided in two groups: six "supporting mystical virtues" (p. 114-124) and fourteen "principal mystical disciplines" (p. 124-158). Our attention is drawn to the fact that the way Ghazali explains and rationalizes the mystic virtues differs a great deal from all other mystic manuals (p. 112-114). It looks as if the view of Ibn Taymiyyah (p. 128, n. 1) — according to which Ghazali expresses philosophic ideas in Islamic terms — is justified. The author does not explain his ideas very coherently on this point, but, glancing through the passages where this topic arises in his book (cf. pp. 75, 106-107, 111, 128, 133, 135, 149, 156-157, 161-164, 166) it seems to be obvious that he supports to a high degree the assumption of Ibn Taymiyyah. But at the same time the author also stresses the important contribution which mystical tradition gave to Ghazali's rational theoretical framework of the mystical virtues (i.e. the virtues of the few who only seek nearness to God). The author further underlines the great impact of Islamic tradition (i.e. the religious-legal virtues) on Ghazali's synthesis of the mystical and Islamic traditions by showing that mystical virtues admit of degrees of excellence. The lower degrees (*ẓāhir*) are usually assigned to pious men (*ṣāliḥūn*), whereas the higher degrees (*bātin*) can only be acquired by the few, called "truly learned men" (*'ulamā*), "mystics" (*ṣūfiyyah*) or "benevolents" (*muḥsinūn*), who all try to reach the rank of those who are brought near to God (*muqarrabūn*) (pp. 98, 105, 156-157, 163). Thirdly, as far as the relation between the natural (in the sense that man arrives at them by unaided reason) philosophic virtues and the religious legal virtues of the Islamic moral teachings is concerned, Ghazali does not try to synthesize or reconcile them. He transforms the philosophic and religious-legal virtues into a new wider framework: they are drowned or absorbed into the theological virtues (the virtues of divine assistance), which are necessary means to the attainment of happiness. They are un-natural (i.e. man cannot arrive at them by unaided reason, but only by revelation), and "non-acquisitionable" in a deterministic sense (they are a free gift, bestowed by God on man). The fulfillment of the divine commandments (which are the religious legal virtues) together with the acquisition of the philosophic virtues may or may not trigger off this free gift of God, namely the attainment of the happiness of the sensuous pleasures of paradise, i.e. *jannah* (pp. 162, 167-168). However, the theological virtues, which supersede the philosophic virtues as the precondition for the attainment of happiness, are insufficient to assure the attainment of ultimate happiness by the few, namely the spiritual pleasures of paradise, which consist of contemplating God (*ru'yah*), being in His nearness (*qurb*) and encountering Him (*liqā'*) (p. 167-168). Rather, the religious-legal virtues, which are the practice of the divine commandments taken literally, make it possible for the few to attain the highest happiness by inviting them to explore an internal, non literal significance of God's commandments. For instance, from alms-tax (*zakāh*) as a religious-legal virtue one can reach asceticism, a virtue related to the internal significance of the commandments (p. 162-163). I may be wrong, but it seems to me that Ghazali's tripartite theoretical frame-

work is not just a static, descriptive one (p. 163, 164, 169): It is also characterized by a strong hermeneutic dynamism, in which the legal-religious virtues of the orthodox Islamic tradition are the pivot. They function as the "comment" on the "topic", which consists of the psychological basis which gives rise to the philosophic virtues; but, on the other hand, the religious-legal virtues also function as a "topic", in the sense that they represent the material, of which the mystical virtues are the "comment". Ghazali's opinions on happiness (*sa'adah*) point in the same direction (cfr. p. 164-169).

The general conclusion the author draws from his study (p. 169) supports his hypothesis (p. 21-22) of the tripartite organisation of virtues into a whole. However, I am not wholly in agreement with the author's final statement: "Ghazali's theory of virtue (...) is oriented toward the well-being of the individual. It concerns itself primarily with man's individual spiritual salvation, the attainment of ultimate happiness in the hereafter" (p. 169). The author seems to emphasize the individual benefits of virtue without considering its social dimension. The question may be raised (which the author does not) to what degree the Ghazalian Islamic teachings have or have not effected the status of the social, civilian and political virtues in so far as the well-being of the Islamic secular communities are concerned. Could it be that the pure Quranic teachings were so intrinsically socially minded, that they counterbalanced to a high degree the individualistic impact of Ghazali's teachings on the common believers? Could the answer to this question give the neutral observer some objective insight into the receptivity or non-receptivity of modern Islamic communities to such western social theories as socialism and communism?

The author concludes his book with two Appendices. In the first one (pp. 170-176) the "Criterion" (*Mizān al-'Amal*) is defended as an authentic work of Ghazali, but written before the "Revival" (p. 167). In the second Appendix (pp. 177-189) four tables are given, comparing and contrasting Ghazali's lists of virtues as they appear in 1) the "Criterion" and in 2) the "Revival", with those of 3) Miskawayh and 4) Avicenna. Finally, those subdivisions of the four principal philosophic virtues, which are not discussed in the exposition of chapter II, are dealt with here.

In the preceding paragraphs I have tried to give a summary of the rich content of this masterfully written work, which I have supplemented with a few marginal remarks. I have avoided however any critical discussion of the more detailed structure of the three kinds of virtues. The exposé the author provides us of Ghazali's theory of virtue is not only very clear and sweeping in its overall vision, but is, at the same time, extremely thorough in its working out of technical details. Nowhere, to my knowledge, will the Arabist or the Islamologist find, at least in a western language, a more authentic detailed and structured range of definitions, explained within the framework of the Ghazalian terminology of virtue. Therefore, for any one who wants to use this book as a technical implement, it is most distressing to discover that the index (pp. 200-205) is not organized to include the genuine Arabic terms among its

entries. For instance the terms "*hilm*, *ḥalīm* and *taḥal-lum*" are listed under the entry "gentleness" (p. 201). Still worse, the index does not contain even half of the rich harvest of terms defined in the text. Terms such as "spiritlessness" (*infirāk*) on p. 52, "arrogance" (*kibr*) on p. 53, "sex" on pp. 60-63, cannot be found in the index. Oddly too, the English terms occurring in the Tables (pp. 76, 159, 160, 178-180) have also been dropped from the index. To partially compensate for this deficiency, I offer a far from exhaustive list of some other terms occurring in the work:

p. 27 "practical faculty" (*quwwa 'āmila*); p. 66 "effeminacy" (*khunūthah*), "shamelessness" (*waqāḥah*); p. 68 "prodigality" (*tabdīr*), "meanness" (*taqfir*); p. 70 "altruism" (*ithār*), "meanness" (*buḥl*); p. 71 "greed" (*hirs*), "covetousness" (*tamā*); p. 72 "injustice" (*jawr*); p. 73 "doing injustice" (*ḡubn*), "suffering injustice" (*taḡābun*); p. 75 "worship" (*ibādah*); p. 79 "bounty" (*faḍl*); p. 80 "guidance" (*hidāyah*); p. 81 and 64 "piety" (*taqwā*); p. 84, 130 "acquisition" (*kasb*); p. 87 "articles of faith" (*qawā'id al-'aqā'id*); p. 88 "pillars of Islam"; p. 89 "submission" (*khushū*); p. 98 "Those who are brought near God" (*muqarrabūn*); p. 101 "ecstasy" (*waḡd*); p. 103 "mysteries" (*asrār*); p. 111 "state" (*ḥāl*); p. 112 and 124 "stations" (*maqāmāt*); p. 125 "nearness to God" (*qurb*), "remorse" (*nadam*); p. 126-127 "sin"; p. 148 "beauty" (*ḥusn*); p. 153 "gnostic" (*ārīf*); p. 181 "penetration of thought" (*taqābah ar-ra'y*), "correctness of opinion" (*ṣawāb az-ẓann*), "deceit" (*ḥibb*); p. 185 "spiritlessness" (*infirāk*); p. 186 "frowning" (*taqfīb*), "play" (*hazal*), "seclusion" (*uzlah*); p. 187 "flattery" (*malaq*); p. 188 "spite" (*shamātah*), "envy" (*ḥasad*); p. 189 "admiration" (*ghribah*), "competition" (*munāfasah*).

A few misprints in the text were found:

p. 13 "*ahwal*" for "*aḥwāl*"; p. 32 "*virute*" for "*virtue*"; and "*subordinated*" for "*are subordinated*"; p. 34 "*acheived*" for "*achieved*"; p. 43 "*al-a'mal*" for "*al-a'māl*"; p. 100 "*froms*" for "*forms*"; p. 143 "*forms*" for "*from*".

Gent, november 1975

M. VAN DAMME

* *

Tilman NAGEL, *Frühe Ismailiya und Fatimiden im Lichte der Risālat Iftitāh ad-Da'wa*: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Bonn, Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1972 (8vo, 78 pp.) = Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Neue Serie, Band 23.

The story of the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Sunnī Aḡlabid dynasty and established the Ismā'īlī Fātimid caliphate in the eastern Maḡrib has been written by the Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, a servant of the first four Fātimid caliphs, in his *Risālat iftitāh ad-da'wa*. The book, which was evidently patterned after the *Kutub ad-daula* describing and extolling the 'Abbāsīd revolutionary movement, became the almost exclusive

source of all later accounts. Edited recently for the first time, it was chosen by the author of the present monograph as the basis for a study of the character and ideology of the Fātimid revolutionary movement with a view to explaining its spectacular success in particular and the vitality of early Ismailism in general.

It is evident that a work like an-Nu'mān's *iftitāh ad-da'wa*, however valuable a source of information it is, cannot by itself provide a sufficiently broad basis to answer these questions. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, it is known, represented the official Fātimid view point and had his own axe to grind within the Fātimid missionary organization. Other sources, as far as they are available, must be compared to balance the bias of his reporting. In applying the conclusions drawn from his account to early Ismailism in general, the question of how representative the Fātimid movement in the Maḡrib was within it has to be answered first on the basis of a comparative study of Ismā'īlī movements elsewhere. Moreover, the specific character of the Fātimid revolutionary movement can only be assessed in a contrast with similar movements in earlier and later Islamic history.

Nagel is not wholly unaware of these methodical problems. He mentions the official character of an-Nu'mān's account (p. 10) and to some extent uses other sources or studies based on them. But in practice many of his discussions and arguments appear founded on much too narrow a documentary basis. As a result, most of the general conclusions of the study are open to question.

Rejecting the thesis of M. Čurakov („Kharidžitskoe Dviženie i vosstanie Šiitow w Maḡrebe", *Palestinskiy Sbornik* XIII [1965], pp. 126-43) that the Fātimid movement gained the adherence of the Kutāma Berbers by adopting Ḥārīḡī egalitarian doctrines, Nagel suggests that the early Ismā'īliya underwent Mu'tazilī influences which partially account for its success as a revolutionary movement. He finds traces of such Mu'tazilī influence in a public letter of Abū 'Abd Allāh aš-Šī'i, the leader of the Fātimid movement in the Maḡrib, in which he affirmed his support for justice ('*adl*) as ordained by God, spoke of God's "promise and threat" (*al-wa'd wa l-wa'id*) and quoted the Koranic injunction of "ordering what is proper and prohibiting what is reprehensible" (*al-amr bi l-ma'rūf wa n-nahy 'an al-munkar*). These terms, though they denote specific doctrines among the Mu'tazila, are evidently not used exclusively by them. To take the principle of *al-wa'd wa l-wa'id*, no Muslim would, against the text of the Koran, deny that God has threatened the wrongdoers with punishment. The specifically Mu'tazilī doctrine of *al-wa'd wa l-wa'id*, which is rejected by most other Muslims, affirms that God will unconditionally condemn the unrepentant Muslim sinner to eternal hell-fire. There is no evidence that aš-Šī'i had this Mu'tazilī thesis in mind. It is indeed very unlikely because it would have been in conflict with the role of the imām as the intercessor for his followers in the Day of Judgment which is, as Nagel rightly stresses (pp. 36f.), a fundamental aspect of the Ismā'īlī dogma of the imāmate. It is for this very reason that Imāmī Šī'ism, when it adopted Mu'tazilī theology

sometime later than the rise of the Fātimids, consistently repudiated the Mu'tazilī doctrine of *al-wa'd wa l-wa'id*. Only the Zaydīs among the Šī'a, for whom the imām is primarily a political and religious leader in this world, were able to accept it. Similarly, the other two concepts are not used by aš-Šī'i in any specifically Mu'tazilī sense. There is, besides the Šī'i elements, nothing in his letter that could not have come from any Muslim leader of a religious revolt, whether he be Sunnī, Šī'i or Ḥārīḡī. Moreover, a comparative study of other Muslim revolutionary movements would probably have shown that many of the characteristics of the Fātimid movement described by Nagel on the basis of an-Nu'mān's account, such as insistence on justice, accusation of the opponent of oppression and of perverting Islam, moral rigorism, equality and brotherhood among the adherents, could regularly be found, *mutatis mutandis*, in any of them. This was the natural form for these movements to take. There is a certain basic similarity in all of them with aspects of Ḥārīḡism, the perennial movement of revolt against illegitimate authority, and of early, revolutionary Mu'tazilism. But it would be futile in most cases to speak of an "influence".

Besides the Mu'tazilī influence, Nagel argues that the Fātimid movement in the Maḡrib was influenced by "Ḥasanid" doctrine. He holds that the thesis that the name of the Mahdī must be Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, adopted by the Fātimids and an-Nu'mān, was specifically Ḥasanid. It was under the influence of this doctrine that the first Fātimid caliph, 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, denounced the claim of his ancestors to be descendants of Ismā'il b. Ġa'far aš-Šādiq. Nagel further maintains that Fātima was a central figure in Ḥasanid, as distinct from Ḥusaynid Imāmī, doctrine, and that the Fātimids owed their dynastic name to its influence. Such Ḥasanid doctrine, he suggests, was prevalent among the Šī'is in North Africa as a result of the activity of the 'Alid, mostly Ḥasanid dynasties in the western Maḡrib.

The arguments for the presence of such a Ḥasanid Šī'ism and its influence on early Fatimid doctrine are tenuous. It is not unlikely that the *ḥadiṡs* affirming that the name of the Mahdī will be Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh were first calculated for the benefit of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh an-Nafs az-Zakiya who rose one and a half centuries before the Fātimids. By the time of the Fatimid revolt they had been widely accepted by Muslims in general. Such *ḥadiṡs* were included in some of the Sunnī canonical collections like the *Sunan* of Abū Dāūd. For obvious reasons the Imāmī collections of the post-*ḡaiba* time contain them only in the version affirming that the name, but not the father's name, of the Mahdī will be identical with that of the Prophet. This does not mean that the former version had always remained the doctrine of the supporters of a Ḥasanid imāmate. Fātimid propaganda no doubt capitalized on the fact that their Mahdī, unlike that of the Twelvers, had his father's name in common with the Prophet, not because this was the doctrine of Ḥasanid Šī'is in the Maḡrib, but because it was widely accepted among Sunnīs and Šī'is alike. (It should be noted, however, that the term *samiyu nabiyyi llāh* in the poem quoted by Nagel, p. 54, does not necessarily imply identity of the father's

name of the Mahdī and the Prophet as Nagel interprets it.) Even so it is not evident how the interest of 'Ubayd Allāh in making the Fātimid Mahdī's name Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh would have induced him to deny his descent from Ismā'il b. Ġa'far.

Difficult to understand is Nagel's contention that the veneration of Fātima was cultivated specifically by the supporters of a Ḥasanid imāmate. The cult of Fātima has always belonged to the very core of Imāmī religious sentiment. The descent of the imāms from the Prophet through his daughter Fātima was for the Šī'ī supporters of Ḥusaynids no less crucial than for the supporters of Ḥasanids. A different motive is evidently touched in the Ḥasanid an-Nafs az-Zakiya's boasting of his pure Arab descent in his letter to the half-Berber 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manšūr. There is no reason to see a necessary connection between the two motives as Nagel (p. 55) suggests. Most later Šī'īs, in any case, were not much concerned about the ethnic origin of the mothers of their imāms. If any Ḥasanid at the time of the Fātimid revolt could still claim pure Arab descent, this does not seem to have given him any advantage in claiming the imāmate. The poem offered to 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī to which Nagel refers (p. 54) as evidence for such a Ḥasanid belief in the need for pure Arab descent does not imply this. By *'itrat at-taḥīr*, which Nagel translates as "aus reiner Wurzel", is not meant pure Arab descent but the family of the Five Purified ones or *Ahl al-Kisā*, i.e. Muḥammad, Fātima, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusain, who in the *mubāhala* were purified by God from all filthiness according to Koran XXXIII 33. 'Ubayd Allāh is praised by the poet as belonging to the purified family of the Prophet. There is no reason to think that he ever claimed pure Arab descent. The dynastic name of the Fātimids cannot be derived from a Ḥasanid doctrine. Vital for the Fātimids and their supporters was no doubt, besides the general Šī'ī veneration for Fātima, another consideration. Through 'Alī, Muḥammad's cousin, the Fātimids were no more closely related to the Prophet than the 'Abbāsīds through Muḥammad's other cousin 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās. Through Fātima they were Muḥammad's direct descendants. It was the 'Abbāsīd caliphate which the Fātimids set out to challenge.

Chicago, November 1975

W. MADELUNG

* *

Asaf A. A. FYZEE, *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*. Fourth Edition. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1974 (8vo, XX + 220 pp.). Preis: £ 2.75.

Dieses in 1. Auflage 1949 (vgl. R. Paret, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1952, p. 221-223), in 2. Auflage 1955 (vgl. E. Pritsch, *ZDMG* 111, p. 194-196), in 3. Auflage 1964 (vgl. O. Spies, *Der Islam*, Vol. 42, 1966, p. 94) erschiene Werk liegt jetzt in 4. Auflage vor — ein Beweis dafür, wie nützlich sich das Buch sowohl in der Hand der indischen Jura-Studenten wie auch der Islamisten erwiesen und bewährt hat. Der Verfasser, ehemals Professor of Jurisprudence und Praktiker und Erforscher besonders des ismaelitischen Rechts, hat uns hier das

Handbuch of the Islamic Civil Law which is applied in India to Muslims as a personal law geschenkt.

Auf den Inhalt des Buches im einzelnen einzugehen, erübrigt sich, da das in den vorausgegangenen Besprechungen hinreichend geschehen ist. Man muss auch hier die kluge Bemerkung des Verfassers hervorheben, dass das islamische Recht „cannot be studied without a proper regard to its historical development“. Der britische Einfluss auf die Anwendung des islamischen Rechts in Indien zeigt sich im Zurückgreifen auf die gerichtliche Praxis und in der Handhabung des Statute Law. Zur Ergänzung der in den Appendices angeführten Rechtsentscheidungen sei auf das Buch des Verfassers *Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan* Oxford 1965, hingewiesen. Aus diesen Gerichtsentscheidungen ergibt sich der Einfluss des Brauchtums, der Rassenmischung, der Polygamie und des Konkubinats auf islamische Rechtsvorstellungen, in denen reformierende Tendenzen geltend geworden sind.

Diese neue Auflage enthält einige Neuerungen und Nachträge. Die Literatur ist bis Ende 1970 berücksichtigt. In einigen Paragraphen sind kurze Änderungen vorgenommen, so ist z.B. in Marriage ein neuer Paragraph 11 „Further Disabilities“ eingeschoben.

Um es abschliessend zu sagen: es ist das beste Handbuch seiner Art, worin ich mit J. Schacht „the most elementary but the most scholarly of these handbooks“ (*An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, p. 249) übereinstimme.

Möge auch die neue Auflage, für die wir dem Verfasser aufrichtigen Dank aussprechen, viele Freunde und Interessenten finden.

Bonn, Dezember 1975

OTTO SPIES

* *

Paul KUNITZSCH, *Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (Pp. XVI, 385, 10 plates). Price: DM 160.

The first part of Kunitzsch's book (pp. 15-112) represents an enormous advance in our knowledge of the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and of the Latin version of the Arabic. He is able to describe manuscripts of the translations made by al-Ḥajjāj and Sarjūn in 827/828 and by Ishāq ibn Hunayn between 879 and 890, and of the reworking of the second by Thābit ibn Qurra (died 901). From marginal notes in a most valuable manuscript of this last, copied in 1085 and now in Tunis; from an unpublished discussion of books VII-VIII of the *Almagest* written by Ibn al-Ṣalāh (died 1154), of which Kunitzsch promises an edition; from marginal notes by Qāḍizāde (died 1412) in a manuscript of the recension of the *Almagest* made by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in 1247; and from other, less esoteric sources Kunitzsch has collected considerable information about a Syriac version of Ptolemy's work and about a first Arabic translation thereof made, perhaps by al-Ḥasan ibn Quraysh, for al-Ma'mūn (813-833). These represent his most significant discoveries concerning the oriental tradition of the

Almagest. Kunitzsch (not surprisingly) has no new material concerning the Pahlavī version (pp. 123-125), or concerning the alleged Arabic translations by Rabban al-Tabarī (p. 25) and by Abū Ḥassān and Salm (pp. 18-20), nor does he refer to the edition by Rāma Svārūpa Śarman (3 vols., New Delhi 1967-1969) of the Sanskrit translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn's version made by Jagannātha in 1732.

With regard to the occidental tradition Kunitzsch (who does not deal with the Latin versions based on the Greek) is able to suggest that Gerhard of Cremona, who finished his work at Toledo in 1175, first translated into Latin the Arabic of al-Ḥajjāj's version of books I to IX, then that of Thābit's reworking of Ishāq's translation of books X to XIII; and that he inserted in the margins of his translation of books VII to IX parallel translations from Ishāq's version. To arrive at these conclusions he has consulted four Latin manuscripts (out of more than 60) and the edition published by Petrus Liechtenstein at Venice in 1515. One will feel more secure in one's knowledge of Gerhard's activities only after an examination not only of more of the manuscripts, but also of more of the text; Kunitzsch has only investigated the star-catalogue (books VII-VIII) and the incipits of some selected chapters.

This narrow textual basis also mars his discussion of the Arabic manuscripts; in general he has only consulted the first and last few folia of each and the star-catalogue. Future investigations may not substantially alter his conclusions, but his readers may well wonder. Curiosity may even compel one of them to extend the study of the several Arabic translations to the remaining books of the *Almagest*. One can even hope that such studies will illuminate the history of the Greek tradition as the Syriac and Arabic translations are either older than or contemporaneous with the most ancient surviving Greek manuscripts.

In the second, and longer, section of his book (pp. 113-370) Kunitzsch discusses various philological problems: the names of the *Almagest*, of Ptolemy, and of various others in different languages; the Arabic and Latin versions of the beginnings of selected chapters of the *Almagest*; and, at great length, the nomenclature in the original Greek, in all the Arabic versions, and in Gerhard's Latin of the 48 constellations and of 652 out of the 1025 stars listed in Ptolemy's catalogue. This last, occupying some 200 pages, is the core of Kunitzsch's work, continuing his important previous investigations of star-names in Greek, Arabic, and Latin, and will be of considerable assistance to those who read Arabic texts in which the names of stars occur. Unfortunately for those interested in the coordinates of the stars, Kunitzsch devotes only six pages (pp. 150-155) to a discussion of a few examples of errors in various of his versions.

Der Almagest provides an auspicious beginning for the long-overdue modern investigation of the Ptolemaic tradition in the Orient. That it centers on the catalogue of stars probably does not adversely affect its main conclusions; and Kunitzsch has brought to our attention several important manuscripts of the *Almagest* which have not previously been studied, as well as the work of

Ibn al-Ṣalāh. But it remains to be discovered how well al-Ḥajjāj, Ishāq, and Thābit understood Ptolemy's spherical trigonometry and solar, lunar, and planetary theories; how they expressed that understanding in Arabic; and the relation of their words to the Greek, the Latin, the Hebrew, and the Sanskrit traditions. Much has been achieved; much more remains undone.

Providence, Brown University,
December 1975

DAVID PINGREE

* *

R. C. OSTLE (Editor), *Studies in Modern Arabic Literature*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1975 (8vo, VI + 202 pp.). Price: £ 4.95.

The present volume contains papers delivered to a colloquium on Modern Arabic Literature held in July 1974 at the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London. Six of the papers deal with Arabic poetry in one form or another, two papers discuss the short story, two papers concern the novel and three papers deal with the theatre.

Roger Allen opens the poetry section with "Poetry and Poetic Criticism at the Turn of the Century" (p. 1-18). R. Allen confronts the arguments of both Shauqī¹⁾ and Ḥāfiẓ in their introductions to the first editions of their *dīwāns* with the comments and criticism of their critics. He sets out from the articles of Muḥammad al-Muwailihī in the *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*, April and May 1900, reprinted in the *Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūti*, and those of December 1900 and January 1901 published in the same *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*. R. Allen thinks that some of the changes which he found in the 1961 printing of the *Shauqiyyāt* as compared with the first edition, might have been inspired by these criticisms. However, it may be argued against Allen's opinion, that the changes of the 1961 printing need not to be Shauqī's. The author would have been on firmer ground if he had relied on the second edition of 1926 (Volume I) and 1930 (Volume II). I do not want to suggest, however, that the changes R. Allen observed have anything to do with the editors who are responsible for the current curtailed edition.

R. Allen then discusses the introduction of Ḥāfiẓ' *dīwān*, published also by *Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq*, and the series of articles by various authors which followed, Ḥāfiẓ' own views on the poetry of Shauqī, published in his *Layālī Saṭīḥ* in 1906 end this contribution of Allen.

The second article is by M. M. Badawī with the title "Shukrī the Poet - a Reconsideration" (p. 18-33). The author asserts on the basis of Shukrī's *Kitāb al-I'tirāf* (Alexandria, 1916) that the latter's new style in poetry was rooted in a psychological dislocation which again resulted from the clash between traditional Islam and Western values. Follows a survey of themes with special attention for the themes of love and death so prevalent in Shukrī's poetry.

¹⁾ The transliterations used by the contributors have not been harmonized in the present volume. The transliterations of this review follow those of the papers with the result that one and the same name may be spelled differently in separate parts of the review.

R. C. Ostle, "Īyā Abū Mādī and Arabic Poetry in the Inter-War Period" (p. 34-45), presents a short account of Abū Mādī's literary career and then proceeds to the "discussion of trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry in more general terms". The author sees Abū Mādī influenced primarily by his Arab milieu contrasting him with the other Maḥjar poets such as Jibrān, Nu'ayma and 'Arida on the one hand and with the Egyptian poets such as Shawqī, Ḥafeẓ Ibrāhīm and Muṭrān on the other hand. Ostle defends Shawqī against the attacks of al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī, whom he considers to have reacted against a way of life more than against good or bad poetry. A few lines about Shukrī and four paragraphs about the Apollo Society and its founder Abū Shādī conclude this article.

Salmā Khadrā' Jayyūsī, "Contemporary Arabic Poetry: Vision and Attitudes", p. 46-68) deals with "some aspects of vision and attitudes in *avant-garde* contemporary Arabic poetry". The focus is on the concept of time. The first part discusses the concepts of the present, the immediate past and the future in Arabic poetry as it was written during the fifties and the sixties under the impress of the Palestine tragedy.

The second part deals with the vision of the remote past. The author discerns an interesting change of vision as compared with traditional Arabic poetry. The static hero cedes his place to a dramatic or even tragic one whose experiences have symbolic significance.

The third part of the article is devoted to the theme of "stopped time", i.e. the feeling that there is no past and no future as may be discerned in poems by Adonis and al-Bayyātī. The last section is titled "timelessness", an aspect of time missing in *avant-garde* poetry which is not metaphysical by nature.

The article is of such quality as to awaken the reader's curiosity into the author's thesis, *Trends and Movements in Contemporary Arabic Poetry*, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1970.

M.A.S. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm writes about "al-Sayyāb: a Study of his Poetry" (p. 69-85). The author sets out "to comment briefly on the various periods of al-Sayyāb's writing; on certain points of his poetic technique; and to discuss the relationship between innovation and tradition in his poetry". Typical for al-Sayyāb are, the author asserts, the interrupted sentence, the use of verb in preference to nouns, the frequency of intensive forms or better perhaps the frequency of verbs with doubled consonants or syllables, and the virtual absence of the verb *qāla* before direct speech parts.

The next article by P. J. Cachia is titled "Social Values Reflected in Egyptian Popular Ballads" (p. 86-98). The author discusses a few characteristics of the popular ballad with regard to its contents and its audience. The material presented here forms part of a forthcoming book.

Ṣabry Ḥafeẓ deals with "Innovation in the Egyptian Short Story" (p. 99-113). The author passes in quick survey from the pioneers of the short story to the years after World War II. He recognizes four trends in the after-war period: the sentimental and melodramatic

trend; the romantic trend; the realistic trend and the experimental trend. The last two trends lived on well into the sixties. The important innovator of the realistic trend, according to the author, is Yūsif Idrīs. He is contrasted with a group of writers, among whom the socialist realists, who are attacked by the author in what might be called sloganesque sentences.

The origins of the experimental trend are traced back to Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm's plays, such as *Ahl al-Kahf* (1934) and *Sherazade* (1936); to Anwār Kāmil's *al-Kitāb al-Manbūdh* (1936); and to Bishr Fāris' *Maḥraq al-Turuq* (1938). The author then mentions magazines such as *al-Taṭawwur*, *al-Magalla al-gadida*, *al-Bashir* and *al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* which all had their share in the developments of the experimental trend. The sixties witnessed the decline of the realistic trend, which phenomenon is related by the author to a return "of the years of fear and lack of security ... in a severer version". The new generation of writers vented their feelings of uneasiness in new forms. The hero of the stories of the fifties is replaced by an "internal character, filled with fear and frustrations ...". The author asserts that these writers cannot easily be fitted into one of the preceding schools, but may be classified according to predominant stylistic features. He discerns what may be termed the legendary style, the direct style, the style of interior monologue, the style of relativity, the style of trivial experience, the semi-didactic style and the poetico-realistic style.

The next article is by Ḥamdī Sakkout titled: "Najīb Maḥfūz's Short Stories" (p. 114-125). The author points out that Najīb Maḥfūz had written about 70 stories between 1930 and 1944 and that these stories make it impossible to label Maḥfūz' early period of writing as 'historical'. The first collection *Hams al-Junūn* was published in 1938.

More stories followed in the sixties. They were collected in *Dunyā Allāh* (1963), *Bayt Sayyī' al-Sum'a* (1965), *Khammārat al-Qiṭṭ al-aswad* (1968), *Taḥt al-Mizalla* (1969), *Ḥikāya bilā bidāya walā nihāya* and *Shahr al-'Asal* (1971), *al-Jarīma* (1973), and *ḥikāyāt ḥarītna* (1975).

Sakkout asserts that most of Maḥfūz' early stories betray the influence of the school of Maḥmūd Taymūr. The second period of story writing follows after a long time of novelistic activity and shows a matured author, or as Sakkout writes: "... Maḥfūz has managed to embody his social and metaphysical message in situations and actions which are entirely true to life". The collection *Bayt sayyī' al-sum'a* shows a growing tendency towards political criticism. After 1967 the stories are entirely political. Maḥfūz relies on symbolism and on the absurd in these stories which makes them difficult reading for everybody not knowing all the ins and outs of the Egyptian political scene of that moment.

Ḥalīm Barakāt writes about "Arabic Novels and Social Transformation" (p. 126-137). The author states that the "overall hypothesis of the present paper is that contemporary Arabic novels tend to be critical explorations into Arab society and not just a faithful reflection of the *status quo*".

The author concentrates on the aspect of social and

political engagement which makes him discern five types or trends in the Arabic novel: I. Novels of confrontation; II. novels of compliance; III. novels of regression; IV. novels of individual rebellion; V. novels of revolutionary change. Type I is represented, according to the author, by Maḥfūz' *Tharthara faḥq al-Nīl* (1966) and Jabrā I. Jabrā's *al-Safīna* (1970). A novel of compliance is *al-Summān wa al-kharīf* by Najīb Maḥfūz (1962). Novels of regression are *'Awdat al-rūḥ* (1933) and *'Uṣfur min al-sharq* (1938) by Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm. Novels of individual rebellion were written by Jabrā I. Jabrā, Laylā Ba'albakī, Ghāda al-Sammān a.o. The novels of revolutionary change are not yet written but the author hopes to finish one soon.

The article is written in a clear style but I failed to understand what the author was aiming at with: "The novels of rebellion dismiss themes that might be construed as political or ideological and pose them as conflicting with artistic standards. Such a claim assumes that artistic standards can be met in dealing with certain themes and not others". It sounds too much as if the author makes his own generalizations and then declares that one of them is false. If he means to say that one of the authors of novels of rebellion or even all of them declared politics a hindrance to artistic achievement why not write it down unequivocally.

Trevor Le Gassick, "An Analysis of al-Ḥubb taḥt al-Maṭar (Love in the Rain) — a Novel by Najīb Maḥfūz" (p. 138-151). The author epitomizes his verdict on this novel as "The novel's chief claim to our attention does seem to rest on the significance of the impression it gives of life in Cairo under the stresses of the inter-war period". He stresses as essential the point that "one's personal difficulties are totally insignificant compared with these of the nation and the world at large". On the other hand, the feelings of insecurity and distress, of dissatisfaction with the revolution, are prominent in the novel.

Trevor Le Gassick ends his short analysis with the words that Najīb Maḥfūz with this novel "has attempted to continue his self-imposed but widely accepted role as the vocal conscience of Egypt".

J. Stetkevych, "Classical Arabic on Stage" (p. 152-166). The first part of this article deals with what the author calls "some of the live, dramatic problems which face the Arabic literary language as it becomes a language the new venture of the Arabic theatre ...". The second half explores the question "how does theatre in the *fuṣḥā* actually sound?"

'Alī al-Rā'ī, "Some Aspects of the Modern Arabic Drama" (p. 167-178). The author surveys in his essay some of the explorations of Arabic playwrights into traditional Arabic forms of theatre. He discusses first the *Sāmīr* form, a peasant theatre-in-the-round allowing "for a free interflow between performers and audience" as in *al-Farāfir* by Yūsef Idrīs. Then he passes on to the narrator and impersonator form, as recommended by Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, and put to practice by Naguib Sorūr in Egypt and al-Tayyeb al-Ṣiddīqī in Morocco. The second part of the article is devoted to the question "how ... to explain this active interest in traditional

forms of drama on the part of the Arab playwrights". The author points to the *maqāma* and to the shadow play as forerunners of the present Arabic theatre. He then passes on to discuss the quest for folkloristic themes.

The last subject broached in this article is the reception of the plays by the audience.

Louis 'Awaḍ, "Problems of the Egyptian Theatre" (p. 179-193), selected two problems he considered most vital to the theatre, to wit the language and social commitment. He discusses at length the history of the vernacular theatre from its beginnings in the seventies of the nineteenth century, through the opposition against it on the part of the protagonists of the use of the classical language in the theatre until the final victory of the vernacular. The author then proceeds to an analysis of a few plays of the sixties for their social and or political content.

Coming to the end one can only be impressed by the variety of the papers presented at the colloquium which must have been very rewarding.

Leiden, October 1976

C. NIJLAND

* *

ICONOGRAPHY OF RELIGIONS XXII, 2. *Muslim Architecture*. Doğan KUBAN Part 1. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (8vo, XII + 31 pp., 44 pls.). Price: f 32.—.

The monograph is part XXII, 2 of the *Iconography of Religions* and represents only a small section of a broad survey. In the twenty four pages allotted to him for his first fascicule, Doğan Kuban makes a brave attempt to tackle first the mosque and its function, and second, its formal development in early Islam. "Legends" to the forty four photographs take up a further seven pages. Tombs, *madrasas* and convents, are to be dealt with in a separate fascicule.

As an introduction for the newcomer to Islamic ritual and architecture, the text, well documented, does not pretend to break new ground and rightly so; it reads clearly with the Arabic words usually explained when first met or implied from the context except for *mu'adhdhin*. Besides the *miḥrāb*, the *minbar*, the minaret and the *maqsura*, other liturgical and ceremonial furnishings are also listed: places for ablutions, Qur'ān stands, lamps and candelabras and outer buildings. The importance of a clock should perhaps have been pointed out and the *waqf* system given more emphasis.

Minarets, although at first standing on their own originally as watch towers, were integrated into the fabric of the mosque as early as that of Qairawān in the ninth century A.D. It is difficult to decide whether early baked brick minarets of Iran or Transoxiana might not have also been part of the original mud brick mosque, long since vanished, as in the case of Damghan or Kalyan in Bukhara. Early minarets in pair on either side of the portal, are worth pointing out, for example those of Tabas in Khurasan; entrances into mosques are not necessarily axial. It was important to stress the early

presence of a dome over the *maqsura*; it is not only the continuation of pre-Islamic wooden domes but also that of stone ones like those of the baths in Jerash and Bosra as well as those of the church in Qasr ibn Wardan and Saint George in Ezra. It is always difficult to use a descriptive vocabulary which relates to another form of religion; the feeling is that one should avoid such a term as nave and replace it by central aisle.

The well selected bibliography opens the way to further reading. The second edition of K. A. C. Creswell's *Early Muslim architecture* 1969, has not been included nor G. Pugachenkova's *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow 1967, which gives plans of early mosques and their transformations. Letters on the last page of figures in the text have been omitted. A most unfortunate habit of contemporary publications is to re-use old photographs from earlier books, when perfectly good negatives are available to picture researchers. In the case of the Ka'ba, which is inaccessible to the non-Muslim, it is unforgivable that an engraving of 1790 should have been used rather than a contemporary photograph. The romantic vision of Arabia was adequate when H. Glück and E. Diez used it in 1925; it has no place in this direct and valuable presentation.

London, February 1976

YOLANDE CROWE

* *

R. Hrair DEKMEJIAN, *Patterns of Political Leadership: Egypt, Israel, Lebanon*. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1975 (XII + 323 p. Charts, graphs, bibliography, index). Price: Cloth \$ 24.00, Fiche \$ 24.00.

"The present study deals with cabinet elites of three countries primarily in terms of social background characteristics, recruitment, and circulation, and only secondarily with their attitudes and behavior. This is mainly due to the easy availability of recruitment data, in contrast to difficulties in obtaining reliable information on elite attitudes and behavior. (...) The three countries are Lebanon (1943-1973), Israel (1948-1973), and Egypt (1952-1973)" (p. 3).

In thus falling in with the current fashion of studying specific political elite groups for background, — a fashion that somehow may tie in with the thesis that an individual is made by his context — the author has set himself a threefold task. First, he has identified a large number (the exact number does not become very clear) of politicians in three countries and unearthed and tabulated the accessible background information about them: family membership, training, political and other affiliations and the like (listing on p. 8). Secondly, he has attempted to bring this information to bear on the nature and composition of the subsequent cabinets in each of the three countries during the chosen period. Thirdly, he has, implicitly as well as explicitly, attempted to compare the three sets of data thus emerging.

His reasons for this approach appear sound enough: (...) "there are distinct advantages to the use of political elites as an (*sic*) unit of comparative analysis". "It is quite possible that neither parties, nor pressure groups,

nor, say, interest aggregation would occupy the center stage of comparative inquiry" (p. 2). "Among the other characteristics which contribute to the attractiveness of leadership as a unit of analysis are its precision and elegance, particularly in quantitative research" (p. 3).

The means to this purpose, then, are claimed to be, "first, one must identify the group in each polity which possesses the critical mass of political power; second, one must consider the comparability of these politically powerful groups" (*ibid.*). As regards the former "the initial choice of the cabinet as the focus was based on direct observation as well as on expert opinions" (p. 4). As regards the latter, five characteristics are listed (p. 3, 4), namely — in briefest summary — concentration of power, specific political culture, specific mutual links, specific self-view, recognition as dominant elite. An obvious comment on this list is that if it is good enough to make for comparability between three countries of the Middle East, the question yet remains whether it could do the same with regard to any other countries. This question is underscored rather than answered in the final chapter, where not less than 22 hypotheses of various kinds are summarily marshalled for purposes of a comparative exercise that, as it happens, yields differences rather than comparabilities.

The substance of the book is made up of three strictly monographic chapters, one on each of the three countries selected. In each case, a key characterization is used that in its turn marks difference rather than comparability between the three. Lebanon is described as a sectarian (rather than denominational) democracy, but the key political notions used to approach political elite phenomena are za'imism, dynasticism and coalitions. Israel is described, in too noncommittal a fashion, as a new society, in which an elite is forged: but then it turns out that for a large part the members of this elite share a common background. Egypt is described as a charismatic setting, no doubt because Nasir rates as a charismatic leader, and the elite appears in function of the routinization or metamorphoses (not the author's terms) of charisma.

In the monographic treatment, crisis management as a key role for the elite pops up in each case; but the author does not build an effective comparison on it. He appears to be more concerned about a degree of parallelism in his presentation of each case, especially in a recurrent section Elite Profiles (p. 62ff, 143ff, 185ff). On the other hand, the description of the political realities of each country is focussed in a markedly different manner in each case. For Lebanon, we are given the history of cabinets as shifting coalitions around presidents (p. 34ff), and the presentation inevitably implies a rapid summary of the recent political history of Lebanon. For Israel, diaspora and *aliya* experiences are used to lead up to a cursory presentation of the history of Israel during the presidencies and cabinets of the chosen period, using six factors (p. 122) that the author believes have determined elite behaviour of the groups concerned (p. 103ff).

For Egypt, where background histories of individual elite members are rare (p. 173), we are given a sketchy history of the Revolutionary Command Council (p.

176ff). Against this varied backdrop the parallelism in presentation of the backgrounds and other features of cabinet ministers becomes, to an extent, a self-purposive exercise, more so since the author has not really succeeded to push ahead to the point where he would, in keeping with his promise (p. 6), look not merely at recruitment, legitimation and representativeness but, most important, at performance. The question, of course, is whether the kind of material he has so painstakingly assembled and assorted, can provide an adequate base for identifying, let alone measuring or judging, performance. It is the same question that arises, and remains unanswered, in a work quoted by the author, namely J. D. Barber's more psychological approach, in terms of personal character, to the performance of politicians — in this case presidents of the U.S.A. — which in its turn remains basically inconclusive. (*The Presidential Character*, Englewood, Cliffs N.J., Prentice Hall, 1972).

The book reads well, notwithstanding occasional terminological oddities, such as the already noted use of the term sectarian. A few examples: p. 37, a legitimacy that is "augmented"; p. 97, 141, 162, "disposition" in the sense of position held after leaving cabinet; p. 103, 171, "socializational" experience or, p. 176, event; p. 105, 106, "Turkish" for Ottoman; p. 113, a background "reflective of" a position; p. 179, "charismatic milieu"; p. 180, an unusual conjunction of events that "inadvertently" propels a president; p. 181 "mass constituency (gemeinde)" and "mass gemeinde".

The Hague, Oct. 1975 C. A. O. VAN NIEUWENHUIJZE

AFGHANISTAN

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL GAZETTEER OF AFGHANISTAN, Vol. 3, *Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan*. Edited by L. W. ADAMEC. Graz, Akad. Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975 (4to, XVI + 521 S., 51 S. mit Karten (1 : 300.000)). Preis: öS. 560.—.

In der wertvollen Reihe des „Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan“ ist nach den Bänden über Badakhshan (1972) und Farah (1973) der dritte Band erschienen, der Herat und das nordwestliche Afghanistan, d.h. die heutigen Provinzen Herat, Badghis und Ghor behandelt. Der Band enthält die bis 1914 gesammelten Informationen der Briten über das Land. Die Briten hatten bis dahin schon zwei Kriege in Afghanistan geführt, in denen gerade die politische und strategische Bedeutung Herats gegenüber Persien (Iran) und dem zaristischen Russland eine grosse Rolle gespielt hatte. Daher haben die Berichte der verschiedenen britischen Grenzkommisionen, die das afghanische Territorium im Nordwesten gegen die Nachbarstaaten festzulegen hatten, nachdem Herat 1863 unter Dost Mohammed endgültig wieder unter afghanische Herrschaft gelangt war, einen besonderen Niederschlag gefunden. Vielen Informationen merkt man auch an, dass sie unter den militärischen Gesichtspunkten der Gangbarkeit des Geländes, der Versorgungsmöglichkeit von Truppenverbänden mit Nahrungsmitteln, Futter und Wasser und

der Verteidigungsbereitschaft befestigter Orte zusammengetragen wurden. Den rund 1800 Stichworten (Entries) in alphabetischer Reihenfolge hat der Herausgeber, soweit es sich um Ortsangaben handelt, die geographischen Koordinaten hinzugefügt; sie lassen sich somit im Kartenteil lokalisieren, der aus 51 Kartenausschnitten der auf 1 : 300.000 verkleinerten Topographischen Karte von Afghanistan besteht. Die Ortsnamen werden meist in der englischen Schreibweise wiedergegeben. Das schwierige Problem einer wissenschaftlichen Transliteration wird dadurch vermieden, dass ein Index alle Stichworte auch in persisch-arabischer Schrift auführt. Ausserdem hat der Herausgeber ergänzende Angaben, die durch ein abweichendes Druckbild deutlich gemacht sind, über die moderne Verwaltungsorganisation, über geschätzte Bevölkerungszahlen und über Verschiebungen von Ortsnamen und Ortslagen gemacht. Dabei wird allerdings deutlich, dass es über das nordwestliche Afghanistan bisher weit weniger wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen gibt als etwa über den Osten des Landes. Der Herausgeber führt in der Einleitung einige seiner Quellen auf, darunter auch ungedruckte afghanische Statistiken, und verweist im übrigen auf die vorliegenden Bibliographien und die Literaturverzeichnisse umfangreicherer Arbeiten. Wichtige Angaben zur Geschichte und zu den ethnologischen Verhältnissen des behandelten Raumes, teilweise mit detaillierten Genealogien der Führungsklans der Stämme, sind besonders in den grösseren Artikeln über die Stadt Herat, über die Provinzen Herat, Badghis und Ghor sowie über die Stämme und Stammesgruppierungen der Chahar Aimak mit den Jamshedis, den Kala Nao Hazaras, den Firozkohis und den Taimanis, ferner der Taimuris und der Mughals (Mongolen) enthalten. Das Buch wird damit zu einem sehr wertvollen, ja unentbehrlichen Hilfsmittel für Historiker, Ethnologen und Geographen, die sich intensiver mit Afghanistan beschäftigen. Dem Herausgeber L. W. Adamec und dem Verlag gebührt grosser Dank für die mühevollen Arbeit.

Saarbrücken, Dezember 1975

C. RATHJENS

* *

Paul BERNARD, avec le concours de Raymond DESPARMET, Jean-Claude GARDIN, Philippe GOUIN, Albert de LAPPARENT, Marc LE BERRE, Georges LE RIDER, Louis ROBERT, Rolf STUCKI, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I* (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968. Paris, 1973 (Vol. I, XI + 246 pages + 48 figures; Vol. II, 143 plates) = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome XXI.

The book under review by P. Bernard *et. al.*, entitled *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I* (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968), being Tome XXI of the Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan gives a meticulous and detailed account of the results of four campaigns (1965-1968) in two excavations areas ("chantiers") of the Greco-Bactrian city of Ai Khanoum, situated about 64 kms. north-east of Kunduz in the

province of Taluqan in north Afghanistan. These two excavation areas have revealed the so-called administration quarter of the city and the Temenos of Kineas. The results from the other three excavation areas (one of them a gymnasium or *palaestra*) have not been incorporated in this present study since progress was judged not to have been sufficiently advanced when this report went to press.

The general plan of the Hellenistic city, which is almost 2 kms. long and more than 1½ kms. wide, lies naturally enclosed by the confluence of the Amu Daryā, the ancient Oxus river, and the Kokcha, one of its main tributaries, which flows from the south-east. As an outpost, able to block the entrance to the eastern flank of Bactria, the site controlled two possible routes of infiltration. One leading north-easterly towards the Qizil Su valley, a tributary of the Oxus and the other by means of the Kokcha.

The city, which is entirely naturally protected, consists of two main parts: 1) the Bala Hissar, or upper city built on a rocky, earth-covered plateau of roughly triangular shape, nearly 1½ kms. in length and about 60 metres high; 2) the lower city, built on a fluvial terrace covered by loess, abutting in the west on the Oxus and in the south on the Kokcha river.

In the north, where natural shelter is lacking, the area marking the lower city, was protected by a ditch with a central gateway and strengthened behind by a wall with rectangular towers at frequent intervals, each measuring some 19½ metres in width.

A main street traverses the site from the gateway of the northern rampart to the river Kokcha in the south. West of this road lie the northern and southern administration units of the lower city. The Temenos of Kineas lies, some 40 metres away, north-east of the north administration area and an oriental type temple borders the main street. The total duration of both architectural complexes commences in the 2nd half of the 4th century B.C. and continues throughout the 2nd century B.C. (p. 104).

A brief and useful discussion of the various construction materials, foundation and building techniques, and use of architectural details of the remains at Ai Khanoum (pp. 7-15) leads to a methodical examination of the architectural ensemble of the lower town. This, P. Bernard prefers to call the "quartier administratif" on account of its central position, its large scale extension and the grandeur of its architecture. By using this neutral terminology, the author avoids a premature decision on the precise functional character of the building complex. He rejects the hypothesis of regarding this large rectangular courtyard with its colonnaded porticos, as an agora. He argues that only the south portico gives access to a hypostyle hall, in turn opening into a large room embellished with semi columns made of wood. The absence of shops inside the colonnaded porticos would also indicate that this was not a market place. Bernard's view tends more towards a governmental, or perhaps even a royal residence.

The large courtyard (136,80 metres x 108,10 metres) with its 116 columns and 4 colonnaded porticos has its entrance at the north via a monumental gateway

(66,90 metres x 59,50 metres long). The west side of the entrance deviates slightly from its north-south axis in order not to desecrate the funerary *heroön* which stood about 40 metres outside the north wall of the courtyard.

The gateway or *propylon* lead into an interior vestibule, of which the striking feature was two plain columns, somewhat carelessly carved, each crowned with a pseudo-Corinthian capital and having a single thick *torus* base of unmistakably Achaemenian type.

As will be seen, these bases differ radically, from those in the 4 colonnaded porticos which show a *scotia* between two *tori*, and are therefore of the Attico-Asiatic type. Others of the same description as the two Achaemenian bases from the *propylon* have been discovered, having been reshaped and used secondarily as socles for the wooden semi columns of the large room, briefly previously mentioned as lying behind the south hypostyle hall (p. 52) and in the case of a bell shaped base, re-used in the foundation layer of the colonnaded south portico (p. 28). This leads Bernard to reflect on the possibility of future discovery of Achaemenian monuments dismantled by the Greeks of Ai Khanoum (p. 120).

The north portico had a length of 136,80 metres and had 34 columns. The east and west porticos were 108,10 metres long and had 24 columns. All three had an equal depth of 4,46 metres and an estimated height of 5,72 metres. They were closed behind by a brick wall. The thirty four-columned south portico had, however, significantly differing measurements, being 6,65 metres in depth and approximately 9,10 metres in height. The author remarks that this architectural lay-out of four colonnaded porticos lining a courtyard has an undisputed Greek appearance. The *peristylon* with its main portico on the southern side towards the prevailing winds, and being, as indicated, both higher and deeper than the others, belongs to a type known as "Rhodian" and thus re-affirms its Greek origin. The *peristylon* of Ai Khanoum is the oldest known example of its kind and it certainly antedates the 2nd century parallels from Delos, cited by P. Bernard.

Distinctly apart from the previously described pair of Achaemenian-type column bases from the northern vestibule, much attention is focussed on the description of the bases of the columns from the courtyard. These latter were all carefully shaped on a rotating wheel, a technique which is also noticeable on the drums of the columns, and are of the Attico-Asiatic type. The most illuminating feature is characteristically Attic and consists of a *scotia* between 2 *tori*. The columns from the areas cited, and in addition those from the northern monumental gateway itself, are plain and non-cannelured and the capitals are of pseudo-Corinthian type. They are generally made of one block of stone, but examples are present of capitals consisting of two slabs, one on top of the other and joined together by means of a wooden peg. These capitals have been described as not really belonging to the Greek Corinthian family proper, since P. Bernard recognizes them as a Hellenized survival of an ancient Oriental form with ascending volutes adorned with added Greek acanthus foliage. He draws

attention to 1st century Palmyra which provides analogous capitals.

P. Bernard places the construction of the south colonnaded portico, the three other porticos and the north *propylon* in the same architectural phase 11,1, viz. 1st half of the 3rd century B.C. (p. 104) and argues that the very conservative profile of the Attico-Asiatic bases of these columns is still very close to the classic models of the end of the 5th century B.C. (Propylon and Temple of Athene Nike at Athens) and that the same applies to the simple, unassuming decoration of their capitals. He proposes the 1st quarter of the 3rd century B.C. and more specifically the years 303-281 B.C., i.e. during the reign of Seleucos I and the viceroyalty of Antiochos I.

During Bernard's building period III,1, which is characterised by the use of baked bricks, unlike period II, which used exclusively large sun dried bricks as building material, the colonnaded portico on the south opened into a large hypostyle hall, 27,50 x 18,75 metres and about 9,10 metres high, with 18 Corinthian columns arranged in three rows of 6. In addition, there are two corner columns, cramped into the lateral walls standing in line with the front row of columns. P. Bernard has observed that the foundations of the three rows of columns do not consist of a continuous massive layer of boulders and mortar, reinforced by substructures of blocks of stone under the actual columns, as was the case in all 4 colonnaded porticos, but, that here in the hypostyle hall each column has its own separate massive substructure. The columns have again, the typical Attico-Asiatic bases with a *scotia* between two *tori*, which had been shaped on a rotating wheel and P. Bernard correctly remarks on the extraordinary tall proportions of these pillars (9,10 metres high exclusive of the plinth and 0,80-0,82 metres in diameter) (pp. 42-43).

P. Bernard proposes a date in the 1st half of the 2nd century B.C. for the building period III, 1, of the hypostyle hall, and the large rectangular room (3) to which this hall gave access, which he bases on the style of the capitals. The latter consist of two rows of acanthus leaves out of which four pairs of cannellured columns — two for each side of the capital — rise up, ending in two volutes, one outward leaning corner volute of large dimensions and one small internal volute. The capital is closed off by an *abacus*, consisting of two bands.

The west portion of the brick wall of the south portico only, was embellished by shallow, baseless stone pilasters (5 cms. in depth and 13 in number) corresponding with the pillars in front. This building phase also falls within Bernard's Period III,1. Their capitals are of the so-called sofa-type, a variant of a well known type in Greek architecture and therefore to be regarded as purely Greek. Here, at Ai Khanoum, however, they are presented in a hybrid form. P. Bernard points out that the hybrid form of this sofa capital from Ai Khanoum is the earliest known example of a kind later to become popular in Greco-Roman architecture.

During the building period III,1 the southern hypostyle hall with its Corinthian colonnade opened through a wooden door, encrusted with ivory (pp. 195-201 for the small objects) and placed in the centre of the back wall, into a rectangular, spacious room (3) measuring

26,50 metres x 17 metres. The four walls, the corners and the door openings of this room were adorned with all together 36 cannellured wooden semi columns, ¼ columns and ¾ columns respectively, all had stood on stone plinths. P. Bernard did not discover any capitals belonging to these pillars, but they must also have been of wood and Doric in appearance, in order to correspond with yellow painted relief pieces in the shape of *regulae*, made of unbaked clay. The latter were found in front of the foot of the walls and pointed to their functional use in a painted roof construction. However, the excavator did not recover a single trace of a frieze of metopes and triglyphes as one would expect to go with the *regulae*. The walls were decorated with panels of mortar with geometric motifs executed in polychrome painting (red, yellow, white and black) and with medallions of unbaked clay in relief presenting lions heads. Their muzzles and manes were painted in yellow, the eyebrows, pupils and mouths in black. Their position at the time of recovery, namely in front of the walls and their small dimensions (7-8 cms. in diameter) may suggest that they had been placed in panels in between the columns rather than above the capitals. P. Bernard stresses that "L'importance de ces appliques n'est pas dans leur qualité artistique modeste mais dans le type même des têtes de fauves qui, avec leurs crinières hérissées en auréoles de grosses mèches raides, à peine incurvées, et le froncement très accentué de leurs sourcils bosselés, se rattachent à la tradition hellénistique" (p. 53).

P. Bernard also points out that "Nous ignorons à quoi servait l'unité architecturale formée par la pièce 3 et le vestibule hypostyle 2, mais la place privilégiée occupée par cet ensemble dont la façade s'ouvrait au centre du grand portique Sud, ses dimensions considérables et la richesse de son décor témoignent de l'importance de sa fonction" (p. 56). It is self-evident that the hypostyle hall should neither be regarded as an annexe of the great courtyard nor as an independent construction in the way of a hypostyle hall proper. Here, at Ai Khanoum the colonnaded porch on the south forms, indeed, the entrance hall to the spacious room (3) and this architectural unit of a large room preceded by a vestibule giving access to a courtyard is a characteristic and well-known Greek house plan, as found in Priene and later in the Parthian world, at Rayy in Iran and at Nippur in Mesopotamia.

P. Bernard summarizes his article on the capitals from Ai Khanoum in *Syria* 45, 1968: 111-151 as follows: "La présence de caulicules qui assurent la transition entre la corbeille d'acanthes et les volutes rattache les chapiteaux d'Ai Khanoum à la catégorie des chapiteaux corinthiens de type dit normal par opposition au type libre où les volutes sortent directement de la corbeille. Les chapiteaux bactriens sont, en outre, étroitement apparentés à un groupe de chapiteaux séleucides représenté par les exemplaires de l'Olympiion d'Athènes dont la construction fut commandée par Antiochos IV Épiphane (175-164 av. J.-C.) et par ceux du propylée du Bouleutérion de Milet, édifice offert à la ville par deux hauts fonctionnaires de ce même roi L'appartenance de ces chapiteaux à la famille du corinthien grec est donc bien établie mais certains de leurs traits n'ont de parallèles que dans le domaine orien-

tal. Le monotone découpage des feuilles en pointes rigides nous éloigne de l'élégante silhouette de l'acanthé grecque décorativement échancrée mais se retrouve sur des acanthes de la Nisa Parthe. Les grosses nervures centrales annelées comme des queues de scorpion caractérisent ces mêmes acanthes de Nisa et d'autres que l'on rencontre sur toute une catégorie de pièces d'argenterie gréco-orientales" (p. 45).

A further reason for giving a date in the 1st half of the 2nd century B.C., for the hypostyle hall and adjacent room (3), lies in dating the construction of the south unit of the administration quarter. P. Bernard wishes to place this in the period of time between the construction of the colonnade (Period III,1) and the destruction of the hypostyle hall by fire, towards the end of the 2nd century B.C. (p. 104). He therefore considers 150 B.C. as the lowest acceptable date and supports his argument by pointing out that the manufacture of the capitals is still far removed from the minute chiselling technique demonstrable in late Hellenistic and Roman work.

The shape of the Attico-Asiatic bases does not allow for too low a date either... "Nous avons donc là une modénature conservatrice, d'allure classicisante ... par chance nous retrouvons un profil analogue, très peu évasé, au bases du propylon du Bouleutérion de Milet, ce qui nous ramène à la période 175-164 av. J.-C. En apparence cette période fixe une limite haute. En effet les chapiteaux de l'Olympiëion d'Athènes et du Bouleutérion de Milet sont les premiers qui, dans l'histoire de l'ordre corinthien, présentent conjointement deux traits qui jusque-là n'étaient pas concomitants ..." (p. 49). This would seem to provide a *terminus post quem* for the capitals of Ai Khanoum which combine the same two elements. Even a date of round 200 B.C. should not be entirely disregarded, since there is no conclusive proof that the capitals from Athens and from Miletus are indeed the earliest known examples which show a combination of the two above mentioned characteristics. *Grosso modo* the hypostyle vestibule with its three rows of columns should be dated in the 1st half of the 2nd century B.C., viz. the reign of Demetrios or Eucratides.

Behind the northern unit and separated from it by an east-west orientated corridor lies what P. Bernard calls the southern part of the administration quarter. As the continuing excavations have already revealed, it consists of a quadrangular arrangement enclosed by two communication corridors set at right angles to one another and divided into two parts by large interior passage ways. Bernard places these two interlinked architectural blocks *grosso modo* in building period III,2, viz. around 150 B.C. which is, therefore, slightly later than the west portion of the south portico and the hypostyle hall with its room (3), both of which have been assigned to Period III,1.

The two rectangular apartments (6) and (9) shared so many features that they were one another's counterpart. They measured 15,25 metres x 13,60 metres and 14,20 metres x 11,35 metres respectively and were each entered via two oblong antechambers, one of which in either case contained a fireplace. The north and south wall of room (6) had had 8 stone pilasters, including

corner ones, which projected only ca. 2-3 cms. In room (9) shallow stone pilasters had been attached to all four brick walls. In calculating the total height of the pilasters of both rooms and including their capitals, P. Bernard has made use of the better condition of the remaining parts of the corner pilasters of room (9) and he computes a height of 4,40-4,50 metres. However, he suggests that the walls of room (6) must have continued beyond that height to allow the east wall to accommodate a double arch, of which fragments were recovered, to frame two windows set high in the wall above the level of the capitals. A similar situation on the east wall, though possibly somewhat lower down, is suggested to have been the site of representations of humans and animals rendered in high relief stucco and unbaked clay, from a rather less than life-size rendering, to compositions of three times those measurements. The principal colourant was reddish, but, with here and there a touch of pale rose, white, yellow and a brownish black. Judging by the fragments, room (9) must have displayed at least 15 human representations, all of which were less than life-size, whereas the statues of a horse and one or more human beings from room (6) are all two or three times life-size. In accordance with the chronology proposed for both rooms, these reliefs should date to ca. 150 B.C. P. Bernard proposes to seek in the works of art of Hellenized Bactria the origin of the monumental statuary in stucco and unbaked clay found at Khalčajan, Nisa and Gandhara (pp. 189-193).

In room (9), 2 stone arcs of a diameter of about 1,67 metres and of contemporaneous structure with the pilasters, had most likely been placed over an arched window arrangement in the upper part of the east wall above the level of the capital, similar to room (6). This room was also furnished with statuary in high relief modelled in stucco and unbaked clay, but since these fragments lay scattered all over the room, P. Bernard remarks "On peut songer à les restituer dans des niches entre les pilastres, comme celle à laquelle nous attribuons l'arcature de briques cuites. Mais il n'est pas exclu non plus qu'ils se soient trouvés dans la partie haute des murs soit en frise continue, soit dans des niches séparées" (p. 80).

The capitals of the pilasters of both rooms have the same measurements and are of the same sofa-type and they are a true copy of those of the south portico. However, their hasty and careless rendering does not reach the quality of their models. Those of room (6) were painted in black, red, green and yellow on a white background, the ones of room (9) differ only from room (6) in that the central vegetation motif is no longer an acanthus leaf but a flower inspired by the lotus, whilst their *abacus* has a painted band of "rais-de-cœur".

This motif, in which P. Bernard has recognized two different styles of painting (pp. 77-78), has been repeated on a stucco frame placed in between the capitals and identical to that on the *abacus*. The author concludes "La taille peu soignée des pilastres et le travail hâtif des chapiteaux prouvent que cet état est postérieur à la colonnade corinthienne du vestibule hypostyle et aux pilastres de l'aile Ouest du portique Sud de la grande cour qui appartiennent à la période III,1 (cf. p. 109).

Nous attribuons donc la pièce 6 et avec elle la totalité de l'ensemble Sud à une période III,2;" (pp. 72-73).

The question of the style of the original roofing of the architectural complex comprising the initial interior vestibule of the north *propylon*, the 4 colonnaded porticos, the hypostyle hall and rooms (3), (6) and (9), had given the excavator considerable pause for thought (pp. 13-15, 21, 27, 33, 46, 54, 70-72). It seems inconceivable that they could have been exposed to the vigours of a climate which would certainly have resulted in the spoilation of the delicate decoration of stucco and unbaked clay, the decay of the wooden semi columns with painted capitals and the destruction of statuary, lions heads and similar artistic features. The appearance and consistency of the floors of the three rooms, and the absence there of a drainage system for rainwater, seem to lend credence to the necessity of roofing. Irregularly placed postholes, are regarded as having borne the scaffolding required for its construction.

P. Bernard dismisses the possibility of a vaulted roofing system for sheer lack of evidence for this assumption, and the total non-existence of fragments of stone friezes or an architrave seems to rule out a stone construction. Therefore a flat, wooden roof is indicated, and evidence for this supposition is provided in room (3) where the floor was covered with a thick layer of burnt reeds and clay, the latter with reed impressions clearly visible. The wooden beams required, to support this sort of cover, had either been destroyed in the burning or their remains had been looted by robbers ransacking the site after its destruction by fire about 100 B.C.

Assuming this construction, P. Bernard turns to the question of the enormous span bridged by the wooden beams at Ai Khanoum, and in support of his theory cites equally large roof dimensions known to have been used in Greek architecture (p. 71). He favours the flat roof with a slight tilt for the drainage of rainwater, constructed of earth with a border of roofing-tiles. Dating from the beginning of the Kushan period, roofs of this type occur in the Central Asian site of Khalčajan (pp. 13-14). Traces of a drainage system in the large, rectangular courtyard at Ai Khanoum, may be connected with the overflow of rainwater from such roofs on the adjacent porticos (pp. 35-36). It must, however, be noted that the discovery of orange-hued terracotta roofing-tiles of Corinthian type resembling Hellenistic tiles from Priene, Olbia, Olynthus and elsewhere, and of cover joints and antefixes (pp. 14-15, *propylon* and *heroön* of Kineas), suggest the possibility that the roofs had a Greek shape, and a type of pointed roof may have been employed in certain instances (rooms (3), (6) and (9)) and for certain constructions (hypostyle hall, the 4 porticos, interior vestibule of the northern *propylon*). Since the tiles recovered are relatively few in number, one would again have to resort to the possibility of collection and removal by the looters after the fire. Bernard argues in favour of the flat, Khalčajan type of roof, previously described.

The funerary monument in the shape of a small temple-like structure, which is previously referred to as standing at a distance of ca. 40 metres from the north wall of the great courtyard, was apparently dedicated to

the Thessalian founder of Ai Khanoum. His name, otherwise unknown, was Kineas, and reference to him occurs in one of two inscriptions engraved on the front face of a stone base, which had been rest in the *pronaos* of the third and latest period of the *heroön*. The inscription is an epigram of two distichs and L. Robert (pp. 207-237) attributes the inscription engraved on the left side to the 3rd century B.C. His translation runs as follows: "Ces sages paroles des hommes d'autrefois sont consacrées, dits des hommes célèbres, dans la sainte Pythô (*sic*. Delphi).

Là les prises Cléarque, en les copiant soigneusement, pour les dresser, brillant au loin, dans le téménos de Kinéas".

P. Bernard describes the *heroön*, which is orientated east-west, as having passed through four different architectural phases. In spite of internal as well as external alterations the basic design of a *cella* preceded by a *pronaos* persisted throughout (pp. 85-102).

The first building stage consisted of a *cella* or shrine (7,60 metres in length and 7,55 metres in width), and preceded by a *pronaos* or vestibule. The latter remains in all 4 stages a *distylon* in *antis*, but in this first stage is significantly larger than the *cella* itself (7,70 metres in length x 10,20 metres in width). This ceremonial burial place stood on a three-stepped podium, constructed as a border to the foundation. The measurements are given as 1,10 metres long x 0,75 metres high. Two stone bases placed on the *stylobatos* may have been supports for wooden columns.

In the 2nd building phase, the enlarged *cella*, (8,05 metres long x 7,05 metres wide) and the reduced *pronaos*, (5,55 metres long x 7 metres wide) stood on a raised rectangular terrace (17,40 metres wide x 48,20 metres long x 1,30 metres high), and reached at the east side by means of a stairway.

The 3rd *heroön* stood on an elevation of 2 metres, and as before, consisted of a *cella* with a *pronaos distylon* in *antis*. However, the measurements of the *cella* had been further reduced to 7,15 metres long x 6,25 metres wide, in order to allow the construction of two external niches within the north and west walls. P. Bernard explains that when the *temenos* is viewed as an intrinsic part of the urban surroundings, the two niched sides of the *heroön* would be in full view of those citizens passing to the administrative quarter and were therefore eminently fitting repositories for ex votos dedicated and exhibited to the memory of Kineas, the founder, and his kin.

The 4th and last minor modification of the *heroön* seems to have been followed by a sudden debasement of its sacred position, and it became incorporated into a block of impoverished buildings, which developed north-east of the *propylon* of the great courtyard of the administration quarter. The existence of a fireplace inside the north-east corner of the *cella*, suggests a functional change in the precincts of the ancient burial place, which seems at this time to have been in use as a dwelling. This, in itself, points to a profound break in the institutional and social customs of the community, and to an impoverishment of the inhabitants.

P. Bernard suggests that the *heroön*, too, had a roof

which was only bordered with tiles similar to those previously mentioned in connection with the administration quarter. Analogous to the antefixes found in the forecourt of the northern *propylon* of the great courtyard, several fragments of antefixes were discovered in the ruins of the third construction phase of the *heroön*. Of these roof decorations which are 0,35 metres in height, the only type retaining the Greek tradition is that of the palmette motif. The other representing a large bulb flanked by two stylized leaves forming a lyre motif, has lost its Hellenistic character altogether (p. 93).

Under the successive floors of the *cella* lay four burials. That of the first *heroön* under the floor of *cella* 1 was a plain limestone sarcophagus (measurement 2,03 metres x 0,865 metres x 0,63 metres) with a triangularly pitched lid flattened at the apex. A small circular hole in the lid and the impression of a tube in the adherent mortar indicates that ritual libation ceremonies, as part of the funeral cult, were conducted on the floor of the *cella*, and that the potions used flowed via the tube into the sarcophagus. This would seem to leave little doubt that this burial was that of Kineas of the inscription, the great man having been buried *intra muros*, in the building primarily raised to commemorate him.

Heroön 3 also contained a limestone sarcophagus measuring 2,18 metres x 0,55 metres x 0,46 metres and having a steep triangularly pitched lid.

The other two interments had been in graves lined with baked bricks, measuring 2,15 metres x 0,75 metres x 0,60 metres (*heroön* 2) and 2,40 metres x 0,50 metres depth (*heroön* 3). Since this latter grave, under the floor of the 3rd *cella*, was the only one which had not been robbed, Bernard discovered that "La couverture était faite d'un encorbellement de briques cuites sur lequel on avait étendu une dernière assise de briques crues, la rangée médiane étant portée en saillie par le couronnement de l'encorbellement de briques cuites" (p. 94). The body had been placed in a wooden coffin of which very decayed traces remained and there were no grave goods. Bernard assumes that the second brick lined grave (*heroön* 2) had also had a similar lid to the above mentioned.

The author points out that the inscription of Kineas, which L. Robert dates to the first years of the 3rd century B.C., is of crucial importance for the dating of the *heroön*. The *temenos* which is referred to in this inscription must have already been in existence at the time the dedication was written and P. Bernard, therefore, proposes the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. for its first building phase. The earliest *heroön* obviously antedated the construction of the great courtyard, since its *propylon* had to be orientated slightly to the westward in order to accommodate the previously erected monument. From this chronology P. Bernard, therefore, dates the building of the courtyard to the 1st quarter of the 3rd century B.C. (p. 103). The pottery from the composition of the terrace of the 2nd *heroön* does not yet contain any grey ware with its black polished slip. Gardin (p. 127) recognizes the latter as an imitation of the Greek black varnished ware which disappeared at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. Bernard relates the appearance of this grey ware at Ai Khanoum with the conquest of Bactria by Seleucos I. He places the

second *heroön* together with the great courtyard in the 1st quarter of the 3rd century B.C. and suggests, with reservation, a date ca. 200 B.C. for the 3rd building phase of the *temenos*.

The concept of a burial place situated below a cult room of greco-oriental origin has parallels, cited by the author, spread widely over the Hellenistic and Roman world, with a special emphasis in regions east of the Mediterranean. However, Bernard suggests a Macedonian origin for the inverted T-shaped plan of the 1st *heroön*. He refers to a large, and approximately contemporary, group of tombs (p. 97) in Macedonia, of which those of Langadha and Leukadia, which date to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, are characterized by a funeral chamber and a porch of larger dimensions than the vestibule itself.

Bernard states that the type of sarcophagus found in the *temenos* of Kineas, whether constructed of stone or of terracotta, has been known in the Greek world since the archaic period and he illustrates this with a reference to the royal necropolis of Sidon in Phoenicia which dates to the end of the classical period. In his opinion, too, the wooden coffins, originally placed inside the brick lining of the 2 graves belonging to *cella* 2 and 3, can be compared with certain wooden Hellenistic sarcophagi — the so-called "Kastensarkophage". He gives this opinion despite uncertainty over the shape of the covers and the existence of feet. Two alabaster vase types apparently belonging to the ransacked burials, appear also to fall in the beginning of the Hellenistic period, viz. the end of the 4th and the 3rd century B.C.

The pottery from Ai Khanoum has been dealt with by J. C. Gardin in Chapter VIII Les Céramiques, pp. 121-188. He presents the material based on a "principe typologique, appliqué à l'ensemble de la poterie d'Ai Khanoum, indépendamment de son origine et de sa date sur le site. Du terme "typologique", cependant, il ne faut ici retenir que l'acception "sériel", par opposition à la description individuelle de chaque tessou" (p. 122). ... "elle ne constitue pas une typologie de la céramique d'Ai Khanoum, mais seulement une organisation jugée commode, dans l'état actuel de notre ignorance sur l'histoire de la ville, pour prendre connaissance de la diversité des poteries que l'on y trouvait, aux alentours du 11^e siècle av. J.C." (p. 123).

The classification hinges on two main divisions according to "critères techniques" ... "qui conduisent à distinguer tout d'abord deux variétés de pâtes (non-grossière / grossière), puis dans le premier cas deux colorations d'engobe (gris-noir / autres)" and "critères morphologiques" ... "par quoi l'on distingue tout d'abord trois modules de vases (grands / moyens / petits), puis dans chaque cas deux genres, selon qu'il s'agit de vases ouverts ou fermés ..." (pp. 123-124).

The grey-black ware often shows "l'apparence d'un vernis sous l'effet d'un polissage soigné. Sur la surface uniformément polie de l'engobe apparaissent parfois aussi des traces linéaires de lissage" ... (p. 127). Gardin mentions that this pottery, which contributes only 15% to the total amount of pottery discovered at Ai Khanoum, is relatively well levigated. Occasionally the walls are thinner than similar shapes in the white and brown-red wares. Incised and stamped decoration (palmettes)

(pp. 168-171) also occurs more often on this pottery than on the other non grey-black wares. *In toto* the grey-black ware appears to represent a sort of table ware with plates, bowls and one handled jars as the sole representations of this category.

The white or brown-red wares are much more varied in form, sub-shapes, and dimensions but it may suffice to mention merely the main types. Plates, bowls, goblets and craters have been headed under "vases ouverts, dimensions moyennes"; under "vases fermés, dimensions moyennes" have been grouped pots, beakers and one handled jars". "Grands vases ouverts" comprise shallow and deep dishes and bowls; neckless jars and the ones with a neck, jars with one handle, amphoras and flasks come under "grands vases fermés", while pilgrim flasks, aryballos-like vases and small pots fall under "petits vases fermés". Small oil lamps are, of course, also present.

Gardin states that it is self-evident that the grey-black ware from Ai Khanoum, in spite of its local manufacture, has had a foreign origin and he adds "elle marque sur la plupart des sites hellénistiques de l'Asie occidentale la manifestation dernière et affaiblie de la vaisselle à vernis noir qui disparaît dans le monde grec à partir du IV^e siècle av. J.-C. On la trouve de façon sporadique en Asie mineure" (note Alishar Hüyük III) "et sur les rives orientales de la Méditerranée" (note Antiochia IV, Samaria, Alexandria), "mais plus à l'est aussi" (note Nimrud), "jusqu'à Doura-Europos, où sa fréquence relative dénote le rôle important qui était le sien sur ce site, comme à Ai Khanoum même" (p. 127). The discovery of this grey-black pottery at Ai Khanoum and the many strong parallels which can be observed with the grey-black ware of the Greek Orient, now provide an answer for the, hitherto less certain, origin of this type of ware found in Central Asia.

Gardin has noted analogies between the plates, bowls and one handled jars and their variants of the grey-black pottery, and corresponding shapes which occur in the white or brown-red wares. He provides for these pottery shapes parallels from Greece (Koroni, Olynthus, Athens), where this range of shapes occurs from the end of the 5th to around the 2nd century B.C. Gardin also quotes numerous parallels and related pottery types from the rest of the Hellenistic world e.g. Cyprus, Pergamum, Alishar Hüyük, Antiochia, Tarsus, Priene, Hama, Doura-Europos, Tell Karel, Samaria, Alexandria, Nimrud, the pre-Kushan levels of the last centuries B.C. in Bactria, the oldest level of Begram, Surkh Kotal, in Transoxiana, and north-west India at Taxila (Sirkap) and at Charsada (pp. 128-141).

The parallels and related pottery shapes cited by J.-Cl. Gardin for the large remainder of white or brown-red pottery shapes from Ai Khanoum follows a similar geographical pattern, including Central Asian sites, and show a comparable chronological range from the 4th century B.C. to around the Christian era (pp. 141-166).

In his conclusion J.-Cl. Gardin draws attention to the fact that "D'une part, malgré la qualité relative des poteries les plus directement inspirées de modèles grecs, à Ai Khanoum, les signes ne manquent pas non plus de leur médiocrité certaine par rapport à ceux-ci; pauvreté du décor moulé sur les bols mégariens, monotonie du

décor estampé, etc. En second lieu, les potiers d'Ai Khanoum ne se limitèrent pas à des copies appauvries de la vaisselle hellénistique; certains groupes bien individualisés n'évoquent aucun parallèle précis dans le monde grec, alors qu'ils se retrouvent sur nombre de sites de l'Asie moyenne, au Sud au Nord de l'Hindu-Kush, pendant la période qui nous occupe ..." (p. 182). "En tout état de cause, l'image que l'on voit ainsi s'ébaucher est celle d'un artisanat plus tourné vers la reproduction de modèles étrangers que vers l'invention, mais capable alors de puiser à des sources d'inspiration multiples pour fournir à la population d'Ai Khanoum une vaisselle relativement diversifiée, bien que d'une qualité généralement inférieure à celle des prototypes, occidentaux principalement" (p. 185).

To conclude, we should be grateful to P. Bernard and his collaborators for this exhaustive excavation report of the Hellenistic city of Ai Khanoum, which the author would like to identify with Ptolemy's Alexandria Oxiana. The book which is copiously and carefully illustrated, and the meticulous recording of facts, circumstances and details, which provide the reader with excellent bibliographic references throughout the work, make this publication an invaluable source of information for the study of Hellenistic Bactria and its immediate and ultimate influence on the surrounding areas.

Leiden,
August 1975

ELISABETH C. L. DURING CASPERS

VARIA

Wolf-Dieter HEILMEYER, *Frühe Olympische Tonfiguren*. Berlin, Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1972 (in-40, VIII, 138 pp., 40 pls., 16 figs.) = *Olympische Forschungen*, Band VII. Prix: DM 78.

Les terres cuites d'époque géométrique, provenant d'Olympie, montrent une facture remarquablement uniforme. Pour nous, elles représentent l'histoire ininterrompue du développement artistique d'un seul atelier, situé sans doute dans l'Altis, dans le voisinage du sanctuaire où les statuettes ont été vouées.

Il s'agit d'une grande quantité de très simples figurines fragmentaires, trouvées dans un terrain sans aucune stratigraphie. Le contexte s'est perdu. Les petits dons votifs avaient été enfouis près du sanctuaire, mais les couches de terre qui les contenaient ont servi plus tard pour égaliser le terrain à nord-ouest du grand autel de Zeus. Aussi, les figurines ont-elles été mises au jour par groupes et gravement mutilées.

A première vue, le matériel n'est pas spectaculaire. L'introduction (chap. I) procure des données générales. Les figurines sont modelées à la main, les détails étant soit appliqués, soit gravés; puis, pendant la période la plus ancienne et pendant le 7^e siècle, des détails ont été peints en noir sur une couche blanchâtre. La production couvre la période du 10^e au 7^e siècles. Il n'y a pas de rapport direct avec l'époque mycénienne. Puis, dans les chapitres II-VI passent la revue: les taureaux et les béliers, les chevaux, les chars, les hommes (*auriges* et *kouroi*), les dieux (Zeus, Héra). Le chapitre VII traite les exceptions: chiens, chars de combat et représenta-

tions composées (malheureusement trop fragmentaires pour permettre un jugement bien fondé). Dans le dernier chapitre, l'auteur cherche à formuler les résultats de son étude. Le livre se termine par un catalogue, plusieurs indices, deux pages avec des dessins et 40 planches.

C'est en feuilletant ces planches que, déjà, on se fait une idée de la tâche difficile que l'auteur a envisagée: celle de mettre de l'ordre dans un matériel mal défini de 242 numéros. Pour réussir, il fallait partir de directives objectives, la terre, la technique, le style. Ce faisant, l'auteur a distingué cinq étapes successives, correspondant en général avec la chronologie de la céramique du style protogéométrique à celle du style géométrique récent. Pendant ces quatre siècles, la reproduction des taureaux, des chevaux et des bœufs montre le même développement caractéristique. La stature de toutes ces figurines présente au début une taille ramassée, à tête plus ou moins abaissée et à courtes jambes de modèle conique. Graduellement, les jambes deviennent plus longues, les corps moins compacts, les cous de plus en plus élancés. A la fin, les accents devenus trop exagérés sont abandonnés et on arrive à une représentation plutôt naturelle. Les planches, où chaque pièce est reproduite, permettent de suivre le développement; les deux pages avec dessins sont particulièrement instructives.

Il est intéressant que l'auteur a déduit du matériel fragmentaire quelques remarques qui en révèlent le sens. Il constate qu'en général, les sujets sont empruntés à la vie rustique; les hommes armés, sur un char de combat, sont peu nombreux. Evidemment, on avait l'habitude de vouer dans le sanctuaire l'image d'animaux grégaires de genre masculin. Les hommes, paisiblement debout sur leur char, représenteraient les maîtres d'un domaine qui se dirigent vers le sanctuaire des dieux-protecteurs, eux-aussi reproduits dans plusieurs figurines. Peut-être s'agit-il d'images d'une espèce de pèlerinage rustique, bientôt remplacé par la course la plus ancienne dans le stade d'Olympie.

On constate que, vers le début du 8^e siècle, le nombre des terres cuites votives augmente. Cela signifie que le nombre des visiteurs du sanctuaire doit avoir augmenté. Ici, il paraît admissible de voir une relation avec l'usage d'inscrire les noms des vainqueurs, usage institué en 776 av. J.-C. A cette époque, évidemment, le caractère de la fête rustique a changé; les dons votifs, représentant des animaux grégaires ou le maître du domaine sur son char, ont perdu leur sens.

En suivant ainsi l'exposé minutieux et systématique, les figurines qui, d'abord, avaient peu d'attrait, commencent à montrer une physionomie individuelle. On aimerait les comparer à des représentations sur les vases contemporains ou aux bronzes d'époque géométrique, trouvés à Olympie. Toutefois, l'auteur est d'avis que les représentations peintes ont un caractère différent. Les bronzes ne permettent pas encore de composer des séries; bien au contraire, les terres cuites peuvent être utiles pour clarifier le sens des bronzes.

Il paraît qu'on prépare une nouvelle édition des bronzes. Souhaitons que l'étude de ces petits monuments confirme les conclusions dûment considérées que nous porte le livre de M. Heilmeyer!

Leiden, Juli 1975 L. BYVANCK-QUARLES VAN UFFORD

H. T. LAMBRICK, *Sind before the Muslim Conquest*. Karachi, London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1974 (8vo, XII, 218 pp., 6 pls., 4 maps) = History of Sind Series Volume II. Price: £ 3.90.

In this second volume of the *History of Sind Series* H. T. Lambrick deals with some aspects of the Harappan Civilization and the periods following the end of the occupation of the main Indus Valley sites until the time of the Arab invasion of Sind in the 8th century A.D.

I would make clear at the outset that any student of the history of Sind would find much in this volume helpfully informative and that it is, therefore, of considerable value in this aspect. However, it can only be assumed that circumstances beyond the control of the author, have culminated in a remarkable brevity of content comprising the 11 chapters of his work.

The first two chapters and Appendix (pp. 1-66) dealing with the Indus Civilization must, in my opinion, be regarded as an extension of the views already expressed in *History of Sind Series Volume I*, entitled, *Sind, A General Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 1964. It may suffice here to draw attention to a few selected points.

On p. 21 H. T. Lambrick states "One characteristic product of the Kulli culture was a vessel of local stone carved to represent basket work. Such vases or similar boxes have been found at Susa, Ur and elsewhere in Mesopotamia, and also both at low and high levels at Mohenjo Daro, implying long continuance of trade in this particular article". The author seems to disregard the fact that much further work in the fields of excavation and research have altered previous views regarding the origin and distribution of this class of worked steatite vases and their copies in grey-ware, and considerably more is known of this and of the socio-economic and mercantile implications since the publishing of Stuart Piggott's brilliant book on *Prehistoric India* in 1950. The reader is, therefore, referred to recent publications by e.g. F. A. Durrani, E. C. L. During Caspers, Ph. Kohl, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, E. Porada and M. Tosi.

On p. 26 the author remarks "It is not clear from the Sargonid text cited above whether the ships mentioned belonged to Mesopotamia or to Meluhha and the other countries. The probability is that this traffic by sea originated from Sumer". The text Lambrick refers to is the well-known Old Babylonian copy of a statue inscription of Sargon of Akkad, in which the king boasts of the anchoring at the quay of his capital of ships from Meluhha, Magan and Dilmun. It is perfectly clear that Sargon intended to indicate that the origin and ownership of these vessels belonged to the three trading centres so specifically named. Further corroboration comes from HAR-ra = *hubullu* IV 277 ff. (Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 1960: 10) where there is an enumeration of a boat of Tilmun, a boat of Magan and a boat of Meluhha. On the other hand immediate references to the departure of Sumerian fleets or Sumerian merchants from Mesopotamia direct for Meluhha remain uncertain, thus leaving unproven the author's assumption that the traffic by sea originated from Sumer.

H. T. Lambrick mentions occasionally, a certain "Sea-land", referring to it with, and without, inverted commas. Reference to it is said to occur in a Sumerian hymn, translated by S. N. Kramer, and which Lambrick locates in Gujarat (Lambrick: 27, 28, map 2). Some omission of relevant references occurs here also in Lambrick's work but since the Sea-land of Kramer's translation is renowned for "ebony the ornament of the king", we may assume the possibility of its relation to one of several names of countries or places referred to in the cuneiform texts and with Sumer is reputed to have traded. The precise location of these places has yet to be ascertained. However, the reader must be aware that during the later years of the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon (1792-1750 B.C.) a rival dynasty 'of the Sealand' was founded in the South of Mesopotamia which existed from the 2nd half of the 18th century B.C. till the first half of the 14th century B.C. Therefore care must be exercised to avoid confusion between the "Sea-land" mentioned by Lambrick and the textually traceable and definitely located Sealand of Southern Mesopotamia in the 2nd Millennium B.C.

Page 28 also states "The remaining remote land (with) Gudea traded, namely Gubin, may have been the modern Kachch, or Saurashtra". At the present time, there appears to be a trend among Indian scholars to locate the trading centres mentioned as mercantile trade-partners of Sumer in the cuneiform texts, somewhere along the coasts of north-west and western India (R. Thapar, *JESHO* XVIII, 1, 1975: 1-42). A geographic list (Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 1960: 12, note 1) mentions Gupin, here Ku-pi-in, directly followed by A-ra-pi, Za-ab-ša-li, Mā-gan, Me-luḥ-ḥa and Leemans, no doubt correctly, argues that there is evidence that Gupin and Magan did not lie far apart. Since Lambrick fails to develop any substantial reason for locating Gupin in Saurashtra, his view is perhaps untenable.

Lambrick refers on p. 28 to Ur-Nanshe of Lagash as patesi; the reading of the Sumerian sign has since long been altered to *ensi*. On p. 29 we read that "Dilmun vessels brought him" (Ur-Nanshe) "timber from foreign lands — this he asserted was tribute". However, the translation should read "a Tilmun boat brought a load (or a cargo) of wood from the mountains".

Referring to an inscription of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, regarding ships of Magan, the author says "The exact meaning of this recorded 'restoration' by the King of these ships to Magan is not certain"; (p. 29). The explanation, however, comes to light in Ur-Nammu's Law Code where he describes how "he ... killed Namḥani, the governor of Lagash, (and) by the power of Nanna, the city's king, he returned Nanna's Magan-boat on the boundary (canal)" (translation by S. N. Kramer, 1954). From this we may infer that Ur-Nammu forced Lagash to hand over the dominant role in the prosperous Magan trade to the city of Ur. We find a similar reference to the return of the trade with Magan to Ur itself, on a clay cone from Ur (UET I, no. 50), where Ur-Nammu declares that he returned the Magan-boat to his (Nanna's) hand.

It seems surprising that the author, after having elaborated on the Indus Valley Culture, goes straight

on to what he calls the traditional early history of Sind (chapter 3). A short reference to the recently discovered culture in the Swat Valley of northern Pakistan by the Italian Archaeological Mission would have been justified, in spite of the argument that this area did not belong to Sind proper. This culture is primarily represented by cemeteries with inhumation and cremation burials, though there are also a number of areas settled by the bearers of this culture which flourished around the beginning of the 1st Millennium B.C. (M. Taddei, *India* (Eng. ed.), 1970: 42, also note 29).

On p. 76 the author states that "The first date in Sind history which can be fixed within narrow limits is that of its annexation to the Persian Empire in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This was the first of that king's conquests, and would seem to have taken place in either 519 or 518 B.C.". This does not agree with H. T. Olmstead (see also A. Pagliaro, *Acta Iranica*, Première Série, Volume II, 1974: 3-23) who mentions quite emphatically in his *History of the Persian Empire*, 1948: 49, 144, that it was Cyrus the Great (559-530 B.C.) who brought Paruparaesanna, the land "beyond the mountains", known to the natives as Gandhara, under the control of the Achaemenians. Olmstead also mentions that "Administratively, it was joined to Bactria, and it was not until shortly before 508 that it was organized as an independent satrapy, not under its ancient Iranian name of Paruparaesanna but with the native form of Gandara".

In conclusion, it can be said that in spite of the rather brief treatment of the subject matter, the insufficient number of references and a general tendency to omit recent bibliographic material, this second volume of the *History of Sind Series* remains a useful source of information.

Leiden, August 1975 ELISABETH C. L. DURING CASPERS

* *

Blanche Christine OLSCHAK in Zusammenarbeit mit Geshé Thupten WANGYAL, D.K.K. *Mystik und Kunst Alt tibets*. Bern und Stuttgart, Hallwag Verlag, 1972 (folio, 224 pp., 139 repr. en couleurs, 378 repr. en noir, 1 carte). Prix: SFr. 88.—.

Cet ouvrage comble une lacune sensible de notre documentation iconographique sur le Tibet du 13^e s. à nos jours. Son titre n'en fait pas de doute que, sans vouloir minimiser ce qui lui est dû, la documentation fournie par l'ouvrage de la "Symbolik" d'H. Hoffmann, par exemple, dans ce travail qui en complète par ailleurs amplement les données. S'il y s'agit bien de mystique, on y trouve également légende, mythologie, culte et magie.

L'apport propre du Geshé Thupten Wangyal n'est pas précisé, mais il ne fait pas de doute que, sans vouloir minimiser ce qui lui est dû, la documentation fournie par l'"International Academy of Indian Culture" de New Delhi est pour une bonne part à l'origine de l'information étendue qui caractérise ce volume. C'est sans doute de crainte de décourager les lecteurs non-spécialistes que

l'on a renoncé à écrire l'introduction érudite que l'on attendrait. Ceux qui néanmoins, par devoir professionnel ou par intérêt personnel, s'interrogeront sur les sources et les méthodes de ce travail trouveront des indications succinctes mais précieuses en tête des riches index qui parachèvent le livre.

Outre de la table des illustrations, évidemment indispensable, le lecteur dispose encore d'une liste des noms propres (généralement en sanscrit, avec le tibétain entre parenthèses), d'un index des symboles, d'une autre des artistes, des formes et des écoles artistiques, d'un dernier enfin des lieux géographiques et mythiques. Ce dernier répond à une des caractéristiques les plus intéressantes de l'ouvrage: il nous introduit à la vision des mondes, tant matériels que spirituels, du Tibet traditionnel. Notons encore un tableau synoptique très utile, où se trouvent ordonnés systématiquement les attributs des Dhyāni-Bouddha.

Ce que nous avons tout particulièrement apprécié, c'est le talent des auteurs à nous introduire à l'esprit d'intense créativité de l'art tibétain. La matière est d'une telle richesse, que nous inviterions volontiers les auteurs à récidiver, en se bornant cette fois à l'illustration de la légende du héros national, Gesar, quelque peu étouffée sous le foisonnement de l'iconographie bouddhique.

On est parfois frappé de la différence d'ampleur et de qualité de l'information fournie d'une reproduction à l'autre. Elle est particulièrement soignée lorsqu'il s'agit de pièces provenant de la collection personnelle d'Olschak. On aurait aimé savoir quelles pièces sont ici publiées pour la première fois. Le commentaire n'éclaire pas toujours assez les personnages marginaux, moins connus mais non inintéressants. Une fois ou l'autre les opinions émises sont discutables, par exemple à propos de l'histoire des stupas (p. 18). A la p. 45 six seulement des 'sept bijoux' sont décrits.

A de rares exceptions près, les illustrations sont de bonne venue. Il arrive cependant que, même à l'aide d'une loupe, le détail demeure par trop imprécis. Remercions les auteurs pour cette riche et intelligente introduction à une tradition vénérable de l'histoire de l'art religieux, hélas menacée dans sa continuité par le malheur des temps.

Nimègue, avril 1974

E. M. J. CORNELIS

* *

Guram SHARADSE, *Theimuras Bagrationi. Tshowreba* (Theimuras Bagrationi. Biographie). Tbilisi, Metsniereba-Verl., 1972 (225 S., Ill., in georgischer Sprache).

Es ist eine eigentümliche Erscheinung in der Geschichte Georgiens, dass die hervorragendsten Reformer, Gelehrte, Künstler und Schriftsteller des Landes öfters aus der Herrscherdynastie der Bagrationi hervorgegangen waren. Die Mitglieder dieses Hauses waren Vorkämpfer in den vielhundertjährigen Verteidigungskämpfen gegen fremde — persische und türkische — Gegner und gleichzeitig Hüter des zentralisierten Staates gegen die eigenmächtigen Vasallen, die für Georgien

eine fortwährende Bedrohung bedeuteten. Als solche waren die Bagrationi zugleich Förderer des Fortschritts ihres Volkes und errangen hervorragende Verdienste als Bewahrer der historischen, kulturellen und moralen Überlieferung.

Eine der letzten dieser charakteristischen Persönlichkeiten war Theimuras Bagrationi (1782-1846), der Sohn von Georg XII, des letzten Königs von Georgien, dem der Verfasser — wissenschaftlicher Sekretär des Instituts für Literaturgeschichte der Georgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schüler des grossen Kartvelologen Alexander Baramidse — in seiner Monographie ein bleibendes Denkmal gesetzt hat.

Theimuras Bagrationi ist mit Recht der erste georgische enzyklopädische Gelehrte im europäischen Sinne des Wortes zu nennen. Die Grundlagen seiner vortrefflichen Erziehung gewan er in Georgien, um diese später in St. Petersburg und während seiner europäischen Reisen in Erfüllung zu bringen. Im Jahre 1795 war er als Kind in Tbilisi Zeuge vom greuelvollsten Massenmord des Jahrhunderts, der Schreckenherrschaft des persischen Schachs Aga Mohamed. Seine Rückerinnerungen über diese Periode gehören zu den ergreifendsten Monumenten der Zeit.

Als die zaristische Autokratie Georgien auch um die letzten Spuren seiner Unabhängigkeit gebracht hatte, kämpfte der junge Prinz an der Seite seines Oheims gegen den Heer, geführt von General Tzitzianoff; nach der Niederlage der Georgier flüchtete er sich nach Persien.

Theimuras Bagrationi — in dieser Zeit schon ein erfahrungsreicher Offizier — wurde zum Organisator und obersten Befehlshaber der persischen Artillerie (in dieser Eigenschaft folgte ihm der ungarische Graf Theodor Karacsay nach), aber seine Aufenthalt in Persien wurde in erster Reihe durch seine Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiet der Wissenschaften und als Literarischer Übersetzer gekennzeichnet. Neben der persischen, türkischen und arabischen Sprachen hatte er sich auch im Französischen vervollkommen. Das vorzügliche Werk „Die Geschichte der Kadsharen“, ein wichtiger Beitrag zur persischen Geschichte, verdankt seine Entstehung auch diesen Jahren. Bagrationi ist aber auch politisch aktiv: er organisiert eine Koalition gegen Russland, wo er ausser Persien auch auf Frankreich, England und die Türkei rechnet. Bald erkennt er jedoch, dass seine Konzeption unausführlich ist und wertet die günstigen Änderungen in Russland richtig; er verlässt den persischen Dienst und tritt zu den Russen über.

General Tormassow lässt ihn mit einem Ehrengelot nach St. Petersburg begleiten — hier entfällt sich die schöpferische Tätigkeit von Theimuras Bagrationi bald. Seine ungewöhnliche Fähigkeiten waren von den russischen Regierungskreisen in vollem Masse erkannt worden und er konnte ungestört wirken, obwohl er zu der fortschrittlichen russischen Intelligenz seiner Zeit — selbst zu Mitgliedern der Dekabristenbewegung — enge freundschaftliche Beziehungen unterhielt.

1837 trifft M. F. Brosset, der moderne Begründer der Wissenschaft über die Geschichte und Kultur Georgiens, von Frankreich kommend in St. Petersburg ein. Der Verfasser erschliesst mit einem reichen Beweis-

material, wie Th. Bagrationi den französischen Gelehrten in die Kenntnis der Georgischen historischen Quellen eingeführt hatte.

Bagrationi war aber auch ein Lehrmeister der in St. Petersburg studierenden georgischen Jugend, von neuen, europäischen Horizonten; dabei fand er auch Zeit, um die Meisterwerke der alten georgischen Literatur zum Druck vorzubereiten. In diesen Jahren übersetzte er die Werke von Aristoteles, Tacitus, Cicero, Voltaire und Puschkin in die georgische Sprache; mit seinen selbständigen Schauspielen und Gedichten hat er auch als Dichter seinen Namen in der georgischen Literaturgeschichte verewigt. Seine mathematische, physische, zoologische und militärwissenschaftliche Werke kann man aber auch nicht unerwähnt lassen.

Theimuras Bagrationi wurde 1831 Mitglied der Pariser Société Asiatique; 1837 fand er Erlass in die kaiserlich russische Akademie der Wissenschaften — um nur die bedeutendsten zu erwähnen. Georgien, infolge seiner geographischen Lage zu den asiatischen gerechnet, gehörte wegen seiner uralten christlichen Zivilisation stets zum europäischen Kulturkreis. Dieses nie erlöschende Bewusstsein wachzuhalten, half in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts den georgischen Gelehrten von humanistischer Prägung und enzyklopädischem Wissen, mit einem weisen Erkenntnis dessen, dass unter veränderten Verhältnissen, entfernt von seinem Vaterlande, das geistige Fortleben seiner Nation, seines Volkes nur auf dieser Weise zu sichern ist.

Das Werk von Guram Sharadse, aus einer gründlichen Kenntnis der Zeitideen, mit bemerkenswerter Akribie geschrieben, wird für alle einen grossen Gewinn bedeuten, die sich für die Wissenschaftsgeschichte von Georgien, dieses nach Bevölkerungszahl kleinen, aber eine mächtige Kulturerbschaft bewahrenden Volkes, ein reges Interesse hegen.

Budapest, Mai 1974

LAJOS TARDY

MEDEDELINGEN

The University of Chicago Projects

Excerpts from information provided by The Office of Public Information of the University of Chicago

A. Dictionaries of Near East Languages

University of Chicago scholars have received almost three-quarters of a million dollars in government funding to publish dictionaries of Near East languages that recorded the dawning of Western Civilization.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has earmarked \$ 730,000 to support the compilation of multi-volume dictionaries of the ancient Hittite and Assyrian languages.

The grants will support the first 3 years of the Hittite Dictionary, which will be 10 years in the making. It will be published in 8 to 10 annual installments beginning in late 1977.

Both projects should be completed by the mid-1980s.

Scholars are working on two other dictionaries at the Oriental Institute.

A 1974 grant of \$ 52,700 from the Science Foundation is financing the compilation of an Oromo Dictionary. Oromo is a language spoken today by 10 million Ethiopians.

The Institute also is studying the feasibility of compiling a dictionary of the Demotic language. If the effort is found feasible, the Institute will seek outside funds, perhaps as early as 1977.

A grammar of a language once thought to be dead beyond revival, is also nearing completion. Scholars have reconstructed the Amorite language, and they have done it from the study of Amorite names appearing in the records of other languages.

An account of each dictionary, and of the Amorite grammar, is attached.

THE CHICAGO ASSYRIAN DICTIONARY

The Assyrian Dictionary project is now in its 55th year. Until now, the cost of the project, more than \$1 million, has been borne solely by the University, except for occasional contributions from the International Union of Academies.

The new grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) insures that work on the Assyrian Dictionary will continue through 1979. It is hoped that by then, 15 of 21 projected volumes will have been completed.

When it is complete, the Assyrian Dictionary will have treated more than 20,000 words used in the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian civilization.

The editors document when and how meanings of words changed through the years. The estimated number of references in an average volume of 300 pages is 15,000. When the dictionary is completed, about 165,000 passages from cuneiform texts will have been cited or referred to.

More than 60 American and European Assyriologists have been associated with the dictionary project at one time or another.

From 1921 to 1954, they compiled more than 2 million cards of transcriptions from about 100,000 cuneiform texts. In 1954 the editors decided that a manuscript could be prepared for the first volume. Letter H was published in 1956. It was followed during the next 20 years by volumes containing the letters G, E, D, B, A (in two parts because of its size), I, J, S, Z, K, and L. The volume for letter M, in two parts, is in press and volume N will be sent to press in late 1976.

A complete English-Akkadian Index will be published as the 21st, the concluding volume of the series.

A large part of the \$ 350,000 NEH grant will provide salaries for additional staff members. Miss Reiner hopes to add a senior Assyriologist, a research associate, and one or two research assistants. She also intends to bring visiting professors to Chicago, to add new perspectives to the project.

The Assyrian Dictionary, compiled and edited here, is printed in Germany, in 1,250 copies per volume. The sale of the book, which average about \$ 28 each for the

first 12 volumes, will cover about 25 percent of the cost of printing.

Of the volumes published to date, half have been sold to museums and college and University libraries. Individual scholars have purchased the remaining half.

THE HITTITE DICTIONARY

The Hittite Dictionary will be published in 8 to 10 sections during the next decade, with the initial segment planned for late 1977. It will contain about 4,000 entries.

The NEH grant will finance the project through its first three years. By then, the dictionary staff should have a complete card file of Hittite translations. The file, now with 500,000 cards, is 65 percent complete.

The bulk of the NEH grant will pay the salaries of a research associate and three student assistants. It does not cover the cost of printing the dictionary.

The dictionary will include some written symbols which the Hittites had borrowed from the Babylonians and Sumerians.

Hans G. Güterbock, the co-director of the dictionary, has been using computers to help reveal the ancient language, since 1963.

Heading the project with Güterbock is Harry Angier Hoffner, Jr.

OROMO DICTIONARY

A three-year grant awarded in 1974 is supporting the publication of the Oromo Dictionary.

Gene Gragg, of The University of Chicago, hopes to have the manuscript for the dictionary prepared by the end of 1976. The Oromo language is spoken by about 10 million Ethiopians but is only beginning to be written. It is one of the three major languages of Ethiopia.

(Westerners substitute "Galla" for "Oromo" when they refer both to the language and to the people.)

The dictionary will contain about 10,000 words derived from 3,000 root words. Each root word entry will follow a detailed pronunciation guide for the major dialects, and it will record various meanings, illustrate usage, review the history of the word and record the words and their meanings from it.

The dictionary will be divided into English-Oromo and Oromo-English sections.

Gragg, who is designing his work primarily for scholars, says that efforts to reconstruct the Afro-Asiatic group of the five major families of languages — Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Chadic, and Cushitic — are at "an impasse" until further knowledge is gained about the last two.

Oromo, like most Ethiopian languages, is of Cushitic origin, and although Oromo is a widely known language, scholars have understood little about its structure and history.

During 1974-1975, in Ethiopia, Gragg recorded the features peculiar to the dialects that are represented in the dictionary, added words associated with specific cultural, social, and geographic usage, and expanded his index of 3,000 core words to include idioms for common nouns and verbs.

DEMOTIC DICTIONARY

Scholars at the Oriental Institute have begun sorting through a collection of notes and photographs dating back to the turn of the century as the initial step toward publishing the first comprehensive dictionary of the Demotic language. Demotic replaced hieratic about 600 B.C. as the everyday Egyptian script. Egyptians continued using it during the next 1,000 years.

The Demotic library now at the Oriental Institute was started by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, a German Egyptologist, with the intentions of one day compiling a comprehensive dictionary. About 1930, Spiegelberg entrusted the collection to one of his students, Willima Franklin Edgerton, an American and a faculty member of the Oriental Institute who was studying in Germany at the time.

The collection has been supplemented by contributions from the library of the late Sir Herbert Thompson, a British Egyptologist and a contemporary of Spiegelberg.

Edgerton and his students continued to add to the collection. Edgerton, who taught at the Oriental Institute from 1926 to 1959, donated the collection to the Institute when he died in 1970.

Two of Edgerton's students, George R. Hughes and Charles F. Nims, now both emeritus professors of Egyptology at the Institute, will oversee the project. Their student, Janet H. Johnson, Assistant Professor of Egyptology, is to serve as editor-in-charge when the project reaches the writing stage.

Johnson expects that another year will be required for her and a research assistant to properly inventory current holdings and determine how much material exists outside the Spiegelberg collection. This additional material will be comprised mostly by articles and unpublished manuscripts prepared in recent years.

Once this feasibility study is complete, the next steps will be to collect the new material, sort it, and then prepare the manuscript for publication.

For the collection of new material, the staff will ask Demoticists outside Chicago (there are five in the United States) to provide access to documents from collections with which they are familiar. The staff also will travel to Europe and the Near East to study collections housed in museums there.

GRAMMAR OF AMORITE

The language belongs to the Amorites, the nomadic people cited often in the Old Testament along with their close relatives, the Canaanites. Amorite, unlike Akkadian, Hittite or Egyptian, was never written. The last people to speak it died almost 4,000 years ago.

The Amorites apparently migrated into Mesopotamia from the west and south about 2,100 B.C., intermingling with the Babylonians and Assyrians. For the next 500 years, names of Amorites appeared regularly in all types of Akkadian documents, most often in letters to the royal courts and in records of business transactions. Amorites ruled certain city-states and provinces, and some of the ancient cities, or at least sections of them, are known by their Amorite names.

Now, a grammar, based on the analysis of 6,662 names of Amorites, is being written by Ignace J. Gelb, of the University's Oriental Institute. The names, transcribed into Akkadian, are the sole remains of the Amorite language.

Gelb has been able to reconstruct the language from the names because of the way personal names were formed during this period.

Gelb's grammar, to be published in 1977, will contain a section which lists all known Amorite names in alphabetical order, and will group together these different spellings of the same name.

One of the purposes of the grammar is to help linguists gain a better understanding of how the Semitic languages evolved. Amorite is the second oldest of the Semitic languages, preceded only by Akkadian.

Gelb, Whiting and Vance have entered into the computer each noun according to gender, number, and case; and each verb according to gender, number, mood, and tense. They similarly have treated other elements in the language.

B. Texts from Tell Asmar

The National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded a \$ 45,000 grant to a University of Chicago scholar to prepare a volume on ancient legal texts.

Robert M. Whiting, Jr. will spend 18 months, detailing the contents of 100 legal documents which the University's Oriental Institute uncovered more than 40 years ago from the ruins of a Babylonian palace and temple complex at Tell Asmar, Iraq. The documents pertain primarily to the documentation of land and house sales. Recorded also are loan contracts, legal depositions, and claim settlements.

The volume will contain a transliteration for each of these texts, accompanied by an English translation and a discussion of the text's wording and its linguistic characteristics. Added to the volume will be glossaries, indexes of proper names, and a commentary which will place each group of texts in its proper cultural setting by pointing out its historical, social, and economic significance.

The legal documents were among 1400 texts excavated at Tell Asmar. Of the 1400, only a few have been published.

Whiting, as a part of the work for his doctorate, transcribed 55 of these texts. The Institute is publishing them in a 200-page volume entitled *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*.

There remain, however, more than 1300 unpublished texts. With the grant, Whiting will reduce this deficiency to 1200 by publishing a 400-page volume tentatively entitled *Old Babylonian Legal Texts from Tell Asmar*. The texts span a poorly-documented period of Babylonian history, from about 1950 to 1850 B.C.

ONTVANGEN BOEKEN V

ALGEMEEN

Altorientalische Forschungen IV. Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademie-Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 349 S., 5 Tafeln) = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients. 68 M.

Theodore Bestermann (Revised/brought up to date by J. D. Pearson), A World Bibliography of Oriental Bibliographies. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1975 (X p. + 21 + 727 columns). £ 30.00 - ISBN 0 631 16890 7.

Gottfried Guggenbühl, Hans C. Huber, Quellen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, 3. Band. Quellen zur Geschichte der Neueren Zeit. Zürich, Schulthess Polygraphischer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 382 S. 8 schwarzweiss Tafeln). Sfr. 35.— - ISBN 3 7255 1738 X.

Johannes Hohenberger, The Nominal and Verbal Afformatives of Nilo-Hamitic and Hamito-Semitic. With some Phonetic Observations. Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 100 S.) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band XLII, 2. DM 36.— - ISBN 3 515 02019 5.

Museum Notes 20, 1975. New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1975 (8vo, IV + 174 S., XXVI Tafeln). \$ 10.00.

Louis Orlin (Editor), Michigan Oriental Studies in honor of George G. Cameron. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1975 (8vo, XXVIII + 329 pp., 1 frontispiece). \$ 5.00 - ISBN 0 916798 01 1.

EGYPTOLOGIE - GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE - CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

William Y. Adams, Meroitic North and South. A Study in Cultural Contrasts. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 190 S.) = Meroitica 2. Schriften zur alt Sudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie. 24.— M.

Ägyptische Kunst aus dem Brooklyn Museum. Ausstellung Ägyptisches Museum der Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 4. September-31. Oktober 1976. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum SMPK, 1976 (8vo, 88 Objekte).

R. D. Anderson, Drawings by Grace Huxtable, Musical Instruments. London, British Museum Publications Ltd., 1976 (folio, VIII + 87 pp., 150 ills.) = Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum III. £ 20.00 - ISBN 0 7141 0919 3.

Roger S. Bagnall, The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 286 pp., 3 maps) = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition IV. f 68.— - ISBN 90 04 04490 6.

Pierre du Bourguet S.J., Grammaire fonctionnelle et progressive de l'égyptien démotique. Louvain, Edition Peeters, 1976 (8vo, XII + 104 pp.) - ISBN 2 8017 0027 4.

Edda Bresciani, La collezione egizia nel Museo Civico di Bologna. Ravenna, A. Longo Editore, 1976 (8vo, 190 pp., 54 Tavole). L. 9.800.

Elmar Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und Ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof. Neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses' II. aus Bogazköy. Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 140 S., 4 Tafeln) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G (Geisteswissenschaften) 205. DM 38.— - ISBN 3 531 07205 6.

Karin Barbara Gödecken, Eine Betrachtung des Meten im Rahmen der sozialen und rechtlichen Stellung von Privatleuten im Ägyptischen Alten Reich. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (4to, VI + 425 S., 1 Tafel) = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 29. DM 88.— - ISBN 3 447 01613 2.

Werner Huss, Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 304 S.) = Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. 69. Heft. DM 85.— - ISBN 3 406 00669 8.

Paul Jordan, Egypt the Black Land. Oxford, Phaidon Press Ltd., 1976 (8vo, 207 pp., 101 plates in black and white, 16 coloured plates) £ 3.50 - ISBN 0 7148 1722 8.

K. A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Bibliographical. I, Fascicle 7 & 8. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1975 (4to, XXXII + 160 pp.). £ 4.50 - ISBN 0 903563 08 8.

Ange-Pierre Leca, Les Momies. Paris, Hachette, 1976 (8vo, 279 pp., 8 + 45 figs., 1 carte). F 42.— - ISBN 2 01 002455 9.

Miriam Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature. Vol. II: The New Kingdom. Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 239 pp.). £ 7.00 - ISBN 0 520 02965 8.

Pierre Montet, La vie quotidienne en Egypte au temps des Ramses (Reprint 1946). Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1976 (8vo, 346 pp.).

Paul van Moorsel, Jean Jacquet, Hans Schneider, The Central Church of Abdallah Nirqi. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (4to, VIII + 132 pp., 101 photographs, 39 figs.) = The Netherlands Excavations in Nubia, Abu Simbel North, 1962-1964. f 150.— - ISBN 90 04 04305 5.

Nina Nelson, Egypt. London, B. T. Batsford, 1976 (8vo, 192 pp., 24 photographs, 2 maps). £ 4.50.

Jürgen Osing, Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (8vo, XII + 261 pp., 1 pl.) = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Band 33. DM 34.— - ISBN 3 447 01726 0.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume XLIV. by A. K. Bowman, M. W. Haslam, J. C. Shelton, J. D. Thomas. London, The British Academy, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 224 pp.) = Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 62.

Passione e miracoli di S. Mercurio. Introduzione e testo copto a cura di Tito Orlandi, Traduzione

a cura di Sara Di Giuseppe Camaloni. Milano, Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Coliardica, 1976 (8vo, 136 pp., 6 tavole) = Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità LIV.

Georges Posener, L'Enseignement loyaliste. Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire. Genève, Librairie Droz, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 150 pp., 7 pls.) = Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, II. Hautes Etudes Orientales 5.

Hans-Bernhard Schönborn, Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter. Meisenheim, Verlag Anton Hain, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 121 S.) = Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 80. DM 19.80 - ISBN 3 445 01363 2.

Christine Seebler, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten. München, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976 (4to, VIII + 271 S., 80 Figuren, 32 Tafeln, 3 Tabellen) = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 35 - ISBN 3 422 00828 4.

H. S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1976 (4to, XII + 255 pp., 84 pls.) = Excavations at Buhen II. (48th Excavation Memoir) - ISBN 0307-5109.

David L. Thompson, The Artists of the Mummy Portraits. Malibu, California, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1976 (8vo, 20 pp., 1 frontispiece, 55 pls., 1 map) = The J. Paul Getty Museum Publications no. 7 - ISBN 0 89236 002 X.

André Vila, The Archaeological Survey of the Nile Valley. South of Dal Cataract (Sudanese Nubia). First Booklet. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976 (4to, 41 pp., 4 pls.). F 16.— - ISBN 2 222 01724 6.

Hartmut Wolff, Die Constitutio Antoniniana und Papyrus Gissensis 40 I (Inaugural Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorsgrades der philosophischen Fakultät. 1. Band, Text, 2. Band, Anmerkungen und Indizes. Köln, Dr H. Wolff, Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität, Köln, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 537 S., 2 Tafeln).

ASSYRIOLOGIE - HETTITOLOGIE

Hans-Peter Adler, Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 364 S.) = Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Band 201. DM 67.— - ISBN 3 7887 0503 5.

Inez Bernhardt, Sozialökonomische Texte und Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur zur Kassitenzeit. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1976 (4to, 26 S., CXXIV Tafeln) = Texte und Materialien Hilprecht Sammlung F. Schiller Universität N.F. V. M 75.—.

Shoshana R. Bin-Nun, The Tawananna in the Hittite Kingdom. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitäts Verlag, 1975 (8vo, 404 S.) = Texte der Hethiter, Heft 5. DM 120/140. ISBN 3 533 02438 5 kart. 3 533 02439 3 Lw.

Hubert Cancik, Grundzüge der hethischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 250 S.) = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins. DM 78.— - ISBN 3 447 01657 4.

Stephanie Dally, C. B. F. Walker & J. D. Hawkins. Introduction by David Oates, The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah. London, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976 (4to, XVI + 272 pp., 112 pls., 3 figs.) - ISBN 0 903472 03 1.

Elmar Edel, Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof. Neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses' II. aus Bogazköy. Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 140 S., 4 Tafeln) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G (Geisteswissenschaften) 205. DM 38.— - ISBN 3 531 07205 6.

Olaf T. Engvig & Paul Åström, Hala Sultan Tekke II. The Cape Kiti Survey. An Underwater Archaeological Survey. Göteborg, Paul Åströms Forlag, 1975 (4to, 24 pp., 49 pls., 1 map) = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vo. XLV: 2. 35 Crs. - ISBN 91 85058 66 1.

A. Kammenhuber, Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus 3 & 4. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976 (8vo, 100 + 100 S.). DM 30. pro Heft.

Annelies Kammenhuber, Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976 (8vo, 268 S.) = Texte der Hethiter, Heft 7. DM 72.— - ISBN 3 533 02494 6 (kart.).

Hugo Lanz, Die neubabylonischen harranu-Geschäftsunternehmen. Berlin, J. Schweitzer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 209 S.) = Münchener Universitätschriften. Juristische Fakultät. Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, Band 18. DM 98.— - ISBN 3 8059 0380 4.

Henri Limet, Textes sumériens de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur. Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Section Proche Orient, 1976 (4to, X + 134 pp., 44 pls.) = Documents du Proche-Orient, Ancien Epigraphie 1. Bfr. 600.

Angel Marzall, Gleanings from the Wisdom of Mari. Roma, Biblical Institute Press, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 105 pp.) = Studia Pohl 11 - \$ 4.00.

Werner Mayer, Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen „Gebetsbeschwörungen“ (Inaugural Dissertation). Roma, Biblical Institute Press, 1976 (4to, XVI + 576 S.) = Studia Pohl, Series Maior 5 - \$ 18.00.

Norbert Oettinger, Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 138 S., 1 Tafel) = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, Heft 22. DM 38.— - ISBN 3 447 01711 2.

Maciej Popko, Mitologia Hetykiej Anatolii. Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Arystyczne i Filmowe, 1976 (12mo, 206 pp., 61 pls.) = Mitologie świata Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe.

J. N. Postgate, Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976 (8vo, X + 221 pp.) - ISBN 08668 042 7 (paper), 085668 054 0 (cloth).

Wolfram von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Lieferung 13. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (4to, 96 S.). DM 54.— - ISBN 3 447 01815 1.

Deborah Thompson, Stucco from Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad near Ravy. Including Illustrations of the Excavated Ostraca from the Same Site. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976 (4to, XVI + 328 pp., 36 pls., 5 maps) = Collection Archaeological Institute Publications.

C. B. F. Walker, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Part 52: Old Babylonian Letters. London, British Museum Publications, 1976 (4to, XIV pp., 61 pls.) - ISBN 0 7141 1091 4.

SYRIA - PALESTINA

Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, Die Elfenbeinschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit. Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1976 (4to, VIII + 85 S., XX Tafeln) = Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Band 13. DM 39.— - ISBN 3 7887 0493 4 und 3 7666 8926 6.

Michał Gawlikowski, Sztuka Syrii. Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1976 (8vo, 302 S., 115 Tafeln) = Kultury Starożytne i Cywilizacje Pozaeuropejskie. Cne zl. 45.

Rudolf Macuch, Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer (Mit Beiträgen von Kurt Rudolf und Eric Segelberg). Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1976 (8vo, XII + 263 S.) = Studia Mandaica I. DM 160.— - ISBN 3 11 004838 8.

Rudolf Macuch, Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1976 (8vo, XXV + 511 S.). DM 248.— - ISBN 3 11 005959 2.

OUDE TESTAMENT - JUDAICA

Jean-Pierre Ale m, Terre d'Israel. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1973 (8vo, 320 pp. illustrations).

Joshua Blau, A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (8vo, XII + 209 S.) = Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Band XII. DM 68.— - ISBN 3 447 01554 3.

Jean Calloud, (Translated by Daniel Plate), *Structural Analysis of Narrative*. Philadelphia, Pa., Fortress Press, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 108 pp.) = The Society of Biblical Literature, Semeia Supplements 4. \$ 3.95 - ISBN 0 8006 1503 4.

André Chouraqui, *Die Hebräer. Geschichte und Kultur zur Zeit der Könige und Propheten*. Stuttgart, Verlag Philipp Reclam Jun., 1975 (8vo, 287 S.). DM 24.80 - ISBN 3 15 010248 0.

Herbert Donner, *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 127 S., Fig.) = Die Theologie - ISBN 3 524 06344 9.

Otto Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*. 5. Band. Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr Verlag, 1973 (8vo, VIII + 287 S., 18 Tafeln).

Aron Freimann, *Union Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts and their Location*, Volume one: Index: Millwood, N.Y., Kraus Reprint Co., 1973 (folio, XXXIV + 280 pp.).

Hans Gottlieb & E. Hammershaimb, *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version*. Part II, Fasc. 4. Kings. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, CXXI + 160 pp.). f 180.— - ISBN 90 04 04513 9.

Jaacov Lavy, *Langenscheidts Handwörterbuch Hebräisch-Deutsch*. München, Langenscheidt, 1975 (8vo, 639 S.). DM 78.— - ISBN 3 468 04160 8.

Dov Nir, *Géomorphologie d'Israel*. Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1975 (4to, 179 pp., 95 figs., 33 photo's, 1 map) = Mémoires et Documents Année 1975, Nouvelle Série, Vol. 16. F 85.— - ISBN 2 222 01758 0.

Ludwig Schmidt, „De Deo“ *Studien zur Literaturkritik und Theologie des Buches Jona, des Gesprächs zwischen Abraham und Jahwe in Gen. 18, 22ff. und von Hi 1*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 198 S.) = Beiheft zur ZAW 143. DM 88.— - ISBN 3 11 00618 1.

Dennis Silk, *Fourteen Israeli Poets. A Selection of Modern Hebrew Poetry*. London, André Deutsch Ltd., Amsterdam, Meulenhoff-Bruna, 1976 (8vo, 96 pp.). f 2.25, f 14.20.

Michael M. Winter, *A Concordance to the Peshitta Version of Ben Sira*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XII + 656 pp.) = Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden, Volume II. f 96.— - ISBN 90 04 04507 4.

ARABICA - ISLAM

Fernando de Agreda Burillo, *Encuesta sobre la literatura marroquí actual*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (8vo, 71 pp.) = Cuadernos del „Seminario de Literatura y Pensamiento Arabes 2. 100 pesetas. ISBN 84 500 7223 9.

Akten des VII Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 15. bis 22. Aug. 1974. Hrsg. von Albert Dietrich. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976 (8vo, 419 S.) = Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen. DM 148 - ISBN 3 525 82377 0.

Richard Allen, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent*. London, Oxford University Press, 1974 (8vo, X + 686 pp., 3 maps). f 2.90.

Martin Almagro, Louis Caballero, Juan Zozaya, Antonio Almagro, Qusayr 'Amra, Residencia y Banos Omeyas en el Desierto de Jordania. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (4to, 196 pp., 9p. Arabic, XLVIII Pls., 11 figs.) - ISBN 84 500 6267 2.

Norman Anderson, *Law Reform in the Muslim World*. London, University of London, 1976 (8vo, XII + 235 pp.) = University of London Legal Series XI. f 6.00 - ISBN 0 485 13411 X.

The arts of Islam. An Exhibition organised by the Arts Council of Great Britain in association with the World of Islam Festival Trust. London, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976 (8vo, 396 pp., 663 figs.).

Noel Barber, *Lords of the Golden Horn. The Splendours of Islam and the Fall of the Mighty Ottoman Empire*. London, Sydney, Pan Books, 1976 (8vo, 285 pp., 23 pls., 7 maps). f 1.50 - ISBN 0 330 24735 2.

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*. Part 1. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Life and Lore. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 180 pp. + 11 pp.). f 64 - ISBN 90 04 04392 6.

Titus Burckhardt (Photographs by Roland Michaud), *Art of Islam. Language and Meaning*. Wellingborough, The World of Islam Festival Publication Co., Ltd., Thorsons Publications Ltd., 1976 (4to, XVI + 204 pp., 186 photographs, 67 figs.) = World of Islam Festival Illustrated Series. f 12.50.

Susanne Diwald, *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitab Ihwan as-safa' (III). Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975 (8vo, XII + 641 S.). DM 198.— - ISBN 3 447 01572 1.

Géza Fehervári, *Islamic Metalwork of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection*. London, Faber & Faber, 1976 (4to, 143 pp. text, 12 colourpls., 60 pls in black and white) = The Keir Collection. f 25.00 - ISBN 0 571 09740 5.

Oleg Grabar, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Art*. London, Variorum Reprint, 1976 (8vo, IV + 388 pp., 82 pls.) = Collected Studies Series. f 24.00 - ISBN 0 902089 98 6.

Fernando de la Granja, *Maqamas y Risalas Andaluzas*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1976 (8vo, XXVI + 235 pp.). 400 pesetas - ISBN 84 85133 072.

Jacques Grand'Henry, *Les parlers arabes de la région du Mzab (Sahara algérien)*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XX + 136 pp., 2 cartes) = Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, Vol. V. f 48.— - ISBN 90 04 04533 3.

Jean-Pierre Greenlaw, *The Coral Buildings of Suakin*. London, Oriel Press Ltd., 1976 (4to, 132 pp., illustrated). f 10.00 - ISBN 0 85362 158 6.

Ernst J. Grube, *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection*. London, Faber & Faber, The Keir Collection, 1976 (4to, 378 pp., 31 colour plates, 233 pls in black and white, 2 drawings) = The Keir Collection. f 35.00 - ISBN 0 571 09953 X.

Derek Hill & Lucien Golvin, *Islamic Architecture in North Africa. A Photographic Survey*. London, Faber & Faber, 1976 (167 pp., 11 colour plates, 560 photographs in black and white). f 25.00 - ISBN 0 571 10460 6.

Nizar Kabbani (Traducion y prologo de Pedro Martinez Montavez) *Poemas Amorosos Arabes*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (8vo, 196 pp.) = Coleccion de Autores Arabes Contemporaneos, No 5. 200 pesetas - ISBN 84 600 6835 8.

Elie Kedourie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth. The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and its Interpretations 1914-1939*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XII + 330 pp.) = Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics. f 12.50 - ISBN 0 521 20826 2.

G. S. van Krieken, *Khayr al-Din et la Tunisie (1850-1881)*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XII + 322 pp., 1 map). f 76.— - ISBN 90 04 04568 6.

Donald P. Little, *Essays on Islamic Civilisation presented to Niyazi Berkes*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 364 pp.). f 80.— - ISBN 90 04 04464 7.

Robert Mabbro & Samir Radwan, *The Industrialization of Egypt 1939-1973. Policy and Performance*. London, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1976 (8vo, XII + 279 pp.). f 6.75.

Basilio Pavon Maldonado, *El arte hispano-musulman en su decoracion geometrica. Una teoria para un estilo*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (4to, 465 pp., 245 pls., 112 figs., 15 pls.) - ISBN 84 600 6881 1.

Abdullah Hassan Masry, *Prehistory in Northeastern Arabia: The Problem of Interregional Interaction*. Miami, Field Research Projects, 1974 (4to, XVIII + 367 pp., 91 figs.).

The Middle East and North Africa 1976-77 (23rd edition). London, Europa Publications Ltd., 1976 (4to, XX + 930 pp.). f 15.50 - ISBN 0 900 36296 0.

Menahem Milson, *Society and Political Structure in the Arab World*. New York, N.Y., Humanities Press,

1973 (8vo, XVI + 338 pp.) = The van Leer Foundation Series - ISBN 0 391 00258 9.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Photographs by Roland Michaud), *Islamic Science. An Illustrated Study*. Wellingborough, World of Islam Festival Publishing Co., Thorsons Publishing Co., 1976 (4to, XIV + 273 pp., 135 pls., 94 figs.) = World of Islam Festival Illustrated Series. f 12.50 - ISBN 0 905035 02 X.

Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*. London, Sheldon Press, 1976 (8vo, 187 pp.). f 4.50.

J. R. T. M. Peters, *God's Created Speech. A Study in the Speculative Theology of the Mu'tazilī Qādī l-Qudāt Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Ahmad al-Hamadānī*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, XII + 447 pp.). f 96.— - ISBN 90 03 04719 0.

B. W. Robinson, E. J. Grube, G. M. Meredith-Owens, R. W. Skelton, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*. London, Faber & Faber, 1976 (4to, 322 pp., 157 pls. in black and white, 44 pls. in colour) = The Keir Collection. f 50.— - ISBN 0 571 10866 0.

Michael Rogers, *The Spread of Islam*. Oxford, Elsevier-Phaidon, 1976 (4to, 152 pp., Illustrated) = The Making of the Past. f 3.95 - ISBN 0 7290 0016 8.

Carmen Ruiz Bravo, *La Controversia Ideologica Nacionalismo Árabe. Nacionalismos Locales Oriente 1918-1952*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 560 pp.) - ISBN 84 600 6934 6.

Issam El-Said & Ayşe Parman, *Geometric Concepts in Islamic Art*. Wellingborough, World of Islam Festival Publications Co., Thorsons Publications, 1976 (4to, XII + 154 pp., 54 pls., 47 figs.) = World of Islam Festival Illustrated Series. f 7.50 - ISBN 905035 03 8.

Umberto Scerrato, *Monuments of Civilization*. London, Cassell & Co., 1976 (4to, 192 pp., illustrated). f 7.75.

Gregor Schoeler, *Eine Grundprobleme der autochthonen und der aristotelischen arabischen Literaturtheorie. Ḥāzīm al-Qarṭāḡānī's Kapitel über die Zielsetzungen der Dichtung und die Vorgeschichte der in ihm dargelegten Gedanken*. Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Franz Steiner, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 132 S.) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XLI, 4. DM 28 - ISBN 3 515 01966 9.

Sasson Somekh (Sasūn Sumaykh), *Dunyā Yūsuf Idrīs min khilālī aqāsihi*. Tel Aviv, Arabic Publishing House, 1976 (8vo, 205 pp.).

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, *Jawāmī' Ādāb al-Ṣufiyya and 'Uyūb al-nafs wa-Mudāwātuhā*. Edited by Etan Kohlberg. Jerusalem, Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1976 (8vo, 28 pp. in English, 120 pp. in Arabic) = The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series, Texts 1.

A. L. Tibawi, Arabic and Islamic Themes. Historical, Educational and Literary Studies. London, Luzac & Co, 1974 (8vo, 409 pp., frt.) - SBN 7189 0164 9.

G. J. Toomer, Diocles. On Burning Mirrors. The Arabic Translation of the Lost Greek Original. Berlin, Springer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, IX + 249 pp., 64 in Arabic, 12 in Greek, 37 figs., 24 pls.) = Sources in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1. DM 68.— - ISBN 3 540 07478 3.

Fernando Valderrama Martinez, Inscripciones Arabes de Tetuán. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (8vo, 51 pp., 30 pls.) = Cuadernos del „Seminario de Arte y Arqueología“ 2. 200 pesetas - ISBN 84 500 7233 6.

David Wade, Pattern in Islamic Art. London, Studio Vista Publishers, 1976 (4to, 144 pp., illustrated). £ 7.50 - ISBN 0 289 70719 6.

Charis Waddy, The Muslim Mind, Harlow, Essex, Longman Group, 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 205 pp., illustrated). £ 6.75 - ISBN 0 582 78061 6.

Herrmann von Wissmann, Die Mauer der Sabäerhauptstadt Maryab. Abessinien als sabäische Staatskolonie im 6. Jh. v. Chr. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 54 S., 16 Abb., 3 Karten). Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, XXXVIII. f 40.— - ISBN 90 6258 038 6.

TURCICA

Nicoara Beldiceanu, Recherche sur la ville ottomane au XVe siècle. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1973 (8vo, 466 pp.) = Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul XXV. F 170.—.

Claude Cahen, Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus. London, Variorum Reprints, 1974 (8vo, about 300 pages) - ISBN 0 902089 71 4.

M. A. Cook (ed.), A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730. Chapters from the Cambridge History of Islam and the New Cambridge Modern History. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 246 pp., 4 maps). £ 2.40 - ISBN 0 521 09991 9.

Ira Friedlander, The Whirling Dervishes. Being an account of the Sufi Order known as the Mevlevis and its founder, the poet and mystic Mevlana Jalalu 'ddin Rumi. London, Wildwood House Ltd., 1975 (4to, 160 pp., illustrated). £ 2.95 - ISBN 0 7045 0183 X.

Walter Weiker, Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey. The Free Party and its Aftermath. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1973 (8vo, XII + 317 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, VIII. f 84.— - ISBN 90 04 03818 3.

IRAN

Pramod Chandra, The Tuti-Nama of the Cleveland Museum of Art. Tales of a Parrot. Das Papageienbuch.

Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976 (8vo, XII + 223 and 682 pp., 120 fascimiles) = Codices Selecti. Phototypice Impressi, Facsimiles, Vol. LV - ISBN 3201 00958 8, 3 201 00959 X.

Annette Destrée, Les fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse. Leiden, E. J. Brill, Téhéran. Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1976 (8vo, XII + 374 pp., 3 cartes, 3 photo's) = Acta Iranica, 3. série. Textes et Mémoires, Volume VI.

L. P. Elwell-Sutton, The Persian Metres. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XIV + 285 pp.). £ 9.00 - ISBN 0 521 21089 5.

Richard Gramlich, Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Glaube und Lehre. Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, XII + 541 S.) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXVI, 2-4. DM 110.— - ISBN 3 515 01975 8.

Mostafa Momeni, Malayer und sein Umland. Entwicklung, Struktur und Funktionen einer Kleinstadt in Iran. Marburg, Im Selbstverlag des Geographischen Institutes der Universität Marburg, 1976 (8vo, 211 S., 27 Tafeln, 59 Tabellen) = Marburger Geographische Schriften, Heft 68, DM 27.—.

Davoud Monchi-Zadeh, Topographisch-historische Studien zum Iranischen Nationalepos. Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975 (8vo, X + 309 S., 15 Abb., 4 Tafeln, 1 Faltkarte) = Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XLI, 2. DM 72.— - ISBN 3 515 01897 2.

I. M. Oranskij (Übersetzung von Werner Winter), Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion. Band I und II. Den Haag, Mouton Publ., 1975 (8vo, XIV + 172 + 94 S.) = Janua Linguarum Series Critica 12. I. f 75.— - LCCCN 72 94495.

ETHIOPIA

Stefan Strelcyn, Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonds Rossini et Fonds Caetani. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 396 pp., XI pls.) = Indici e Sussidi Bibliografici delle Bibliotheca 9. L 25.000.

VARIA

Charles Martin Adelman, Cypro-Geometric Pottery: Refinements in Classification. Göteborg, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, 1976 (4to, XX + 143 pp. 307 figs., 5 Text figs.) = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. XLVII - ISBN 91 85058 69 6.

Aphek-Antipatris, 1972-1973. Moshe Kochavi, The First Two Seasons of Excavations at Aphek-Antipatris. Preliminary Report. Firhiya Beck, The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age IIA at Tel Aphek. Tel Aviv, Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, vol. 2, 1/2, (1975), (8vo, IV + 68 pp., 13 pls., 15 figs., 1 map).

Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol. II. London, Collins Publishers, 1973 (8vo, 725 pp., 15 pls.). £ 6.00.

Wolfgang Braunfels, Ikonographie der Heiligen. Meletius bis zweiundvierzig Martyrer. Register. Freiburg i.Br., Herder Verlag, 1976 (4to, VIII + 644 + 22 S., 310 Abb.) = Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie 8.

Alexander Burnes, Travels into Bokhara and a Voyage on the Indus. III Vols. London, Oxford University Press, 1974 (8vo, XLI + 356, XVIII + 473, XIX + 357 pp., illustrated) = Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints. £ 14.95.

Briton Cooper Busch, Modros to Lausanne: Britain's Frontier in West Asia, 1918-1923. Albany, N.Y., State University of New York Press, 1976 (8vo, 430 pp., 7 maps). \$ 30.00 - ISBN 0 87395 265 0.

Hans Butzmann, Kleine Schriften. Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973 (4to, XIII + 216 S.) = Studien zur Bibliotheksgeschichte, Band 1.

C. J. Classen, Sophistik. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 713 S., 1 Strichzeichnung) = Wege der Forschung, Bd. CLXXXVII. DM 121.— - ISBN 3 534 04316 2.

Christo M. Danov, Altthrakien. Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der bulgarischen Länder, Nordbrudzas, des Ägäischen- und Südosttrakien vom Ende des XII. bis zum Ende des III. Jhs. v. Chr. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, XX + 399 S., 4 Karten und 96 Tafelseiten mit 144 Abbildungen). DM 168.— - ISBN 3 11 003434 4.

Thomas Ehrlich, Cyprus 1958-1967. London, Oxford University Press, 1974 (8vo, XII + 164 pp.) = International Crises and the Role of Law. £ 1.00.

J. Fontaine, L'Art préroman hispanique 1. Zodiaque, Editions Weber, 1973 (8vo, 417 pp., 161 photo's, 8 pls. en couleurs, 123 figs.).

John C. F. Gray, Tranquebar. A Guide to the Coins of Danish India circa 1620-1845. Lawrence, Mass., Quarterman Publications, 1974 (8vo, VIII + 83 pp., illustrated). \$ 12.50 - ISBN 0 88000 054 6.

Peter Grossmann, S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1973 (folio, VII + 90 S., 40 Tafeln). DM 88.—.

George M. A. Hanfmann & Jane C. Waldbaum, A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments outside the City Walls. London, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1975 (4to, XII + 206 pp., 436 figs.) = Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Report 1 - ISBN 0 674 85751 8.

Stefan Hiller und Oswald Panagi, Die frühgriechischen Texte aus Mykenischer Zeit zur Erforschung

der Linear B-Tafeln. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, XII + 353 S.) = Erträge der Forschung, Band 49 - ISBN 3 534 06820 3.

B. S. J. Isserlin & Jean du Plat Taylor, Motya. A Phoenician and Carthaginian City in Sicily. Volume I. Field Work and Excavation. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (4to, XVIII + 117 pp., 26 pls., 24 figs., 11 plans). f 90.—.

Horst-Theodor Johann, Erziehung und Bildung in der heidnischen und christlichen Antike. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 597 S.) = Wege der Forschung, Band 377. DM 102.— - ISBN 3 534 06073 3.

Geoffrey Jukes, The Soviet Union in Asia. London, Angus & Robertson, 1973 (8vo, VIII + 304 pp.) = Australian Institute of International Affairs Series. £ 2.95.

Hubert Kaufhold, Die Rechtssammlung des Gabriel von Basra und ihre Verhältnisse zu den anderen juristischen Sammelwerke der Nestorianer. Berlin, J. Schweitzer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, XIX + 340 S.) = Münchener Universitätschriften. Juristische Fakultät. Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, Band 21. DM 88.— - ISBN 3 8059 0386 3.

John P. C. Kent, Bernhard Overbeck, Armin U. Stylow, Die römische Münze. Aufnahmen von Max und Albert Hirmer. München, Hirmer Verlag, 1973 (folio, 195 S., 172 Tafeln und 26 Farbtafeln). DM 148.— - ISBN 3 7774 2560 5.

H. E. Kiewe, M. Biddulph, V. Woods, Civilisation on Loan. Oxford, AN.I., 1973 (4to, XX + 526 pp., illustrated). £ 8.50.

Georg Linke, Jugoslawien. Aufnahmen von T. Schneiders, A. Wolfensberger, P. C. Pet. Zürich, Atlantis Verlag, 1974 (4to, 266 S., 211 Abbildungen davon 27 in Farben mit 16 historischen Strichillustrationen) = Orbis Terrarum. DM 78.— - ISBN 3 7611 0012 4.

Adrian Lyttelton, Italian Fascismus. From Pareto to Gentile. London, Jonathan Cape, 1973 (8vo, 318 pp.) = Roots of Right. £ 2.25 - ISBN 0 224 00833 1 (hardback), 0 224 0899 4 (Paperback).

D. N. Mackenzie, The Buddhist Sogdin Texts of the British Library. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (80, XVI + 220 pp., 108 pls.) = Acta Iranica 10. 3e Série: Textes et Mémoires, Vol. III - ISBN 90 04 03902 3/90 04 04538 4.

Manfred Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary. Lieferung 26. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976 (8vo, XXIII + 157 S.) = Indogermanische Bibliothek, Reihe — Wörterbücher. DM 50.—, subs. 38.— - ISBN 3 533 02465 2 (kart.).

Robert L. Murray, *The Protogeometric Style: The First Greek Style*. Göteborg, Göteborgs University, Institute of Classical Studies, 1975 (8vo, 40 pp., 4 pls.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Pocket Book 2 - ISBN 91 85058 65 3.

Athanasios J. Papadopoulos, *Excavations at Aigion* — 1970. Göteborg, Paul Astroms Forlag, 1976 (4to, XVI + 50 pp., 98 pls., 1 colour-plate) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Vol. XLVI - ISBN 91 85 058 68 8.

Leon Pomerance, *The Phaistos Disc. An Interpretation of Astronomical Symbols*. Göteborg, Göteborgs Universitet, Klassiska Institutionen, 1976 (8vo, 76 pp., 19 figs.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Pocket-book 9 - ISBN 91 85058 67 X.

Abdul Halim Sharar, *Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture*. London, Paul Elek, 1975 (8vo, 295 pp., 32 pls., 3 maps). £ 12.50 - ISBN 0 236 30932 3.

Leonid Shinkarev, *The Land Beyond the Mountains. Siberia and its People Today*. London, Granad Publishing, 1973 (8vo, 246 pp., 32 photographs, 1 map). £ 3.25 - ISBN 0 246 10601 8.

Erich Trapp, Rainer Walther, Hans-Veit Beyer, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Register zum Prosopographischen Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit (PLP)*. 1. Faszikel. Vorwort von Herbert Hunger. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976 (4to, XVIII + 163 + XXXIV + 30 S.) = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Byzantinistik. DM 30.— - ISBN 3 7001 0169 4.

Peter Weber-Schäfer, *Einführung in die antike politische Theorie*. 1. Die Frühzeit. 2. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 171 S.). DM 38.50 - ISBN 3 534 05739 2.

Peter Weber-Schäfer, *Einführung in die antike politische Theorie*. Zweiter Teil. Von Platon bis Augustinus (8vo, IV + 174 S.). DM 38.50 - ISBN 3 534 07357 6.

Klaus Wessel & Marcell Restle, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*. Lieferung 22 (= Band III, Sp. 801-960): Kaiserbild (Schluss)-Kanontafeln (Anfang). Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1976 (4to, 80 S., 13 Abb.). DM 40.— - ISBN 3 7772 7602 0 (Lief. 22), 3 7772 6340 0 (Werk).

Kurt Weizmann, with photographs by John Galey, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One: From the sixth to the tenth century*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1976 (4to, XVIII + 107 pp., 122 pls. of which 38 in colour). \$ 106.50 - ISBN 0 691 03543 1.

Richard C. White, *Melito of Sardis. Sermon "On the Passover"*. A New English Translation with Introduction and Commentary. Lexington, Kentucky, Lexington Theological Seminary Library, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 83 pp.) = *Occasional Studies*. \$ 6.00.

Peter Wirth, *Grundzüge der byzantinischen Geschichte*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 173 S., 7 Karten) = *Grundzüge*, Band 29. DM 27.— - ISBN 3 534 00704 2.

STUDIES IN OLD BABYLONIAN HISTORY

BY

MARTEN STOL

(= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique de Stamboul, Vol. XL)
1976, 4to, X + 114 pp., 3 pls. f 60.—
ISBN 90 6258 040 8

This book investigates some aspects of the political and social history of the Old Babylonian Period.

The first chapters deal with chronology. A new Date List is published here establishing the correct order of the year names of Warad Sin of Larsa. Moreover, it presents Warad Sin as reigning thirteen years and not twelve years as has been assumed. This, of course, has some impact on the history of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. The author shows that Hammurabi undertook a hitherto little-known campaign to Northern Mesopotamia, probably in his 33rd year. During the reign of Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna, Rim-Sin II led a revolt in Southern Babylonia. A full description of the reign of this usurper is given; the author thinks it is possible that the name "Rim-Sin" was used by more than one usurper.

The last chapters of the book center on some problems in the social and economic history of this period. Mr. Stol investigates the meaning of the title *rabiānum* ("burgomaster") and its use by kings, sheikhs and aldermen. As a leader of a sedentary community, the "burgomaster" could recruit harvesters from the local population, as is known from the Dilbat texts. The last chapter shows that the *rabiānum* was middleman in the pertinent harvest labor contracts.

MIKHA'IL NU'AYMAH
PROMOTOR OF THE ARABIC LITERARY REVIVAL

BY
C. NIJLAND

(= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique de Stamboul, Vol. XXXIX)
1975, 4to, XIII + 132 pp. f 50.—

Mikha'il Nu'aymah is one of the Arab emigrants to the U.S.A., who, in the first decades of the twentieth century, took an active part in the renovation of Arabic literature.

He was born autumn 1889 in Biskinta, a mountain-village N.E. of Beirut. In his native village he attended the Greek-Orthodox elementary school, newly established under the auspices of the Russian "Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society". The same Society sent him to Nazareth and to Poltava, Ukraine, to pursue his schooling at intermediate and secondary levels. He stayed five years in Poltava, where he became well read in Russian literature.

In 1911 he joined his brothers in the U.S.A. who enabled him to study Law and English Literature at the University of Washington in Seattle. He took his B.A. degrees in both disciplines in 1916. He then went to New York to join the literary circle centred around Gibran Khalil Gibran and his school-days friend Nasib 'Aridah. The plan was that Nu'aymah should become the co-editor of the literary magazine *al-Funūn*, but the financial basis of this enterprise was far from solid and Nu'aymah had to look elsewhere for a livelihood. He first worked as a typist in the Russian trade-mission and then, after Russia's withdrawal from the war, had to serve in the U.S. army. He was shipped to France and sent to the front-line during the last days of the war. Back in the U.S.A. he worked as a commercial traveller whilst devoting his spare time to Arabic literature and the Pen-League (*al-Rābitah al-Qalamiyyah*), founded in 1921. In 1932 he returned to Lebanon, to "live for his pen".

Nu'aymah's literary fame is due, in the main, to the critical essays he wrote between 1914 and 1922 and which he collected eventually in *al-Ghribāl* (The Sieve - Cairo, 1923). These essays contain Nu'aymah's ideas on the modernization of Arabic Literature, on literary criticism and also on traditional Arabic poetry and its chief representatives. The fact that he could publish his first collection in Cairo, where it was reprinted four times, is an indication of the approval he found outside the U.S.A. He was active in other literary fields as well during these years. He composed some thirty poems in Arabic and less than a score in English and wrote a play, a few stories and some instalments of a serialized novel which he discontinued when leaving for France.

The years of great and prolonged literary activity commenced after his return to Lebanon. After more than sixty years of active penmanship Nu'aymah's bibliography includes one volume of poems, four volumes of short stories, one volume of aphorisms, four novels, ten volumes of essays, one travelogue, one volume of press interviews and what may be called a book of prayers, a total of thirty volumes of some 6000 pages.

The present study gives an outline of the Arabic literary scene and then proceeds to a bibliographical sketch of Nu'aymah. His poetry, his narrative prose, the biography of Gibran and Nu'aymah's autobiography, his literary essays and finally the other essays in which he expounds his beliefs with regard to human destiny, are studied in consecutive chapters.



Jaargang XXXIII
No. 5/6
Sept.-Nov. 1976

BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS

UITGEGEVEN VANWEGE HET

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

ONDER REDACTIE VAN

E. van DONZEL, hoofdredacteur, F. M. Th. de LIAGRE BÖHL (†),
H. J. A. DE MEULENAERE, M. J. MULDER, C. NIJLAND en M. STOL

Redactie en Administratie:
Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden (Nederland)

Tweemaandelijks recenserend en bibliografisch tijdschrift
op het gebied van het Nabije Oosten
Abonnementsprijs Hfl. 165.— per jaar

INHOUD

HOOFDARTIKELEN:

- F. Rofail FARAG, The Usage of the Coptic Language as a
Constituent Element of the Literary Form of Severus Ibn al-
Muqaffa 275—283
Friedrich CORNELIUS (†), Streitpunkte der hethitischen Geogra-
phie. Vortrag beim XXII Rencontre Assyriologique in Göttingen
Juni 1975 283—285
Kjell AARTUN, Eine weitere Parallele aus Ugarit zur kultischen
Praxis in Israels Religion 285—289
C. E. BOSWORTH, Jewish Elements in the Banū Sāsān 289—294
Michael W. ALBIN, Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts in the
John G. White Department, Cleveland Public Library 294—304
R. ZADOK, Syro-Palestinian Parallels to Lebanese Toponyms
..... 304—310

BOEKBESPREKINGEN:

- FREMERSDORF, Fritz, Antikes, Islamisches und Mittelalterliches
Glas (W. C. Braat) 310—311
KURZ, Otto, European Clocks and Watches in the Near East
(J. M. Rogers) 311—314
THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA 1976-1977.
Twenty-third Edition (C. Nijland) 314—315
KITCHEN, K. A., Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biblio-
graphical. Vol. I. Fasc. 5, 6 315
HORNUNG, Eric, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen
(Sonnenlitanei) (Dieter Mueller) 315—316
GITTON, Michel, L'épouse de dieu. Ahmes Néfertary. Documents
sur sa vie et son culte posthume (Erhart Graefe) 316—320
HELCK, Wolfgang, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen
Reiches, Register (Herman De Meulenaere) ... 321
HELCK, Wolfgang, Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahr-
tausends v. Chr. (David Lorton) 321
EDEL, E., Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethi-
tischen Königshof (R. Lebrun) 321—323
ARCELL, A. J., The Prehistory of the Nile Valley (Fekri A.
Hassan) 323—324
SIMPSON, W. K., The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the
Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13, 1974 (Oleg Berlev)
..... 324—326

- HASSAN, Ali, Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten
(Robert Hari) 326—327
RIESTERER, P. P., K. LAMBELET, Das Ägyptische Museum
Kairo (Claudio Barocas) 327—328
GRIMM, Günter, Mohiy IBRAHIM, Mohammad MOHSEN, Die-
ter JOHANNES, Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im
Ägyptischen Museum Kairo (Cornelius Vermeule) 328—329
GOLTZ, Dietlinde, Studien zur Altorientalischen und Griechischen
Heilkunde (Walter Farber) 329—333
CARELLI, P., D. COLLIN, Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian
Tablets in the British Museum, Part VI (L. Matouš)
..... 333—335
OTTEN, Heinrich und Christel RÜSTER, Keilschrifttexte aus
Boghazköi, Heft 22 (H. A. Hoffner Jr.) 335—337
VRUCHTEN VAN DE UITHOF: Studies opgedragen aan dr. H.
BRONGERS (John Wm Wevers) 338
HEERMA VAN VOSS, M. S. H. G., Ph. H. J. HOUWINK
TEN CATE, N. A. VAN UCHELEN (Eds.), Travels in the
World of the Old Testament. Studies Presented to Professor
M. A. BEEK (Simon J. De Vries) 338—340
ALBRIGHT, W. F., The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible
(C. H. J. de Geus) 340
DASBERG, Jitschak, De Pentateuch met Haftarah, Deel I, II
(M. J. Mulder) 341
FOKKELMAN, J. P., Narrative Art in Genesis. Specimens of
Stylistic and Structural Analysis (C. Houtman) ... 341—344
KEEL, Othmar, Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament
(Hermann Schulz) 344—347
WILDBERGER, Hans, Jesaja I: Teilband: Jesaja 1-12 (Gerhard
F. Hasel) 347—350
MÜHLENBERG, Ekkehard, Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenen-
überlieferung, Band I (T. Muraoka) 350—351
SCHENKER, O.P., Adrian, Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke.
Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vatica-
nus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62 (T. Muraoka)
..... 351—352
KAPELRUD, Arvid S., The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah.
Morphology and Ideas (Simon J. De Vries) 352—353
COGGINS, R. J., The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah (H. H.
Grosheide) 353—354

- ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN, edited with translations and annotations by B. JONGELING, C. J. LABUSCHAGNE, and A. S. VAN DER WOUDE (Leona Glidden Running) 354
- FABRY, Heinz-Josef, Die Wurzel ŠŪB in der Qumran-Literatur (Daniel C. Snell) 355-356
- HEINEMANN, J., Aggadot ve-Toldotam. Aggadah and its Development (Daniel Sperber) 356-357
- LEWIS, B., Race and Color in Islam (Antonie Wessels) 357-358
- IBN AL-RAZZAZ AL-JAZARI, The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices (Kitāb fi ma'rifat ḥiyal al-handasiyya) (J. M. Rogers) 358-363
- GREEK WISDOM LITERATURE IN ARABIC TRANSLATION by Dimitri GUTAS (Remke Kruk) 363-364
- GOHLMAN, Willim E., The Life of Ibn Sina (M. Van Damme) 364-365
- LAZARUS-YAFEH, Hava, Studies in al-Ghazzālī (Jan Peters) 365-367
- NIJLAND, C., Mikhā'il Nu'aymah, Promoter of the Arabic Literary Revival (M. A. Suudi) 367-368
- TIBAWI, A. L., Arabic and Islamic Themes. Historical, Educational and Literary Studies (C. Nijland) 368-370
- ROSEN-AYALON, Myriam, Ville Royale de Suse IV. La poterie islamique (J. M. Rogers) 370-374
- READ, J., The Moors in Spain and Portugal (E. Ashtor) 375
- REVAULT, J., Palais et résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe-XIXe siècles) (J. M. Rogers) 375-379
- REVAULT, J. and M. MAURY, Palais et maisons du Caire du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle (J. M. Rogers) 375-379
- AGREDA BURILLO, Fernando de, Encuesta sobre la literatura morroqui actual (C. Nijland) 379-380
- TURKOLOGISCHER ANZEIGER (TA 1) (Heidrun Wurm) 380
- KRANE, R. E. (editor), Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries: Social, Economic and Legal Aspects - The Case of Turkey and West Germany (Jacob M. Landau) ... 380-381
- BENEDICT, Peter, Erol TÜMERTEKİN, and Fatma MANSUR, Editors, Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives (Jacob M. Landau) 381-382
- PEARSON, J. D. (Editor), A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia (Manfred Mayrhofer) 383-384

- GABRIEL, Alfons, Die Religiöse Welt des Iran (C. J. Bleeker) 384
- THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN, Volume IV: The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs (E. Ashtor) 384-387
- GRANTOVSKIY, E. A., Rannyya Istoriya Iranskikh Plemyon Peredney Azii (The early history of the Iranian tribes of Western Asia) (R. Zadok) 387-389
- DOERFER, Gerhard, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Band IV: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (Schluss) (Jiří Krámský) 389-391
- ALFÖLDI, A., Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates (H. S. Versnel) 391-401
- BENGTSON, Hermann, Herrschergestalten des Hellenismus (E. J. Jonkers) 401-402
- DIETRICH, B. C., The Origins of Greek Religion (W. den Boer) 402-403
- DUNCAN-JONES, R., The Economy of the Roman Empire (H. W. Pleket) 403-405
- ELSAS, Christoph, Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltabkehrung in der Schule Plotins (R. McL. Wilson) 405-406
- LLOYD, Alan B., Herodotus, Book II (H. Verdin) 406-409
- PALMER, Robert E. A., Roman Religion and Roman Empire (E. J. Jonkers) 409-410
- PELIKAN, Jaroslav, The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700) (Otto Meinardus) 410-412
- RHODES, D. E., Dennis of Etruria (L. B. van der Meer) 412
- SCHNEIDER, Carl, Die Welt des Hellenismus (E. J. Jonkers) 412-413
- SEEBOLD, Elmar, Das System der indogermanischen Halbvokale (R. Slonek) 413-414
- SYMEONOGLOU, Sarantis, Kadmeia I. Mycenaean Finds from Thebes (J. H. C. Kern) 414-415

MEDEDELING:

- The University of Chicago. The Office of Public Information 415
- ONTVANGEN BOEKEN 415-422

HOOFDARTIKEL

The Usage of the Coptic Language as a Constituent Element of the Literary Form of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa

Introduction

Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa, the Bishop of al-Ašmūnain¹), is well known among the Christian Arabic writers of the mid-tenth century. He was among the first of the Coptic Christians to compose a considerable number of original works in Arabic, which obtained him a position of preeminence in the literature of his nation, as well as among the Christian writers of the Orient in the tenth century. He helped to introduce the Arabic language into Coptic ecclesiastical literature²).

Both Louis Cheikho al-Yasū'i and Georg Graf gave a short synopsis of the life and works of Ibn al-Muqaffa, the former in his book: *Kitāb al-Maḥtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya li-Katabat al-Naṣrāniyya* (Beirut 1924), and the latter in his *Geschichte der christlichen Literatur* (Vatican City, 1944-53)³).

Of his personal life little is known. As a layman he bore the name of Abū ('l-)Bishr, and he was a clerk (*kātib*). It is, however, known that he was appointed Bishop of Ašmūnain and that he died during the patriarchate of Philotheus (the 63rd Patriarch — ca A.D. 979-1003). In an 'Epistola Synodica' of the latter of the year 987 to Anastasius the 5th (987-1003), Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Ibn al-Muqaffa, Bishop of al-Ašmūnain, affixed his signature in the first place with the bishops present at its drawing up⁴).

Definite dates in Ibn al-Muqaffa's life are the year 955 in which he wrote his 'Second Book' about the Councils, and the year 987 in which he added his signature to the synodical epistle mentioned above⁵).

Two lists of the writings of Ibn al-Muqaffa have been preserved, one in the biography of the Patriarch Philotheus, the second in the catalogue of authors of Abū'l-Barakāt ibn Kabar⁶). The first gives twenty and the

¹) Town in Upper Egypt on the west bank of the Nile between Minya and Assiut, near Tell El-Amarna, the old Hermopolis.

²) G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, (Studi E. Testi, 133), Vatican City, 1974, vol. II, § 98, p. 300.

³) There are also brief entries about his life in a number of standard encyclopedias:

(a) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new ed.), (Leiden-London, 1968), vol. III, pp. 885-86, by S. Y. Labib;

(b) *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1966), vol. XIII, p. 144, by Paulinus Bellet, and

(c) *The Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1964), vol. IX, p. 703, by J. Assfalg.

⁴) Josephus Simoni Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Rome 1719), vol. IV. Evetts says that Ibn al-Muqaffa compiled the biographies of the Patriarchs in the 9th century, which is a mistake as attested by the above substantial proof. See *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries* (attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ, the Armenian; ed. by B. T. A. Evetts), (Oxford 1895), introd., p. xv.

⁵) Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 300.

⁶) The Coptic Church has its encyclopaedist in Shams ar-Ri'yāsah Abū'l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar (died in 1324) who brought together in his book entitled *Miṣbāḥ al-Zulma wa-Idāḥ al-Khidma* everything which seems worth knowing in all the branches of ecclesiastical knowledge in extracts and summaries. See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 297.

second twenty six works. A comparison of these lists with the writings known from extant manuscripts shows that a large part of the works of Ibn al-Muqaffa must be regarded as lost⁷).

Ibn al-Muqaffa's literary activities were concerned with the religious education of the people, the exposition of the Bible, of everyday morality and of the liturgy. He composed many theological and polemical works, most of which are still unedited⁸). He was considered in the 10th century the principal champion of the Coptic Church which was then menaced by the activity and abilities of the Melkite Patriarch Eutychius (Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, 933-940) who was supported by Muḥammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid (323/935-334/946), the new Governor of Egypt⁹). In addition to this, he is reported to have taken part in disputations with other religious denominations, whether they were Muslims or Jews¹⁰).

Ibn al-Muqaffa is best known for his work, *Tārīkh Baṭārikat al-Kanisah al-Qibṭiyyah bi'l-Iskandariyya* which he did not, however, complete, the editing and completion being due to others¹¹).

This work is preserved in the following manuscripts:

(a) Two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Nos. 301 and 302(A) and a third manuscript of Paris 4773(F).

(b) Two London manuscripts: add. 26.100(B) and Or. 1338(C).

(c) Two manuscripts at the Vatican 620(D) and 686(E).

(d) A manuscript in the Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo, under the title: *Tārīkh al-Baṭārika*, which was copied by the Rev. Shenūda al-Baramūsī from a copy that exists in the Monastery of al-Baramūs in the Western Desert.

The text of the work has been published in the following editions:

(1) C. F. Seybold, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Script, Ar.*, ser. 3, v. 9 (Paris 1904-10).

(2) B. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. I (1907), V (1910), X (1915).

(3) The latter edition was continued by Yassa 'Abd al-Masīh, 'Azīz Suryāl 'Aṭīya and O. H. E. Burmester (Cairo 1943-59).

(4) A Latin translation of the work by E. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, published in Paris (1713).

Evetts, whose edition I am using in the present dis-

⁷) Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 300; see also Graf, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur* (Freiburg 1905), 42-6.

⁸) See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 306-317. The writer of the article on Ibn al-Muqaffa in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* refers to new critical edition of Ibn al-Muqaffa's *History of the Patriarchs*, which is being undertaken by A. S. 'Atīya, Yassa 'Abd al-Masīh, and O. H. E. Burmester (vol. III, p. 886).

⁹) See Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Histoire des conciles* (2nd Book), (ed. by L. Léroy), in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 6, p. 469.

¹⁰) See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, p. 308; also *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (1909), No. 4, p. 383.

¹¹) See Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp. 301-2.

sertation, collated the first seven manuscripts in building up his text in the *Patrologia Orientalis* (volumes I, V and X)¹²⁾.

Usage of Coptic Language

Ibn al-Muqaffa was writing for a community which was gradually going over to Arabic and was substituting it for Coptic, and which needed to transfer from the Coptic linguistic mood to the Arabic one. If his subject-matter was to be understandable to his readers, it must achieve a sort of compromise between Coptic and Arabic; the text must be planned on syntactical lines suited to the mentality of a Coptic-speaking people. At the same time its grammar and semantics should follow the rules of the Arabic language, spoken and written by the Arabs who had settled down in Egypt — hence, the writer's usage of colloquial phrases and words and Coptic constructions occasionally, and his use of genuine literary and idiomatic Arabic as well. He was, in fact, under influence from both sides.

Obviously, Ibn al-Muqaffa was writing for the Coptic community which understood Arabic in its colloquial rather than in its literary form. After all, Coptic was a popular colloquial language whose grammar was based on the Demotic dialect of Ancient Egypt, the spoken dialect of the people. In spite of the fact that in the 3rd century A.H./10th A.D. Arabic must have had the predominance and Coptic must have been pushed back to the country districts¹³⁾, and in spite of the fact that historians of language admit that the Coptic element in Egyptian colloquial Arabic is extremely small¹⁴⁾, yet both writer and reader think in a language which had lasted for many centuries and which had dominated their speech habits and their modes of thinking. Thus

the linguistic mode of thinking on the writer's part and the linguistic mode of understanding on the reader's part were both affected by Coptic. This is the linguistic 'norm' which they both had in common.

Cultural borrowing is applicable on a large scale in Ibn al-Muqaffa's case. Many of the names of persons, places, months were borrowed by him from Coptic. Even words referring to religious rites, intellectual or moral, psychological or social phenomena, fashions of individual conduct find no translation in Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic, because they express the peculiar mentality of the individual using them, that is to say the Copts. All these words, phrases and idioms belong to the Coptic culture and they were transferred by the historian from Coptic to Arabic without attempt at any translation.

Undoubtedly, the existence of such words, phrases or idioms for abstract concepts has a certain influence on the mentality of the writer: they direct his attention to certain objects or fields that he is aware of. The reason for Ibn al-Muqaffa's adoption of the Coptic word in Arabic may be purely linguistic; he either could not find the Arabic equivalent because the word is associated with a pure Coptic concept or rite or tradition which has no existence in Islam, or else he failed to adopt the right usage in Arabic because he was a novice in Arabic semantics.

Since Ibn al-Muqaffa was familiar with the contributing language, i.e. Coptic, and since the borrowed words are fairly numerous, the foreign sounds which are acoustically remote from any Arabic phoneme, may be preserved in a more or less accurate rendering that nevertheless violates the native system.

The following are examples of Ibn al-Muqaffa's transliteration of the Coptic idiom:

Ecclesiastical Titles

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
ΑΡΧΗΔΙΑΚΩΝ	الارشى دياقن ¹⁵⁾	archdeacon
18) ΠΡΩΤΟΣ	الابر و طس ¹⁶⁾	archpriest (senior in importance or dignity)
ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ	اغسطس ¹⁷⁾	reader
ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ	ابودياقون	subdeacon
ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚΩΝ	ابودياقنين ¹⁸⁾	
21) ΖΗΓΕΜΩΝ	اغومنس ²⁰⁾	hegumen
ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗΣ	ارشيمندريدس ²²⁾	archimandrite

¹²⁾ See *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* (compiled by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa). Arabic texts edited, translated and annotated by B. T. A. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. I, preface, p. 104.

¹³⁾ See Jean Simon (S.J., Rome), 'Wann starb das Koptische aus?', in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 90 (1936), p. 44*; also *Kitab al-Durr al-Thamin fi 'idāh al-Din* (ed. by Marcus Girgis, (Cairo 1925), p. 261 f.

¹⁴⁾ K. Vollers, 'Aegyptische Entlehnungen', in *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 50, pp. 653-656; E. Littmann, 'Koptischer Einfluss im Aegyptisch-Arabischen' in *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 56, pp. 681-684; W. Spiegelberg, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, vol. 4, pp. 61f.

¹⁵⁾ *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, I, p. 158.

¹⁶⁾ *History*, I, p. 208.

¹⁷⁾ *History*, I, p. 209.

¹⁸⁾ Of Greek origin. See *Al-Qāmūs al-Qibṭī wa'l-'Arabi* (Coptic-Arabic Dictionary), (compiled by Iqladiūs Yūḥanna Labīb), (Cairo 1611 A.M.), (letter ΑΝΔ).

¹⁹⁾ *History*, I, p. 185). (The first Arabic term is singular and the second is plural).

²⁰⁾ *History*, V, p. 102. See Alexander Böhlig, (*Die griechischen Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament*. (Studien zur Erforschung des christlichen Aegyptens herausgegeben von A. Böhlig), (Munich 1958), (2nd edition), p. 66.

²¹⁾ Of Greek origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter α).

²²⁾ *History*, V, p. 85. Its modern Arabic usage is الارشمندريت

Civilian Titles

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
23) ΔΟΥΞ	التكس ²⁴⁾	duke or general in the Roman army
25) ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ	اقنوم ²⁶⁾	one who manages a household: oeconomus
27) (ΝΙ)ΑΡΧΩΝ	الاراخنة ²⁸⁾	officials, legislators, dignitaries

Personal Names

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
ΑΡΧΗΛΙΤΗΣ	ارقلادا ²⁹⁾	Heraclides
30) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ	تادرس ³¹⁾	Theodore
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ	مقاريوس ³²⁾	Macarius
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ	او سابيوس ³³⁾	Eusebius
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΤΗΣ	بسيليتس ³⁴⁾	Basilides
35) ΘΕΚΛΑ	تكلا ³⁶⁾	Thecla
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ — ΚΛΑΥΤΙΟΣ	قلاديانوس ³⁸⁾	Claudius
37) ΚΛΟΤΙΣ	بنطنوس ³⁹⁾	Pantaenus
ΠΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ	اقليموس ⁴⁰⁾	Clement
ΚΛΗΜΟΣ — ΚΛΙΜΕΝΤΟΣ	اورجاناس — ارجانوس ⁴¹⁾	Origen
ΩΡΙΓΕΝΗΣ	ارجانس ⁴¹⁾	
ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΣ	يسطس ⁴³⁾	Justus
42) ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ		

²³⁾ Of Latin origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter Δ).

²⁴⁾ *History*, I, p. 498.

²⁵⁾ Of Greek origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter Ο).

²⁶⁾ *History*, V, p. 43. Modern Arabic uses:

مدبر — مدبر — وكيل — ناظر — قيم

²⁷⁾ Of Greek origin. See Böhlig, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter*, p. 74.

²⁸⁾ *History*, V, p. 129. It is used in its singular form in *History*, I, p. 517, viz., الارخن

²⁹⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. The modern Arabic name قلادة used to-day among the Copts, is derived from it.

³⁰⁾ Of Greek origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter Θ).

³¹⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. A very common name among the Copts to-day which means the 'gift of God'. (The Coptic noun ΔΩΡΟΣ means gift or blessing).

³²⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. The modern name is written:

see Böhlig, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter*, p. 408. مقارى — مكارى

³³⁾ *History*, I, p. 163.

³⁴⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. In modern usage it is written as:

باسيلي — بسيلي

³⁵⁾ Of Greek origin; name of a woman, sometimes written as توكليه. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter Θ).

³⁶⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. This name is now used for men with a change of vocalization; it is pronounced: تكلا (Takla).

³⁷⁾ Of Sahidic origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter K).

³⁸⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. In modern usage it is: قلاده — قلديس — اقلاد يوس

³⁹⁾ *History*, I, p. 163.

⁴⁰⁾ *History*, I, p. 163. The modern pronunciation and written form is اكلمنضس

⁴¹⁾ *History*, I, p. 164. The modern pronunciation and written form is اوريجانس

⁴²⁾ Of Latin origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter I).

⁴³⁾ *History*, I, p. 163.

44) $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\rho\sigma$	سويرس ⁴⁵⁾	Severus
46) $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\sigma$	يهودا — يودس ^{47), 48)}	Judas
49) $\delta\epsilon\chi\iota\sigma$	داكيوس ⁵⁰⁾	Decius
51) $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha\mu\delta\rho\sigma$	الاكسندروس ⁵²⁾	Alexander
53) $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon$	اغاثون ⁵⁴⁾	Agathon
55) $\mu\omega\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$	موسيس ⁵⁶⁾	Moses
57) $\iota\omega\sigma\eta\phi$	يوساب ⁵⁸⁾	Joseph
59) $\iota\omega\alpha\mu\mu\eta\varsigma$	يونس ⁶⁰⁾	John
61) $\mu\epsilon\lambda\chi\iota\varsigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa$	ملشيصداق ⁶²⁾	Melchisedec

The Use of Coptic Months

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
<i>Sahidic Bohairic</i>		
$\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau\ \theta\omega\omicron\upsilon\tau$	توت ⁶³⁾	September
$\mu\alpha\alpha\mu\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\omicron\mu\iota$	بابة ⁶⁴⁾	October
$\chi\alpha\tau\omega\rho\ \alpha\theta\omega\rho$	هتور ⁶⁵⁾	November
$\kappa\iota\alpha\chi\ \chi\omicron\iota\alpha\kappa$	كيهك ⁶⁶⁾	December
$\tau\omega\beta\epsilon\ \tau\omega\beta\iota$	طوبة ⁶⁷⁾	January
$\mu\omega\eta\rho\ \mu\epsilon\omega\iota\rho$	امشير ⁶⁸⁾	February
$\mu\alpha\rho\mu\chi\alpha\tau\ \phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\mu\omega\theta$	برمهات ⁶⁹⁾	March

44) Of Arabic origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter C).

45) *History*, I, p. 164. This name is common among the Copts of to-day. It is written with an ι after the ساويرس : س

46) From Hebrew via the Greek; the modern usage $\iota\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha$ is a direct transliteration of the Hebrew according to Masoretic pronunciation.

47) *History*, I, p. 164.

48) *History*, V, p. 130. In modern usage it is 'يهودا', with a δ instead of the letter δ .

49) Mentioned in a psalmody in praise of St. Mercury.

50) *History*, I, p. 164.

51) Name of two of the Coptic Patriarchs, the 19th (4th century) and the 43rd (8th century).

52) *History*, I, p. 181. This has been modified as الكس and اسكندر which are both in common use among the Copts to-day.

53) Of Greek origin. See Böhlig, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter*, p. 124. It means the "father of good". See also *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter α). It is also written as $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\mu$.

54) *History*, V, p. 4. The fact that Ibn al-Muqaffa was well-acquainted with Coptic can be verified from his own comment concerning the name of Patriarch Agathon, see *History*, V, p. 4.

55) This is from Hebrew via Greek.

56) *History*, V, p. 197. The traditional usage in the Arab world from Qur'anic times is موسى.

57) Of Hebrew origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ι).

58) *History*, X, p. 533. Some of the Coptic Patriarchs were called by that name: the 52nd (9th century) and the 115th (20th century).

It has been modified to 'يوسف' which is a common spelling among the present day Copts and among the Arabs since Qur'anic times.

59) See the New Testament, Coptic Edition (The Tewfik Coptic Press, Cairo 1935), p. 8 (Matt 3: 4).

60) *History*, X, p. 428. In another manuscript it is written as $\iota\omega\alpha\mu\mu$. See *History*, X, (footnote 5), p. 428.

61) This form belongs to both the Septuagint and the Copts. It is of Hebrew origin; it was the name by which the King of Salem was called. It means the 'king of Justice' or 'Prosperity'. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter μ).

62) The use of the letter 'ش' instead of 'ك' follows a rule in Greek and Coptic (Bohairic) phonetics, stipulating the pronunciation of χ as ش when followed by one of the following letters: $\epsilon - \eta - \iota - \gamma$. It is possible that some of the Arabic spellings here do not come directly from Coptic, but Ibn al-Muqaffa may in fact have been using spellings derived directly from Greek or Latin which were in use in his day.

63) *History*, I, p. 448.

64) *History*, I, p. 152; *History*, X, p. 476.

65) *History*, I, p. 149. Modern Arabic uses هاتور.

66) *History*, I, p. 177.

67) *History*, I, p. 152.

68) *History*, I, p. 153; *History*, X, p. 474.

69) *History*, I, p. 154.

$\mu\alpha\rho\mu\chi\epsilon\ \phi\alpha\rho\mu\chi\epsilon\iota$	برمودة ⁷⁰⁾	April
$\mu\alpha\omega\omicron\mu\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\omega\omicron\mu\varsigma$	بشنس ⁷¹⁾	May
$\mu\alpha\omega\mu\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\omega\mu\iota$	بوونة ⁷²⁾	June
$\epsilon\mu\epsilon\mu\ \epsilon\mu\eta\mu$	اييب ⁷³⁾	July
$\mu\epsilon\varsigma\omega\rho\eta\ \mu\epsilon\varsigma\omega\rho\eta$	مسرى ⁷⁴⁾	August

Names of Ecclesiastical Articles of Clothing

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
⁷⁵⁾ $(\omicron\gamma)\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu - \omicron\gamma\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu$	بلارية ⁷⁷⁾	cloak
⁷⁶⁾ $(\omicron\gamma)\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu$	بلين ⁷⁹⁾	pallium
$-(\omicron\gamma)\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu$		
⁸⁰⁾ $(\omicron\gamma)\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$	اسكيم ⁸¹⁾	habit
⁸²⁾ $(\omicron\gamma)\varsigma\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu$	استخارة ⁸³⁾	tunic
$(\omicron\gamma)\varsigma\tau\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu$		

Names of Places

COPTIC	ARABIC	ENGLISH
⁸⁴⁾ $(\chi\alpha\mu)\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\gamma\epsilon$	برابي ⁸⁵⁾	heathen temples

70) *History*, I, p. 206; *History*, X, p. 440.

71) *History*, I, p. 404.

72) *History*, I, p. 150; *History*, V, p. 156.

73) *History*, V, p. 183.

74) *History*, V, p. 185.

75) Mentioned thus in *Kitāb al-Sullam* by Abū'l-Bakarāt Ibn Kabar who lived at the end of the XIIIth and the beginning of the XIVth century. He translated it as a veil 'النقاب'. In the *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter λ), it is written as $\mu\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\mu$ (Bohairic) and it is translated as a big net or woven shawl worn by princesses.

76) Written thus in the 'Book of the Consecration of Bishops'. Ref. *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter \omicron) (Sahidic?) and translated as زنار — رباط — منطقة — حزام.

77) *History*, I, p. 158.

78) Both nouns were mentioned in the *Book of the Consecration of Bishops*; they are associated with the Coptic adjective $\omicron\gamma\omega\beta\omega$ (white): $\mu\iota\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\mu\ \omicron\gamma\omega\beta\omega$ which means "the white pallium".

This noun may correspond to the Greek word $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\mu$ which is a sort of vestment with a cross on it, which a monk wears on his breast. Others think that it is a broad garment which hung from the shoulders, worn by the Greeks, which they called $\omega\mu\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\mu$.

79) *History*, I, p. 158.

80) It is also written as $\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$. It is of Greek origin; it means a figure or shape since the wearer of this girdle assumes an angelic shape. The word $\mu\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma$ is a Coptic synonym for the Greek word. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ς). The Schema is a girdle of intertwined leather worn across the breast,

81) *History*, I, p. 158.

82) It is also written as $\varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha$. It is of Greek origin; it means a figure or shape since the wearer of this girdle assumes an angelic shape. The word $\mu\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma$ is a Coptic synonym for the Greek word. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ς). The Schema is a girdle of intertwined leather worn across the breast,

83) *History*, I, p. 416. The present synonyms for this word are: هيكل — معبد — مسجد — جامع — كنيسة. The above terms, i.e., the singular (برابي) and the plural برابي were used by al-Maqrizī in his *Khīṭaṭ* (*El-Mawā'iz wa'l-I'tibār fī dhikr El-Khīṭaṭ wa'l-Āthār*). *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*. See vol. I (1911), pp. 131, 133; vol. II (1913), p. 136; vol. III-IV (1922), pp. 110, 112, 116, 125, 135, 138, 160.

passing over the shoulders and under the armpits on to the back and breast. It is intersected with crosses at equal distances. It is worn by a bishop or a patriarch one week before his consecration, if he has not received it before. It is offered to pious and virtuous monks.

81) *History*, I, p. 199.

82) Of Greek origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter $\varsigma\tau\chi$).

83) *History*, I, p. 199.

84) Bashmuri or Fayyumic Coptic dialect. The singular is $\omicron\gamma$, $\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ = برابي — برابي. The Coptic plural

is either $\epsilon\rho\phi\eta\omicron\gamma\iota$ (Bohairic) or $\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\gamma\epsilon$ (Sahidic).

This word was used in the old sense to mean the temples of the ancient Egyptians and was substituted by the Greek word $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma\iota\alpha$ by the Anglican Copts. It does not give the de-

finite meaning of the word $\epsilon\rho\phi\epsilon\iota$, i.e., the house which represents the heavens. ($\epsilon\rho$ is a verb meaning do or represent;

$\phi\epsilon$ heavens and $\eta\iota$: house). See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary*

(letter $\epsilon\rho\phi$)

85) *History*, I, p. 416. The present synonyms for this word are:

هيكل — معبد — مسجد — جامع — كنيسة

The above terms, i.e., the singular (برابي) and the plural برابي were used

the verb following it should be in the feminine form, namely, 'تكن'. Ibn al-Muqaffa, however, is thinking in terms of the Coptic noun 'ⲱⲗⲏⲗ' (117) (prayer) which is masculine, and whose plural is not affected by gender, viz.: ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲛ

The same rule applies to the following example:

« لان الاله العتيقة شيرير... فاما الاله الحديثة فهو صالح » (118)

By 'العتيقة' he means the Old Testament, and by 'الحديثة' he means the New Testament. Both of them are treated as feminine in Coptic (119):

ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲥ (120) : the Old Testament

ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ ⲙⲃⲉⲣⲓ : the New Testament

(7) The use of the Genitive case of Coptic in Arabic:

« وهو الذي حمل الجرة الماء في بيت سمعان القراني » (121)

The phrase 'الجرة الماء' here is equivalent to the jar of the water, which is a literal translation of the Coptic expression: ⲛⲓⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲱⲟⲩ (122)

(8) The use of the Coptic rule of adjectives in Arabic:

« استشهد شهداء كثيرين » (123)

According to Arabic grammar 'شهداء' is a broken plural and the adjective qualifying it should be masculine plural in this case, i.e., 'كثيرون'. The above construction is identical with Coptic where the adjective does not necessarily follow the noun in either gender or number, viz.:

ⲁⲩⲃⲓ ⲙⲡⲓⲕⲗⲟⲙ ⲛⲁⲕⲉ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲩ ⲙⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ

(117) (ⲛⲓ) ⲱⲗⲏⲗ (Bohairic); ⲱⲗⲗ (Sahidic). See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ⲱ).

(118) *History*, I, p. 198.

(119) In Arabic the relevant terms are: العهد القديم and العهد الجديد, i.e., masculine.

(120) 'ⲫⲁⲓⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏ' is of Greek origin. See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ⲁ).

(121) *History*, I, p. 139.

(122) The similar construction in older Arabic is not of quite the same nature as the one used here. See Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge 1951), vol. II, pp. 229-230.

(123) *History*, I, p. 181.

(9) The use of the Coptic preposition:

« وهو غريب من البيعة » (124)

Ibn al-Muqaffa uses the preposition 'من' which is synonymous with the Coptic preposition 'ⲉ' or ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲱⲥⲏ. The Coptic script for the whole sentence would be:

ⲛⲉⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲉⲣⲱⲉⲙⲙⲟ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ

(10) The use of Coptic idiom:

(a) « امسكها البطرك تلك الليلة » (125)

(b) « ثم ان عبد الملك جمع بمصر مقدمي جيشه »

واعقلهم سبعة ايام » (126)

From the text from which (a) is quoted we understand that the Pope Andronicus (127) kept both his visitors Theonas and Benjamin with him during the night (128). Also in the text from which (b) is quoted, we gather that Abd al-Malik detained the officers of his army to send in their accounts and to pay what they owed. He also did the same with the secretaries of state, the chiefs of towns and superintendents of inherited property.

The problem in our Arabic quotations is one of vocabulary, since the words 'امسك' and 'اعتقل' are not used in the required sense (129).

The Coptic synonym for 'امسك' and 'اعتقل' is verb ⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ, of Bohairic origin which also means:

قبض — حفظ — حجز — ضبط (130)

Thus the Coptic version for (a) would be:

ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲕⲉ ⲛⲓⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲏⲕⲏ ⲙⲡⲓⲉⲕⲱⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ

and for (b):

ⲁⲩⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲱⲁⲱⲩ ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲟⲩ

(11) The use of a singular noun after the numeral 'ten' succeeded by the preposition 'من':

« سلموه الى عشرة من الاسد » (131)

(124) *History*, I, p. 194.

(125) *History*, I, p. 489.

(126) *History*, V, p. 134.

(127) The 37th Patriarch - 7th century.

(128) *History*, I, pp. 488-489.

(129) This feature is also a characteristic of Middle Arabic, and such a usage as here may have been influenced by Coptic usage.

(130) See *Coptic-Arabic Dictionary* (letter ⲁ).

(131) *History*, V, p. 182.

According to Arabic Grammatical rules the numeral 'ten' should be followed by the genitive plural, viz.:

« سلموه الى عشرة من الاسود »

whereas in Coptic it is singular. Thus the usage in Arabic here coincides with the Coptic:

ⲁⲩⲧⲏⲓⲩ ⲙⲙⲏⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ

(12) The use of Coptic idiom:

(a) « ضرب له المطانوة » (132)

'مطانوة' is an Arabic derivative from the Greek word 'μετανοια', as already explained (133). The idiom taken as a whole is analogous to the Coptic:

(1) ⲁⲩⲉⲣⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

or

(2) ⲁⲩⲧⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲩ

which means that he prostrated himself before him, and which applies that his head hit the ground in the act of prostration, whence Ibn al-Muqaffa's use of the verb

'ضرب' here.

(b) « كان قوى القلب » (134)

The expression "قوى القلب" involves a metonymy; it is in tantamount to bravery. It is identical with the Coptic idioms: ⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲣⲓⲛⲧ ⲛⲉ which means

literally-speaking, that he had a strong heart, and this is very near to colloquial Arabic to-day, bearing the same meaning.

(c) « لم يكن ذا قلبين » (135)

The above expression is a literal translation of the Coptic: ⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲓⲛⲧ ⲃⲛⲱⲧⲧⲩ

or

ⲛⲉⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲧ ⲃⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ (136)

which indicates that he had not two minds, i.e., that he did not doubt.

(132) *History*, X, p. 484.

(133) See the list of Coptic ecclesiastical terms.

(134) *History*, I, p. 478.

(135) *History*, X, p. 442.

(136) The word 'ⲓⲛⲧ' in Coptic means either heart or mind. This is an allusion to the ancient Egyptian belief that the heart is the organ of thought. See Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, and R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London 1959), p. 161.

The two expressions:

« كان قوى القلب »

« لم يكن ذا قلبين »

are very similar to the Coptic expressions stated above, and would appear to be literal translations from Coptic phraseology (calques).

(d) « قال له الاسقف كم عمرك سنة » (137)

This construction is parallel to the Coptic:

ⲁ ⲛⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲉ : ⲉⲕⲱⲥⲏ ⲟⲩⲛⲣ

ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲕ

Leeds

F. ROFAIL FARAG

Streitpunkte der hethitischen Geographie Vortrag beim XXII Rencontre Assyriologique in Göttingen Juni 1975

Um Geschichte schreiben zu können, bedarf es der genauen Festlegung der Ereignisse nach Raum und Zeit. So habe ich für meine Geschichte der Hethiter (vor zwei Jahren in der wissenschaftlichen Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt erschienen) die geographischen Ermittlungen zu grunde gelegt, die ich in dreissigjähriger Forschung erarbeitet habe, und zuletzt in Anatolica I niedergelegt habe. Sie sind nicht allgemein anerkannt. Denn auf dem Gebiet der hethitischen Geographie herrscht weithin ein unmethodisches Arbeiten, das bald hier, bald dort einen Ort ansetzt auf grund irgendwelcher Einfälle ohne sich darum zu kümmern, welche Beziehungen zu anderen Orten den Ansätzen widersprechen. Im Gegensatz dazu muss ich von den wenigen Orten ausgehen, deren Lokalisation archäologisch feststeht, und von da aus mit der Art eines Kreuzworträtsels die Nachbarorte und Marschrouten ermitteln.

Für den Südosten des hethitischen Reiches stehen uns jetzt zwei namentlich bezeichnete Fundorte zur Verfügung: Sugzija, das unser verstorbener lieber Herr Kollege Steinherr in den Taurusketten nordwestlich von Samsat in Hieroglyphen aufgezeichnet gefunden hat, und Tegarama, wie Laroche aus einer Inschrift in dem von Özgüç westlich von Elbistan ausgegrabenen Hüyük liest. Damit ist zunächst ein alter Ansatz von Tegarama = Gürün erledigt, der aus den ersten Ansätzen einer Lokalisation in der Literatur bis heute weitergeschleppt wird.

Das KBo I 1, I 13 an Tegarama anschliessende Bergland Harrana ist dem zu folge der assyrische Weg durch die Berge nördlich von Göksün, wo der Ort Jalak noch den alten Namen trägt. Der Weg von Göksün nach Jalak war 1961 nur mühsam mit Wagen zu befahren. Der moderne Strassenbau hat den Weg sehr verändert.

Zweitens gibt die AGRIG-Liste VBoT 68 III die Nahbeziehung von Sugzija mit einer Zwischenstation zu Malazzija. Aber diese Liste ist von Güterbock in ihrem Quellenwert angefochten worden. Die Tatsache, dass

(137) *History*, I, p. 200.

ich auf Grund dieser Liste die Lage von Sugzija fast genau ermittelt hatte, kurz ehe es wirklich gefunden wurde, scheint mir den Einwand zu widerlegen. Aber ich will trotzdem dies Zeugnis bei Seite lassen. Dagegen in der urartäischen Inschrift von Izpati ist Malatia abhängig von dem etwas weiter abgelegenen Hattena. Natürlich ist in dieser Gegend nicht an das syrische Fürstentum Hattin zu denken. Sondern wir haben in dieser Urkunde genau die gleiche Nahbeziehung von Malatia zu Hattena wie in dem Omentext KUB XXII 25 zwischen Malazzija und Hattena. Damit wird die Identität oder nahe Lagebeziehung zwischen Malazzija und Malatia bewiesen, auch ohne zu Hilfenahme der angefochtenen Reise Route.

Natürlich wäre es möglich, dass neben assyrisch Miliddu ein anderer Ort mit ähnlichem Lautbild gelegen haben kann. Für die weiteren Folgerungen, die ich aus der Lage von Malazzija zu ziehen suche, ist das nebensächlich. Ich möchte nur darauf hinweisen, dass Malatia genau den geographischen Gegebenheiten entspricht, die Mursilis für Malazzija angibt: (AM S. 194: KUB XIV 20: 2 BOTU 64). Das die Leute von Sunupassi Malazzija durch Leuchtfeuer benachrichtigt haben, passt vorzüglich zu dem grossen Tell, bei dem die Strasse von Malatia nach Siwas in die nördlichen Gebirge eintritt. Er ist von Malatia durch eine grosse Ebene getrennt, über die die Leuchtfeuer hinblincken konnten. Sunupassi ist natürlich genau von Sulupassi im Feldzug des Hattusilis III gegen Urhitešup zu unterscheiden. Es handelt sich nur um ähnliche Wortbildung wohl aus gleichem sprachlichem Substrat. Solche Verwechslungen können jedem Gelehrten einmal unterlaufen; nur kleine Geister können sie dem Gelehrten aufmucken¹⁾.

Der genannte Omentext (behandelt bei E. v. Schuler, die Kašäer) bringt nun Hattena und Malazzija in Nahbeziehungen zu Istaḥara; ebenso zwei Feldzüge des Mursilis II AM S. 32 = KUB XIV 15 I und S. 194 KUB XIV 20. Der nächste durch hinreichende Bewässerung ausgezeichnete Ort wäre Arabkir. Doch ist die Gleichsetzung nicht hinreichend gesichert. Es gibt noch einen Ruinenhügel weiter südlich, näher bei Malatia direkt am Euphrat. Aber wie dem sei, wenn Istaḥara so nahe am Euphrat lag, so müssen auch Hagmiš und die übrigen Lehen des Hattušiliš III, die ja durch Lagebeziehungen miteinander verbunden sind, hier im Osten gelegen haben. Damit wird der immer wieder aufgewärmten Gleichsetzung von Hagmiš mit Arisos oder Amasia jeder Boden entzogen. Wenn überhaupt mit irgendeinem späteren Ortsnamen, kann man Hagmiš höchstens mit Kamisa, heute Tschemis gleichsetzen, am Oberlauf des roten Flusses. Dazu passt, dass Tutḥalijaš IV betet, der rote Fluss möge alle Befleckung in den Maraššanda, und dieser ins Meer tragen (KBo XII 94, 2). Gemeint ist die Befleckung durch den Thronraub des Hattušiliš. Damit

¹⁾ Ich benütze die Gelegenheit, den grössten Fehler, den ich gemacht habe, zu berichtigen. In meinem Aufsatz in *Das Altertum* über das Hethiterreich habe ich Illustrationen beigegeben, deren Originale sich als Fälschungen erwiesen haben. Ich hatte von einem Sammler, der selbst einen Teil der Stücke an sich gebracht hatte, erfahren, dass die Stücke aus dem Nachlass eines italienischen Ingenieurs stammten, der in der südlichen Türkei gearbeitet habe, mit Einzelheiten der Fundumstände. Er ist offenbar selbst getauscht worden.

wird die an sich unzuverlässige Ortsangabe auch durch den Ritus befestigt, so dass die Gleichsetzung von Kamisa mit Hagmiš ziemlich gesichert ist.

Mit Hagmiš ist durch die Wegeverbindungen, die KUB V 1 aufgezeichnet hat, auch Nerik verbunden. Unter dem hier aufgezeichneten Orten hebe ich Kammamma und Hurna hervor. Nach Kammamma kam Mursiliš II. (AM S. 30-34, KUB XIV 15 I 12) von Ishupitta aus. Suppiluliumas DS 34, 5f zieht von da aus nach Istaḥara und nach Hattena, dann über Tikukuwa zum zweiten Übernachten nach Hurna. Diese Orte sind also durch nahe Märsche ebenfalls mit der östlichen Gegend verbunden.

Daher ist es unmöglich und unzulässig Nerik auf Grund eines anderen Textes (KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 121) an die Halysmündung zu verlegen. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass der Halys der einzige Fluss in Nordkleinasien ist, der vom Meere aus bis über seine doppelte Biegung in dem Gebirge schiffbar ist, die auf der Karte so auffällige Biegung des Flusses kann nicht durch den hethitischen Ausdruck angedeutet sein, dass der Fluss in Gefahr gewesen sei, verloren zu gehen. Es tut mir leid, hier unserem verehrten Kollegen Güterbock entgegentreten zu müssen²⁾. Verloren gehen kann ein anatolischer Fluss nahe an seiner Quelle, oder wie der Tscharšamba in der Wüste versickern. Davon kann beim Unterlauf des Halys auch in der Sage nie die Rede gewesen sein. Sondern die Gegend, wo der Maraššanda allenfalls versiegen könnte, das ist die Gegend, wo Nerik nach den Wegeomina tatsächlich gelegen hat, nämlich im Oberlauf des Jildiz-Irmak, südwestlich vom Jildiz-Dağ, wo er eine breitere Ebene quer durchläuft, um sich dann nach Süden hin durch den Berg eine unvorhergesehene Bahn zu brechen. Wenn man den Satz auf diese Gegend bezieht, so muss man allerdings den Ausdruck „in der Richtung (auf den Sonnengott des Himmels zu“ als nach „südlicher Mittagsrichtung“ auslegen, wohin der Fluss durch besondere Gunst des Wettergottes hindurchbreche (wie griech. Od. IX 26 v.a.).

Haas übersetzt den Ausdruck „verloren gehe“ einfach: der Fluss sei in anderer Richtung geflossen. Das ist bei dem tiefeingeschnittenen Flussbett des Halys im Unterlauf nicht einmal in der Phantasie denkbar, sondern nur nach einer modernen Karte in den Flussweg hineinzulesen. Es handelt sich um tiefeingeschnittene Gebirgstäler, in denen der Halys verläuft.

Zwei Zeilen später sagt der Text, der Fluss solle den Gott nicht vorüberlassen, sondern festhalten. Das Gewitter soll also vom Fluss festgehalten werden, eine meteorologisch wohlbekannte Tatsache, wenn das Gewitter von Westen kommt und der Fluss von Norden nach Süden fliesst. Wir kommen damit wieder in die selbe Gegend am Jildiz-Irmak. Der Jildiz-Irmak läuft etwa sechs km östlich von Nerik, nach der Ortung, die die Wege Omina KUB V, 1 angeben, und die es im Hüyük von Bolus, byz. Boryza mit seiner wunderschönen Quelle vermuten lassen. (Ist Boryza aus Wuruliaš entstanden?)

Zusätzlich lässt sich für die Lokalisation noch anfügen: In einem Text (KUB XXXVI 90 Rs. 32-34) liegt Ne-

²⁾ Vgl. H. Otten in dem Vorwort von Ko XII.

rik zwischen Zalpa (im äussersten Westen, nahe der Halysmündung) und Liḫzina (vermutlich Erzingjan) im fernen Osten ungefähr in der Mitte. Von den Orten um Nerik haben Takupta/Tokat und Hursama/Chorsun noch ihre Namen aus hethitischer Zeit, ersteres mit einem Riesen-Hüyük (heute überbaut) letzteres mit verstreuten Steingeräten und Topfscherben, nach sachverständigem Urteil (Bielefeld) aus der Hethiterzeit barbarisch nachgeahmt.

So glaube ich die Ortung von Nerik eindeutig festgelegt zu haben. Die methodische Voraussetzung für eine geographische Lokalisation ist eben: die verschiedenen Angaben müssen so zusammengefügt werden, dass sie einander ergänzen. Man darf nicht auf der Deutung einer einzigen Quelle allein fassen und die übrigen Angaben bei Seite lassen, Sonst entsteht ein verkehrtes Bild. Und so muss ich urteilen: der Ansatz von Nerik am Unterlauf des Halys ist verkehrt, weil er sich mit den Wegeomina nicht in Einklang bringen lässt, während die Ausdeutung der Angaben über den Maraššanda aus dem Text KUB XXXVI 89 sich mit diesen in Einklang setzen lassen, wenn man sie auf der Jildiz-Irmak bezieht.

Dagegen ist meine Lokalisierung von Zalpa/Zalpuwa durch einen neuen Text um ein Stück korrigiert worden³⁾. Es ist allerdings ein Märchen: die Königin von Kaniš gebiert 30 Söhne, sieht darin ein unglückliches Vorzeichen und beseitigt dieses, in dem sie die Söhne in einem Korb in den Fluss wirft. Der Fluss trägt sie in das Meer bei Zalpuwa, dort werden sie von den Göttern aufgefischt und aufgezogen, und wachsen heran. Die Königin von Kaniš gebiert noch einmal, nun aber 30 Töchter. Diese gelten offenbar nicht als böses Vorzeichen (dürfen wir hier die orientalische Minderbewertung der Töchter herauslesen?). Nachher kommen die ausgesetzten Brüder und finden ihre Schwestern in Nees. Nun gab es einen See Sirbonis, den Strabo als Sehenswürdigkeit südwestlich von Amasia aufführt. Dieser See ist heute verschwunden, aber eine breite ebene ehemalige Seefläche befindet sich südlich von Tschorum. Sirbonis möchte ich als Zalpumannis ausdeuten, da hethitisch l in der griechischen Zeit oft als r erscheint (Kammala/Gangra; Saala/Zara u.a.). Dann müsste der Fluss des Märchens der Delidje-Su sein, und die in den Texten des alten Reiches öfter neben einander genannten Orte Zalpa und Hurna wird man auf Tschorum und Alaca Hüyük umgekehrt verteilen müssen, als in meiner früheren Anordnung. Der dritte in diesem Zusammenhang genannte Ort Tawinija, lateinisch Tonea, ist durch die Tabula Peutingeriana festgelegt. Sie zeichnet ihn ungefähr da ein, wo Boghazköi liegt; das bedeutet nach der Gewohnheit ihres Schreibers, dass hier die Seitenstrasse abzweigte, die nach Tonea führte. Daraus scheint sich mir die Gleichung Tonea = Sungurlu eindeutig zu ergeben. Das steht in bester Übereinstimmung mit der Bezeichnung des unteren Tores von Hattusa als Tawinija Tores. — Die Tatsache, dass von Hattuša bis Zalpuwa so wenige Ortsnamen genannt sind, spricht für die Ortung von Zalpuwa am ehemaligen Sirbonis-See.

Die andere Möglichkeit Zalpuwa anzusetzen, die Ot-

ten bevorzugt, ist die Lokalisation nahe der Mündung des Halys/Kizil-Irmak. Dann ist der Fluss des Märchens des Maraššanda. Dann wäre Zalpuwa durch ein weites unbewohntes oder fast unbesiedeltes Gebiet von Hattuša getrennt, in das man höchstens einige weitere von den Gašgaš unter Arnuwandaš I zerstörte Orte einordnen kann, deren Lage unbelegt ist, um den Raum zu füllen. Aber das ist ganz ohne Gewähr. Die wenigen in der Opferliste KBo IV 13 mit Hattuša und Zalpuwa zusammengeordneten Orte reichen nicht hin, um den Raum bis zur Halysmündung auszufüllen. Es passt geographisch besser, wenn wir hier Feindesland anzusetzen haben. Trotzdem will ich mich nicht entscheiden, welcher Ansatz für Zalpuwa der richtigere ist.

Ebenso wenig möchte ich aus dem Märchentext entnehmen, ob Neeša mit Kaniš identisch ist, wie Otten meint. Es ist kaum denkbar, dass derselbe Ort innerhalb des selben Textes in doppelter Weise benannt wird. Es wäre, wie wenn die Herzogin von Milano ihre Töchter in Mailand zurückgelassen hätte. So redet kein Schriftsteller, wenn er den selben Ort meint. Otten beruft sich darauf, dass Kaniš eine Art Ideogramm für den Status constructus sei. Mir scheint es die natürlichere Auslegung, dass Neeša hier wie sonst die Residenz des Anitas oder seines Nachfolgers ist, also von Kaneš verschieden. Die Königin von Kaniš kann ebenso gut als Gast dorthin übergesiedelt sein, wie der König von Burušanda. (Nicht als Gemahlin des Königs, weil sie die Verfügungsgewalt über die Töchter behält, also nicht unter Vormundschaft des Mannes steht.) Neeša ist der Ort, wo „unsere Gottheit“ ihren dauernden Sitz hatte; wir haben Anlass, den selben Ort darin zu vermuten, der dann Arinna umgenannt worden ist. Arinna blieb der Name noch in griechischer Zeit, und wurde der Ausgangspunkt von dem das Reich Pontos unter Mithradates I. begründet wurde: das Heiligtum begründete den staatlichen Zusammenschluss.

Es gäbe noch mehr Streitfragen über die hethitische Geographie aber die mir zugestandene Zeit genügt nicht auf sie einzugehen. Wer die gegebenen Anhaltspunkte weiter verfolgt, wird zu verlässiger Rekonstruktion der hethitischen Geographie gelangen können, wofern er nicht dach blosser Intuition die Entscheidung trifft. Ich selbst muss mich wohl für mein weiteres Leben von der Assyriologie verabschieden.

Greifenberg, Juni 1975 FRIEDRICH CORNELIUS (+)
(2.7.1893—8.1.1976)

Eine weitere Parallele aus Ugarit zur kultischen Praxis in Israels Religion¹⁾

Während der 24. Kampagne in Ras Schamra-Ugarit (vom September bis November 1961) wurden unter der Leitung von Cl. F. A. Schaeffer mehrere Tontafeln besonderer Form, namentlich Lungen- und Lebermodelle, mit keilalphabetischen Inschriften entdeckt. Insgesamt umfasst dieser Fund ein Lungen- und vierzehn Lebermodelle, von denen ersteres und vier der letzteren be-

³⁾ H. Otten, XIX Rencontre assyriologique internationale 1971, S. 301 ff, ders. StBoT 17.

¹⁾ Vortrag auf dem 1. nordischen Kongress für Judaistik in Stockholm im Mai 1975.

schriftet sind. Näheres siehe Schaeffer, *AfO* 20 (1963), S. 210, 215; J. C. Courtois, *Ugaritica* VI (1969), S. 91-116.

Die Veröffentlichung und Bearbeitung der Texte dieser Modelle wurden vom Ausgräber den Forschern M. Dietrich und O. Loretz anvertraut. Diese haben die Inschriften, mit philologischen Interpretationen, Berücksichtigung ihrer kulturhistorischen Einordnung sowie mit einem vollständigen Wörterverzeichnis, in *Ugaritica* VI (1969), S. 165-179, der Öffentlichkeit dargeboten.

Die neuen ugaritischen Texte repräsentieren, ebenso wie zahlreiche andere überlieferte Texte entsprechender Modelle im alten Orient, als solche Opfertexte. Während die Leberinschriften kürzere selbständige Einheiten resp. Opferhandlungen privaten Charakters darstellen — dazu vgl. ausser den Bemerkungen von Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 172f. auch schon z.B. die ausführliche Beschreibung von analogen Lebermodellen bei M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* II, S. 216ff., sowie die Angaben bei J. Nougayrol, *CRRA* 14 (1966), S. 8 u.ö., — bilden die Texte des Lungenmodells, wie auch bereits von den Herausgebern erkannt, eine ziemlich umfassende kultisch-rituelle Einheit, mehrere Personen bzw. die ganze Gesellschaft betreffend.

Die letztgenannten eigenartigen Inschriften, denen hier gerade unser besonderes Interesse gilt, bezeichnen wir, mit den Herausgebern, Aa 1-Ak 31. Diese Texte dürften kultgeschichtlich von grosser Bedeutung sein, vor allem in Hinblick auf die Klarlegung des Ursprungs und der Weiterentwicklung von bestimmten altererbten analogen kultischen Gebräuchen in Israels Religion. Mit besonderem Bezug hierauf werden wir im folgenden zuerst die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Festlegung des inhaltlichen Zusammenhanges dieser ugaritischen Texte konzentrieren, und zwar in erster Linie unter Rücksichtnahme auf: 1. das Problem der beteiligten resp. berührten Personen; 2. die Frage nach der Art der vorgeschriebenen Opfer. Zum Schluss werden wir punktweise das Ergebnis der Untersuchung mit der im Alten Testament belegten, offenbar verwandten, parallelen kultischen Praxis vergleichen.

Was zunächst die implizierten Personen der Opfertexte des Lungenmodells betrifft, kommen auf Grund der annehmbaren Kontexte (einzelne Texte sind leider nur in Trümmern erhalten) im ganzen etwa drei Hauptkategorien in Betracht: 1. Einzelpersonen; 2. *bnš*-Leute; 3. andere bzw. das Volk.

Die Einzelpersonen werden bei Namen genannt: Ab 4 und Ac 10: Nat; Ab 5: Ytnt; Ac 11: Qrwn; anders zu deuten sind dagegen, dem Kontext nach, wahrscheinlich Aa 1: *klyrh* (vgl. schon Schaeffer, *AfO* 20 (1963), S. 215) und Af 18: *yph* [J] (vgl. dagegen Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 168, 170; W. Herrmann, *UF* 6 (1974), S. 72). Dem Zusammenhang zufolge handelt es sich in den betreffenden Fällen offensichtlich um hervortretende Inhaber der Opferpriesterämter von Ugarit; dazu vgl. sonst unter anderen die Angaben des Kultpersonals im Text 63 (nach dem Verzeichnis C. H. Gordons): *khn*m/*qdš*m/*bnš*m „Priester“/„Geweihete“/„*bnš*-Leute“; vgl. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, S. 374, 418, 477; J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, S. 54, 146, 274.

Die *bnš*-Leute sind Aj 29 genannt; ebenso das Haus d.h. die Angehörigen der *bnš*-Leute: Ad 13-14 und Ak 30. Wie z.B. im Text 63 (vgl. oben) sind unter dieser Gruppe nach allem angestellte Laien d.h. Diener der Priester zu verstehen; vgl. Gordon, *Textbook*, S. 374; Aistleitner, *Wb*, S. 54.

Ag 21 erscheint (nach der wahrscheinlichsten Lesart) der Ausdruck *qrd*, der nach allem (der Text ist leider schwer beschädigt) syntaktisch als Status constructus Singular (in kollektivem Sinn) oder Status constructus Plural zu fassen ist. Unter Berücksichtigung von akkadisch *qarrādu* (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, S. 905) ist diese Sprachform vielleicht mit „Krieger(n), Held(en)“ o.ä. wiederzugeben; vgl. auch schon Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 171. Sachlich könnte gleichfalls dazu stimmen der ugaritisch mehrfach vorkommende Ausdruck derselben Wurzel *qrdm* als Teil eines Epithets des Gottes Baʿl; vgl. 67: II: 11, :18 u.ö. (siehe Gordon, *Textbook*, S. 480; Aistleitner, *Wb*, S. 282 und andere). Ferner erscheint Ah 25 (ebenso schwer beschädigt) die Form *aṭt*, die, wie es scheint, syntaktisch als Nomen rectum zu deuten ist: „der Frau“ (so Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 171), oder: „der Frauen“; vgl. besonders die sachliche Parallele Ak 30-31. Endlich steht Aj 29 syntaktisch als Subjekt *qrt* = „der Stadt (Ugarit)“. Letzterer Ausdruck begegnet in Parallele zu *bnš* = „den *bnš*-Leuten“ (vgl. oben), wobei also die ganze Bevölkerung von Ugarit in den kultischen Zusammenhang einbezogen wird.

Dies bedeutet, dass die respektiven Inschriften des Lungenmodells eine geregelte Kultpraxis reflektieren, die die gesamte ugaritische Gesellschaft betrifft.

Bezüglich der zweiten Frage ergibt sich ferner, was die ausdrücklich genannten Opfer anbelangt, folgendes Bild:

An sechs Stellen, in vier verschiedenen Inschriften, handelt sich um Schlachtopfer = *dbḥ*, nämlich Aa 1, 3; Ab 7, 9; Ac 12; Ag 23; an zwei Stellen, Ab 4 und Ac 10, wird auf denselben Opfertypus durch das Demonstrativpronomen *dt* verwiesen (, wobei also mit den Herausgebern, *op. cit.*, S. 168, *dbḥ* als Femininum gefasst wird; vgl. auch den Plural *dbḥt* in der Leberinschrift B 1; dazu vereinzelt analog hebräisch: *zibḥōtām* (Hos 4: 19)).

Aa 1 vertritt das Schlachtopfer ein zeitlich fixiertes, vorgeschriebenes Opfer: *dbḥ kl yrḥ* „das monatliche Schlachtopfer“ (wörtlich: „das Schlachtopfer des jeden Monats“); für den analogen Sprachtypus in den verwandten Sprachen vgl. die Grammatiken; vgl. auch schon Schaeffer, *AfO* 20 (1963), S. 215; anders Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 168; Herrmann, *UF* 6 (1974), S. 72, die *klyrh* = einem Eigennamen auffassen (kontextuell unwahrscheinlich; vgl. oben). Wie im Alten Testament (siehe die wissenschaftliche Literatur zum *zəḇaḥ*-Opfer) wurde auch in Ugarit das Schlachtopfer (*dbḥ*) mit einer Opfermahlzeit verbunden; dazu vgl. z.B. den Opfertext 611: 1-10 (siehe Ch. Virroleaud, *Ugaritica* V (1968), S. 586; L. R. Fisher, *Ugaritica* VI (1969), S. 197f.; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 2 (1970), S. 316f.). Vgl. auch unten.

Asyndetisch wird dann Aa 2 ein gelobtes Opfer (*ndr*) genannt.

Ebenso an einer Stelle, Ab 6, wird in syndetischer

Verbindung mit *dbḥ* (Ab 7) (dazu vgl. schon oben) *trmn* genannt. Nach Ausweis von anderen ugaritischen Stellen wie 127: 11-12 u.ö.: *lḥm* „essen“//*trm* „ein Mahl einnehmen“ (siehe Gordon, *Textbook*, S. 506; Aistleitner, *Wb*, S. 343f.) und weiteren analogen syntagmatischen Kombinationen in kultischen Texten, wie 1: 12 (*trmm*), 1: 15 (*trmn*), 1: 17 *dbḥm*, haben wir es hier ohne Zweifel mit einer Art Speiseopfer zu tun.

Die Darbringung der vorgeschriebenen Opfer ist dem Obigen gemäss teils für Einzelpersonen bestimmt, wie Ab 4-5, Ac 10-11, teils aber auch für eine Mehrheit bzw. die ganze Gesellschaft (die Stadt), wie Ad 13f., Ag 21, Ah 25, Aj 29f.

In Verbindung mit den genannten Schlachtopfern zu Gunsten bestimmter Einzelpersonen wird Ab 8-9 praktisch-rituell die Durchführung des Opfers gemäss den Vorschriften nachdrücklich betont. Ebenso wird Ac 12 die wirkliche Durchführung des Opfers entsprechend einem Schlachtopfer mit Nachdruck hervorgehoben. Ähnliches wahrscheinlich auch Ag 23 (anders Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 171), wo dem Zusammenhang nach wohl von einem Schlachtopfer zu Gunsten einer Mehrheit die Rede ist (vgl. oben).

Statt der Bezeichnung des animalischen Opfers wird schliesslich formell an drei Stellen einfach die Art des Opfertieres angegeben: Ae 15 (zerstörter Text): *š* „Schaf“; Ah 25, Ak 30 *z* „Ziege“/„Bock“. Die exakte Bestimmung des Inhalts der beiden letztgenannten Opfer (Ah 25 bzw. Ak 30) fordert eine nähere Untersuchung.

Nur im letzten Fall ist der Kontext intakt. Dieser bildet eine bedingte Periode = Aj 29-Ak 31. Sowohl die Protasis als auch die Apodosis besteht aus zwei parallelen Sätzen. Der Sinn der Protasis + dem ersten Teil der Apodosis ist ohne weiteres klar: Aj 29 *hm qrt tuḥd hm mt y'l bnš* „wenn die Stadt eingenommen wird, wenn der Tod die *bnš*-Leute befällt“ (wörtlich: „gesetzt den Fall: die Stadt wurde eingenommen; gesetzt den Fall: der Tod befällt die *bnš*-Leute“) (zur Verbalsyntax (Zeitverschiebung) vgl. analog in den verwandten Sprachen, z.B. fürs Altarabische Aartun, *Zur Frage altarabischer Tempora*, S. 79ff.) + Ak 30 *bt bn bnš yqh z* „(dann) soll das Haus der *bnš*-Söhne (die Angehörigen der *bnš*-Leute) eine Ziege/einen Bock nehmen“; vgl. ebenso Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 171f. Der letzte Teil der Apodosis (Ak 31) lautet: *w yḥdy mrḥqm*. Dietrich und Loretz, *op. cit.*, S. 172, übersetzen dieses Syntagma folgendermassen: „und (das „Haus“ der *bn bnš* wird) (an ihr d.h. der Ziege) das Zukünftige schauen“.

Unter Bezugnahme auf die äusserliche Form des Textes, nämlich als Inschrift eines Lungen- d.h. eines Schaumodells, könnte diese Auffassung beim ersten Blick naheliegend sein. Bei genauerer Betrachtung sowohl der sachlichen als auch der sprachlichen Tatbestände erweist sich jedoch die Richtigkeit dieser Deutung als sehr fraglich.

Erstens enthalten, wie schon oben konstatiert, — sachlich betrachtet — die Inschriften des Lungenmodells keine Schauopfer, sondern nur Mitteilungen von wirklichen darzubringenden Opfern von verschiedenen Kategorien, nämlich (mit Opfermahlzeiten verbundenen) Schlachtopfern/gelobtem Opfer/Speiseopfer; vgl. oben. Dasselbe gilt für sämtliche Texte der Lebermodelle, wo

die Darbringung des Opfers jedenfalls zum Teil schon stattgefunden hat und eben deswegen mitgeteilt wird. Demgemäss haben auch die Herausgeber, *op. cit.*, S. 177, im Vergleich zum weitaus gewöhnlichsten Verfahren, insofern ganz richtig folgende Schlussfolgerung gezogen: Ein Vergleich dieser Texte „mit der traditionellen babylonischen Omenliteratur ergibt folgendes Bild: Während in der babylonischen Tradition die besonderen Erscheinungsformen der inspizierten Körperteile beschrieben werden, um daraus Anhaltspunkte für eine Antwort anhand der überlieferten Omen-Serien zu finden, beschränken sich die bisher gefundenen ugaritischen Lungen- und Lebermodelle auf die oben beschriebenen Mitteilungen. Es besteht somit zwischen den babylonischen und den ugaritischen Texten nur eine formale, aber keine inhaltliche Übereinstimmung. Die neuen ugaritischen Texte nehmen also im Rahmen der bisher aus dem mesopotamischen, dem syrisch-palästinischen und kleinasiatischen Raum bekannt gewordenen Texte derselben Gattung eine Sonderstellung ein“. Ohne Verneinung der wirklichen Existenz entsprechender Texte solcher Modelle, welche, wie oben angedeutet, auch eben in geringerem Umfang bekannt sind (vgl. schon die oben angegebene Literatur), ist hier von entscheidender Wichtigkeit dabei festzuhalten, dass die Auffassung der ugaritischen Lungeninschriften — ebenso wie ihrer bisher zum Teil vorfindlichen Entsprechungen im alten Orient — als Opferschauen schlechthin der sachlichen Grundlage entbehrt.

Zweitens fordern z.T. auch die sprachlich-syntaktischen Verhältnisse der Texte eine ganz andere Deutung. Das Syntagma *w yḥdy mrḥqm* (Ak 31) steht, wie oben bemerkt, syntaktisch in Parallele zum besprochenen Satz: Ak 30 *bt bn bnš yqh z* „das Haus der *bnš*-Söhne soll eine Ziege/einen Bock nehmen“; vgl. oben. Nach normalen syntaktischen Regeln des Ugaritischen bzw. Semitischen ist im letzteren Parallelsatz (Ak 31) zweifelsohne das gleiche Objekt zu ergänzen d.h. das genannte Opfertier = der Ziege/dem Bock (*z*). Ferner steht die Verbform *yḥdy* des letzteren Satzgebildes auf gleicher Linie mit der Form *yqh* von *lqh* „nehmen“ im Parallelsatz. Es scheint daher die Form *yḥdy* eine aktive Bedeutung analoger Art zu fordern, welche also dem angeblichen Sinn = „schauen“ nicht entspricht. Die notwendigen phonetischen Erwägungen bestätigen diese Annahme.

Etymologisch kann aus lautlichen Gründen das finite Verb *yḥdy* des in Frage kommenden ugaritischen Textes nicht mit hebräisch *ḥāzā* „schauen“ verbunden werden. Der mittlere Radikal *z* des hebräischen Verbs ist ursprünglich. Den Beweis dafür liefern das Aramäische und das Arabische. Die beiden letzteren Idiome überliefern eindeutig die Wurzel *hzy/w* (siehe die Lexika). Die überlieferte Form *ṭḥdy* des Ugaritischen (nt: II: 24) ist, wie schon von vielen Forschern nachdrücklich hervorgehoben, etymologisch verwandt mit hebräisch *ḥāḏā*; aramäisch *ḥāḏā*; *ḥāḏi*; akkadisch *ḥadū* „sich freuen“; hierzu siehe schon Virolleaud, *La déesse 'Anat*, S. 22f.; Th. H. Gaster, *Thespis*, S. 212; U. Cassuto, *The goddess Anath*, S. 86f., 119 mit Verweis auf *Orientalia* VII (1938), S. 285 Anmerkung 1; Aistleitner, *Wb*, S. 100; usw. Vgl. ferner den Zusammenhang nt: II: 25-26(!); zu weiterem siehe Aartun, *AOAT* 21, 2, an mehreren

Stellen mit Verweisen. Auch die Formen *yhd*, *ahd* in der Aqht-Legende, auf welche die Herausgeber, *op. cit.*, S. 172, verweisen, können etymologisch nicht in Frage kommen. Z.T. sind diese Formen, dem Kontext nach, = konstatierenden Langformen, z.B. 1Aqht: 130. Sie sind daher etymologisch von einer Wurzel mediae *y/w* abzuleiten. Der kontextlich geforderte Sinn ist in allen Fällen: „prüfen o.ä.“. Etymologisch ist zunächst betreffs dieser Formen zu vergleichen arabisch *ḥāda* (II *w*) „bewachen; beobachten u.ä.“, wie auch schon Aistleitner, *Wb*, S. 100, vorgeschlagen hat. Vgl. ferner auch schon Gaster, *Thespis*, an verschiedenen Stellen. Zur Phonetik vgl. Gordon, *Textbook*, S. 26f.

Hinsichtlich der Etymologie der Form *yhdy* des Lungen-textes ist, nach dem hier Klargestellten, eine ganz andere Lösung als die z.B. von den Herausgebern beanspruchte erforderlich. Syntaktisch sowie phonetisch-semanticisch dürfte es nach dem Obigen sehr naheliegend sein, die Verbform *yhdy* etymologisch mit arabisch *ḥadā* (III *y/w*) „antreiben (ein Tier/Tiere)“ zu verbinden; vgl. ferner auch ähnlich aramäisch (syrisch) *ḥēdā* „entfernen u.ä.“; hebräisch *ḥāṭā* (mit *t* als mittlerem Radikal statt *d*) „wegraffen u.ä.“ (siehe die Lexika; ausdrücklich C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*, S. 215 zur syrischen Übersetzung von Pr 25: 22; vgl. auch die Stelle Ps 52: 7: *yaḥṭēkā* von **ḥty*//*yissāḥākā* von **nsh* + *min* (Präposition) mit Rektion; zur Wurzel *nsh* „entfernen“ vgl. sonst z.B. G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*, S. 272).

Der Ausdruck *mrḥqm* bildet eine nähere Bestimmung resp. ein Komplement des besprochenen Verbs *yhdy*. Syntagmatisch ist, nach der eben angenommenen Deutung des Verbs, diese Kombination, im Gegensatz zur Deutung der Herausgeber (siehe oben), ganz im Einklang mit der Struktur und der Bedeutung des häufig überlieferten gleichgeschriebenen Ausdrucks in den Ergebenheitsformeln der ugaritischen Briefe: *mrḥqm/mrḥqtm* < *m* (Präposition) + *rḥq-m/rḥqt-m* (Nomen (Adjektiv) mit affigiertem hervorhebendem -*m*) „von ferne, aus der Ferne“; zur ganzen Frage siehe bereits Aartun, AOAT 21, 1, S. 12, 51ff.

Der zweite Teil der Apodosis (Ak 31) lässt sich somit nach der hier vertretenen Interpretation folgenderweise wiedergeben: *w yhdy mrḥqm* „und man (das Haus der *bn bnš*) soll (sie/ihn d.h. die Ziege/den Bock) in die Ferne (wörtlich: von ferne) antreiben“. Für vorhandene Analogien dieses Sprachtypus aus den verwandten Sprachen vgl. z.B. hebräische Kombinationen: Bewegungsverb + dem Ausdruck *mē-rāḥōq* als näherer Bestimmung, wie Jes 22: 3 *mē-rāḥōq bārāhū* „sie (die Hauptleute) sind von ferne = in die Ferne geflohen“; ferner auch nach einem transitiven Verb, und zwar sogar mit Verdeutlichung durch die Präposition *‘ad*: Jes 57: 9 *wattēšallēhī šrayik ‘ad mē-rāḥōq* „und du hast deine Boten bis von ferne = in die Ferne gesandt“.

Bezüglich der vorgeschriebenen aktuellen kultischen Situation der Lungeninschriften ergibt sich somit Folgendes als wesentlich: Zur Zeit der höchsten Not der ganzen ugaritischen Gesellschaft soll das betreffende Ritual (Aa 1-Ak 31) pünktlich zur Anwendung kommen.

Gehen wir jetzt in Kürze zum Vergleich zwischen diesen Texten und alttestamentlichen Opfertexten über, bildet Aa 1-2 eine Kombination von einem zeitlich festgesetzten Schlachtopfer (Aa 1) + einem Gelübde (Darbringung eines gelobten Opfers) (Aa 2). Genaue Parallelen dieser Verbindung liefern z.B. alttestamentliche Texte wie 1S 1: 21: „jährliches Schlachtopfer“ (*zēḥah hay-yāmim*) + „Gelübde“ (*nēḏār*).

Die Inschriften Aa 3-Ak 31 stellen ferner — den vollständig erhaltenen Kontexten zufolge —, wie schon oben nachgewiesen, in den Grundzügen folgende Kombinationen dar: Darbringung der Opfer (namentlich Schlacht- bzw. Speiseopfer) für Einzelpersonen d.h. höchstwahrscheinlich für besondere hervorragende Opferpriester (Aa 3-Ac 12) + Darbringung der Opfer für die *bnš*-Leute und eventuelle andere Gruppen sowie die ganze Gesellschaft (unter anderen Schlacht- und Reinigungsopfer) (Ad 13-Ak 31). Zu diesen Kombinationen bietet zunächst Lv 16 mit Varianten charakteristische Parallelen. Zu beachten sind:

1. die gesonderte Darbringung von Opfern a) für die Priester (Lv 16: 6, : 11-14; vgl. auch 16: 33), b) für das Volk Israel (alles Volk der Gemeinde) (Lv 16: 15-16; vgl. auch 16: 33).

2. die Darbringung von blutigen (Lv 16 passim; Nu 29: 8f.) sowie unblutigen Opfern (Speiseopfern) (Nu 29: 9-11). Zu dieser Praxis vgl. auch aus anderem Zusammenhang besonders 1S 3: 14.

3. die besondere Art der für die Gesellschaft (das Volk) vorgeschriebenen animalischen Opfer, bestehend aus zwei Ziegen/Böcken und einem Widder (Lv 16: 5), von denen ausser dem Widder auch eine(r) der Ziegen/Böcke zu schlachten (Lv 16: 7-9, : 15-16, : 18-19), die/der zweite aber lebendig aus der Gesellschaft zu bringen ist (Lv 16: 7-8, : 10, : 20-22) (von den Zeugnissen der gleichen Praxis in babylonischer und hethitischer Religion ganz abgesehen; siehe die respektive wissenschaftliche Literatur). Besonders zu beachten ist in diesem Punkt der sogar zum Teil beinahe gleiche Wortlaut in den ugaritischen und den hebräischen Texten: Ah 25 + Ak 30 *yqh* ‘z verglichen mit Lv 16: 5 *yiqqah šēnē šē’irē ‘izzim* (vgl. auch Lv 16: 7). Beachte ferner auch sachlich das parallele Opfer Ae 15 š „Schaf“ (zerstörter Text) verglichen mit Lv 16: 5 ‘*ayyil* „Widder“ (als Brandopfer). Dazu kommt:

4. die in Lv 16 ebenso wie Ab 8-9, Ac 12, Ag 23 wiederholte analoge Unterstreichungen der strengen Observanz des kultischen Rituals; so Lv 16: 1-4 (vgl. mit 10: 1ff.), : 13, ferner : 23-24, : 26, : 28.

Endlich ist zu beachten:

5. die in den zum Vergleich herangezogenen alttestamentlichen Texten mehrfache Unterstreichungen des Fastens, nämlich Lv 16: 29f.; 23: 27f.; Nu 29: 7. Im Alten Testament wird das Fasten, das eine alte Sitte bei der Trauer um Verstorbene bzw. um einen Verstorbenen war (vgl. hierzu eben ugaritisch Aj 29!), nur(!) in dem hier berücksichtigten alttestamentlichen Ritual des Festes am grossen Versöhnungstage (*yōm hak-kippūrim*) als Glied des vorgeschriebenen Kultus Gottes gefordert; dazu siehe näher die einschlägigen Kommentare.

Die hier gezeigten Korrespondenzen sachlicher und sprachlicher Art in der überlieferten kultischen Tradition Ugarits und Israels können nicht zufälligen Übereinstimmungen zugeschrieben werden. Vielmehr stehen wir hier, wie mehrfach analog z.B. in den mythologischen und epischen Überlieferungen, einem von Haus aus gemeinsamen Ideenkomplex gegenüber. Während in Israel die Handhabung der besprochenen kultischen Gebräuche schliesslich auf einen festen Tag des Jahres, den Versöhnungstag (Lv 16: 29; 23: 27; Nu 29: 7), verlegt wurde, fand dieselbe in Ugarit — bestimmten Einzelheiten in den vorliegenden Texten zufolge — noch ihren festen „Platz im Leben“ in einer drohenden Notsituation (Aj 29). Der äussere Rahmen der noch lebendigen alten Gebräuche ist somit unter den beiden Völkern verschieden geworden, die innere sachliche Bedeutung bleibt aber immer die gleiche. Neben den sonstigen kultisch-rituellen Überlieferungen aus Ugarit — man vergleiche z.B. Texte wie 1-3, 5, 9, 22-23, 173, 609, 611-613, 2004, — bilden dementsprechend die Inschriften des Lungenmodells eine aussergewöhnlich interessante, weitere ugaritische Parallele zur kultischen Praxis in Israels Religion.

Stavanger, April 1976

KJELL AARTUN

Jewish Elements in the Banū Sāsān *

The classical Arabic literature of the mediaeval Islamic period is essentially one of the aristocracy of letters and of social status, and outside popular stories of the Thousand and One Nights type and the epic romances, and also the proverbs, we have comparatively little reflecting the social and cultural life of the lower classes. Hence this section of the totality of Islamic literature, as it is known to us, is an exiguous one; but it does include certain works which throw light on the *demi-monde* of beggars, rogues, tricksters, petty criminals, etc., those classes which contemporaries lumped together as the Banū Sāsān (a designation which perhaps reflects a not uncommon process whereby the name of a fallen dynasty or great family is utilised by a later group of low-caste or outcast persons).

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, a distinct interest in low life, including the activities of the vulgar, even criminal, elements of the population, appears amongst the learned and literate classes. This new trend was undoubtedly linked with the progress of urbanisation and economic development over the Middle East, with a consequent rise in the standard of living and increase in sophistication of daily life and material possessions. Intellectual and cultural horizons widened, and these processes were facilitated by the permeation of ideas and practices from the older Near Eastern civilisations, above all from Byzantium and Persia, into the fabric of Islamic society. New approaches, attitudes and themes appear in Arabic literature, seen in the *mujūn* and *sukhf* of early Abbasid poets like Wālība b. al-Ḥubāb, Abū

Nuwās and Jaḥshūya, and in the less scabrous and more entertaining prose writings of Jāḥiẓ and the Qāḍī Abū l-‘Anbas Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣaimarī, the writings of this last being known from their titles only. Two generations or so later, Mas‘ūdī mentions a certain secretary called Abū ‘Aqqāl who, like Jāḥiẓ and Ṣaimarī, wrote on the manners and customs of the lower classes, *akhlāq al-‘awāmm*, and it is an indication of the broadening effect of the school of Jāḥiẓ on Arabic literature that Mas‘ūdī says that it is only the fear of prolixity which prevents him from retelling at length remarkable stories about the ‘*awāmm*, their morals, ways of life, constituent groups and professions, etc.¹⁾.

Thus by the 4th/10th century, it was perfectly respectable to show an interest in the world of the gutter and its denizens; for as G. E. Von Grunebaum has said, “Patronage of the popular milieu has always remained the domain of the sophisticated and erudite”²⁾. The great Vizier of the Būyid Amīr Mu‘ayyid ad-Daula of Iṣfahān, Hamadhān and Ray and Fakhr ad-Daula of Ray, the Ṣāḥib Ismā‘il b. ‘Abbād (326-85/938-95), gathered round himself a circle of raffish and even disreputable characters, including the poet Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Uqail al-‘Ukbarī, described by Tha‘ālibī as “the poet of the beggars, their elegant exponent and the wittiest among them, both as a general class and in their various subdivisions”. ‘Ukbarī was apparently the author of the first known *Qaṣida sāsāniyya*, poem on the theme of wandering and begging, imitated shortly afterwards by another member of the Ṣāḥib’s circle, the poet, globe-trotter and physician Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji. The Ṣāḥib delighted in Abū Dulaf’s company because Abū Dulaf used to converse with him in the special jargon of the beggars (*munāghāt Banī Sāsān*), and Abū Dulaf wrote for him a *Qaṣida sāsāniyya* of 196 verses giving an exposé of their practices and their peculiar argot³⁾. And of course, the later years of this century saw the beginning of the *maqāma* genre, brilliantly launched by another protégé of the Būyids, Badī‘ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, in which the anti-hero, whether Badī‘ az-Zamān’s Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī or Ḥarīrī’s Abū Zaid as-Sarūjī, is a picaresque figure who moves from town to town of the Islamic world living by his wits and taking advantage of the infinite gullibility of the masses.

From this time onwards, light on the underworld comes fitfully from the later authors of the *maqāmāt*; from collections of anecdotes like those in ar-Rāghib al-

¹⁾ A detailed discussion of these trends in Islamic literature and culture is given in C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld, the Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*. Part 1. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore* (Leiden 1976), ch. I.

²⁾ Cf. “The spirit of Islam as shown in its literature”, *SI*, I (1953), 114-19, and his “Aspects of Arabic urban literature, mostly in the ninth and tenth centuries”, *Al-Andalus*, XX (1955), 259-81.

³⁾ See, for critical editions, with translations and commentaries, of the *Qaṣida sāsāniyya* of both Abū Dulaf and Saḥī d-Dīn al-Ḥillī, Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld ... Part 2. The Arabic jargon texts* (Leiden 1976). The edition here of Abū Dulaf’s poem now renders superfluous the much-deformed, uncritical text as it had previously to be read in the editio princeps of Tha‘ālibī’s *Yatimat ad-dahr fī maḥāsini ahl al-‘aṣr* (Damascus 1304/1886-7), III, 176-94, or in the edition of Muḥammad Muḥyi d-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamid (Cairo 1375-7/1956-8).

* This paper was originally prepared for the International Conference on Jewish Communities in Muslim Lands held at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in April 1974. It appears now, in slightly modified form, by kind permission of Prof. Moshe Ma‘oz.

Iṣfahānī's *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (who cites as an authority on thieving and brigandage one 'Uthmān al-Khayyāt, so-called not because of any connection with the craft of tailoring, but because he was so skilful a *naqqāb*, a man who bored through the walls of people's houses with felonious intent, closing up the breach so neatly and unobtrusively behind himself, that it was as if he had "sewn it up", *khātahu*)⁴); from the shadow-plays, *khaḡāl az-ẓill*, of Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl; but above all, from a work especially written to warn the Muslim populace at large against the deceptions and stratagems of tricksters and confidence-men of all conceivable kinds, the 7th/13th century Syrian author Zain al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Jaubarī's *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār wa-hatīk al-astār* ("Select work on the uncovering of secrets and the tearing-away of veils"). This is a mine of information on the whole gamut of trickery, from fraudulent druggists and food adulterators to rogues who used the guise of religion and asceticism for begging and for eliciting money from the credulous.

So much for the chief elements of our rather scanty sources of information. But who exactly were all these rogues and beggars who made up the Banū Sāsān? They were clearly the products of settled society, urban and agricultural, for begging is virtually never found in bedouin society and is, in effect, precluded by the structure of nomadic and tribal society; the *ṣa'ālik* and *futtāk* of pre-Islamic and early Islamic bedouin society were exponents of a lone life of violence and rapine rather than of the parasitic existence within settled society practiced by the beggars proper or *mukaddūn*. But there were in the early centuries of Islam certain currents of social and cultural tension in the lands conquered for Islam, generated by the clash of cultures and faiths there, the uneven processes of social and cultural assimilation, the increase in urbanisation and movement of bedouins and peasants to the towns, and the growth of individualism and commercialism, these last possibly strengthened by the Islamic mercantile ethos and the stress on personal salvation. It is difficult to generalise, for the degree of disruption obviously varied from region to region and from social group to social group, but it seems likely that there developed in the early Islamic period a somewhat *déraciné* and restless element in the population of urban centres and sedentary rural areas, with a consequent predisposition towards the appearance of mendicancy and allied practices.

We have only faint pointers to the ethnic and religious composition of the Banū Sāsān, much of it derived from the evidence of onomastic. Thus the names of the beggar chiefs given by Jāhiẓ in the *Ḥadīth Khālīd b. Yazīd* contained within the *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* include several which relate to Persians and Kurds, an impression confirmed for us by the later literature⁵). There must also have been a contributory strain from the Syriac-speaking indigenous population of Syria and Iraq, whose onomastic is probably masked for us by the

⁴ *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'* (Cairo 1287/1870), II, 108, section on *talāṣṣuṣ* and similar criminal activities.

⁵ Ed. Tāhā Ḥajjīrī (Cairo 1958), 46, 50, tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre des avares* (Paris 1951), 66, 70-1.

easier process of assimilation to Arabic of the Semitic names of these people. Our particular concern here is, however, with the Jewish elements in the ranks of the Banū Sāsān, and personal names give no guidance here. The evidence for Jewish participation in this life of the underworld is allusive and indirect rather than explicit, but seems, on a *priori* grounds and on the basis of a certain amount of scattered evidence from the Islamic sources, to have been likely. On a *priori* grounds, there have been Jewish elements in the wandering folk of late mediaeval and more recent Christian Europe, attested by the Hebrew elements, doubtless via Yiddish, in the *Rotwälsches Vocabular* section of the famous *Liber vagatorum* composed ca. 1509 in southwestern Germany or the Rhineland in High German. This beggars' cant contains such terms as *Adone* "God" < *aḏōnay*; *acheln* "eat" < *ākal*; *betzam* "egg" < *bēṣāh*, pl. *bēṣim*; *boss-hart* "meat" < *bāsār*; *bsaffot* "letter" < *sēper*; *gfar* "village" < *kāpār*, in status constructus *k-par*; and *lehem*

< *leḥem*)⁶. The expulsion of the Jews from England in the 13th century and their absence from the country for nearly 400 years explains the absence of Jewish elements in the extensive 16th century English literature on begging and roguery. There was clearly a Jewish element in the underworld of Victorian Britain, as the presence of Yiddish, ultimately Hebrew, elements in contemporary cant shows (e.g. *gonoph* "petty street thief, pickpocket" < *gannāḥ* "thief", a Hebrew word which has found its way into the criminal argots of a large number of European countries), but this is perhaps explicable in the British context by the strong representation of Jews in such trades on the margins of respectability as old clothes dealing, pawnbroking and money-lending; the figure of Dickens' Fagin, the trainer of youthful criminals in *Oliver Twist*, is not necessarily typical⁷).

Although religion has always been a cloak for the activities of workshy beggars and ingenious swindlers, the inspiration behind some mendicancy was genuinely religious and was connected with the profoundly ascetic strain in all the monotheistic religions of the Near East. There was a religious aura in early Islam around almsgiving which to a certain extent communicated itself to begging proper, for it could be argued that the requests of beggars facilitated almsgiving by the believers; a tradition of the Prophet related by Mālik b. Anas in his *Muwatta'* enjoins the Muslims, "Give to a beggar, even if he appears to you mounted on horseback!"⁸) There was a general veneration accorded to ascetics and to those contemptuous of worldly wealth, and a feeling that, by stooping to begging, one reduced oneself to the very depths of humility and self-abnegation. The great Near Eastern faiths never erected religious mendicancy into

⁶ *Liber vagatorum*, in F. Kluge, *Rotwälsch. Quellen und Wortschatz der Gaunersprache und des verwandten Geheimsprachen. I. Rotwälsches Quellenbuch* (Strassburg 1901), 53-5, tr. J. C. Hotten, *The book of vagabonds and beggars, with a vocabulary of their language*. Edited by Martin Luther in the year 1528 (London 1860).

⁷ See Kellow Chesney, *The Victorian underworld* (Harmondsworth 1972), 147.

⁸ Cited in Ibshihī, *al-Mustaṭraf fī kull ḡann mustaṭraf* (Cairo 1379/1960), II, 49.

a mainspring of the religious life, as did Hinduism and Buddhism, where there were and still are special castes of beggars and orders of begging monks. Mendicancy has also been a traditional method whereby poor scholars could support themselves during their peregrinations in search of knowledge; the *y-ṣiḡa bāḡūr*, the young man studying at a rabbinical college, was a familiar figure in the Jewish town and village communities of Eastern Europe until the Second World War, having regular invitations from specific households to eat with them on fixed days of the week.

One trick of the Banū Sāsān in mediaeval Islamic society which seems to have been in perennial use was to excite the sympathies and contributions of the Muslim masses by pretending to be converts from the People of the Book. Abū Dulaf mentions in his *Qaṣida sāsāniyya*, vv. 49, 59, the *qannā* (< Hebrew *qannā* "zealot") who can recite the Torah or the Gospels, and who alleges that he was a Jew or Christian, but saw the light and became a Muslim. He also speaks of the *muqanwin* (the verb *qanwana* possibly being a metathesised form of the Christian ecclesiastical Arabic term *qanana* "to punish or require penance according to the Church's *qānūn* or rule"⁹), who similarly claims to be the offspring of a Christian father and Jewish mother, but to have become a Muslim after seeing a vision of the Prophet in a dream, who had said to him, "Don't be deluded any longer by the faith of your parents, but follow my religion!" Similarly, the 8th/14th century Iraqi poet Ṣafī d-Dīn al-Hillī, who also wrote a *Qaṣida sāsāniyya* like Abū Dulaf's, in which he claims to be an associate of the Banū Sāsān and familiar with all their tricks, states (vv. 19-20):

And how often have I posed as a Christian (*qannā*) and then deliberately become a Muslim, and how often have I posed as a Jew (*kisāwī*) and made fresh my [Muslim] faith,

So that all the Muslim religious teachers have extolled me, by presenting me with a robe, a tunic and a linen turban!¹⁰

Clearly, it must have been Sāsānīs who were originally from the Christian and Jewish communities themselves who could most convincingly assume these poses. Above the level of the Sāsānīs, we know of a certain continuity of heritage from the older faiths in the Christian-Jewish background of some influential converts to early Islam, such as the famous figures of the proto-*qāṣṣ* and Companion of the Prophet Tamīm b. Aus ad-Dārī, of Yemenī Christian origin, and the Successor Wahb b. Munabbih as-San'ā'i, authority for so much of the common stock of Near Eastern lore entering Islam, in origin from the *Abnā'* of Yemen but apparently ultimately of Jewish origin. The popular storytellers and preachers (*quṣ-*

⁹ See H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* (Leipzig 1885-8), II, 739, ad Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 414.

¹⁰ As is the case with Abū Dulaf's poem, the printed texts of the poem (e.g. in *Diwān*, ed. Damascus 1297-1300/1880-3, pp. 445-8, and ed. Najaf 1375/1956, pp. 424-7) are very poor; the text of the poem is in fact virtually unintelligible without the help of glosses found in certain manuscripts of the *Diwān*, utilised for the edition in *The mediaeval Islamic underworld ... Part 2* (see n. 3 above).

ṣāṣ, *wu'āz* and *mudhakkirūn*) constituted a significant factor in the diffusion of basic religious teaching amongst the ignorant masses of early Islam, playing a rôle similar to that of the friars in mediaeval Christendom. In the first two Muslim centuries, these *quṣṣāṣ* etc. seem to have been recognised as fulfilling a useful function in society; in his *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-t-tabyīn*, Jāhiẓ gives a list of the *quṣṣāṣ* of Baṣra, including al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, immediately after he has given lists of the eloquent ascetics and Ṣūfis. The degeneration of the profession into a class of charlatans, incurring the odium and contempt of the official religious institution, seems only to have begun after this. In one passage, Mas'ūdī alludes to the stupidity and credulousness of the masses, who are preyed upon by the hypocritical, false ascetic (*muta'abbid mutanammis mumakhriq*) and by the mendacious storyteller (*qāṣṣ kadhdhāb*)¹¹).

Both Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn in their *Qaṣida sāsāniyyas* include storytellers in the ranks of the Banū Sāsān. The former, vv. 32, 41, 56, 63-5, speaks of the *quṣṣāṣ* who retail Jewish legends and apocryphal stories (*isrā'iliyyāt*), who go round with books of *ḥadīths* and deliver minatory sermons against such sins as wine-drinking and sodomy, and who declaim tear-jerking stories about the martyrdoms of the Alids or else about the virtues of Abū Bakr, thereby tapping the pockets of both Shī'īs and Sunnis alike. These *quṣṣāṣ* often have a confederate planted in the listening crowd, the *mukawwiz*; the *qāṣṣ* directs the audience to give alms to this man, and they share out the takings afterwards (v. 32). Jaubari was especially concerned to expose the activities of those who used religion and asceticism as cloaks for their trickery, and the third *ḡaṣl* of the *Kashf al-asrār* is dedicated to the popular preachers (*wu'āz*) whom he describes as the highest class of the Banū Sāsān and the most skilful at wheeling out money, having been founded by Shaikh Sāsān himself. One type of trick worked by these fraudulent religious is reminiscent of that practiced by Abū Dulaf's *muqanwin*: the preacher has a confederate who precedes him to the place where he is to speak, pretending to be a Jew or Christian, and the preacher is subsequently able to achieve what looks like a dramatic conversion to Islam, thus establishing the reality of his spiritual gifts.

The stock-in-trade of these storytellers included a large number of the popular romances and legends circulating all over the Middle East from long before the coming of Islam. Many of these were perversions of Biblical and Apocryphal tales; Ibn al-Jauzī, in the book which he wrote as a textbook for the aspiring preacher and storyteller, the *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-l-mudhakkirīn*, denounces abuses in the profession, and mentions some of the popular versions of Biblical stories, such as those connected with Joseph and Zulaikha, Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai, or David's behaviour towards Uriah the

¹¹ As in so many other aspects of our studies, Goldziher was the first to draw attention to the rôle of the popular religious storytellers and teachers in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle 1888-90), II, 158ff., tr. S. M. Stern, *Muslim studies* (London 1967-71), II, 150ff.; a more recent study is that of J. Pedersen, "The Islamic preacher: *wā'iz*, *mudhakkir*, *qāṣṣ*", *Ignaz Goldziher Memorial volume* (Budapest 1948, Jerusalem 1958), I, 226-51.

Hittite¹²). Abū Dulaf's mention of the *isrā'iliyyāt*, related by the storyteller "span's breadth upon span", i.e. as short, chatty anecdotes, here called *shibriyyāt*, reminds one of the very extensive Jewish element in this stock-in-trade of the *quṣṣās* (the term *isrā'iliyyāt* is actually used in classical and more recent Islamic terminology not merely for the specifically Jewish elements which entered the science of Qur'ānic *tafsīr*, but for the Christian and other non-Muslim, extraneous elements, the specific nomenclature from the obviously dominant Jewish elements being adopted *li-t-taghlīb*¹³). The use of the *isrā'iliyyāt* for elucidating certain aspects of the Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth* texts, or for amplifying certain vaguenesses in them, was regarded as legitimate; hence Ibn Taimiyya in his *Muqaddima fi uṣūl at-tafsīr* classifies the *isrā'iliyyāt* under the headings of (1) *ṣaḥīḥ*, sound; (2) *kādhīb*, unsound; and (3) *maskūt 'anhu*, those which it is not possible either to validate or invalidate. However, he gives a warning against the practice of using the *isrā'iliyyāt* for supplying pettifoggery and irrelevant detail, such as the names of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kaḥf* and their dog, the kind of wood from which Moses' staff was made, or the kind of tree out of which God spoke to Moses, etc.¹⁴).

Jewish kabbalistic lore and magical phraseology were clearly an element of the intellectual equipment of those members of the Banū Sāsān who wrote out and sold amulets, charms, formulae for securing certain desired effects, recipes and prescriptions for curing various illnesses, horoscopes, etc. In Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow-play '*Ajīb wa-Gharīb*, there passes across the stage a panorama of the diverse characters of the late 7th/13th-early 8th/14th century Egyptian market place: beggars, quack doctors and herbalists, animal trainers, conjurors, mountebanks, etc.¹⁵). The writer of amulets is called 'Awwādh ash-Sharmāt, who peers into his divining mirror, inscribes a *mandal* or magic circle, and stages the spectacular cure of an epileptic boy, driving out the possessing demons and jinn by the Hebrew formula '*ehyeh ašer 'ehyeh* "I am who I am" if the spirits are Judaists, by the Greek formula 'Εν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος "In the beginning was the Word" if they are Christians, and by the invocation of fire and light, darkness and heat, if they are Magians¹⁶). The hero Gharīb himself practises the tricks of the Banū Sāsān, including magic and alchemy and the writing-out of charms¹⁷). He claims to exercise sovereignty over the King of the Jinn and to have called up from the depths the jinnīs Maīṭarūn and ash-Shaiṣabān, two interesting names

which are not meaningless pieces of mumbo-jumbo but which go back to ancient Jewish angelological literature. Maīṭarūn looks Greek in origin, and is in fact from μαῖταρ "one who is sent", passing into Jewish and Aramaic literature in the sense of "protecting angel"¹⁸). Ash-Shaiṣabān, on the other hand, is a Semitic word, from Hebrew *šōšbīn* "best man, socius sponsi", used in post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, including Syriac; in the Haggada it is related that Michael and Gabriel acted as *šōšbīnīm* at the wedding of Adam and Eve¹⁹). From being a common noun, the word early became a magical name referring to a specific angel, and in Muslim usage, to a jinnī. Charms and talismans naturally produced a greater effect on those commissioning them if they were written in unintelligible scripts and languages. Ṣaḥī d-Dīn al-Ḥillī, in his *Qaṣīda sāsāniyya*, vv. 38-40, mentions how he, as a leading *Sāsānī*, has sold images and tablets with an alleged magical value, and has written out charms and amulets in both Syriac and Hebrew, the latter here called *qalaṭṭuriyya*, a metathesis of *falaṭṭuriyyāt* < Φαλακτῦρια "the writing-out of phylacteries"²⁰).

All that has been said so far deals with odd snippets of information pointing to Jewish influence on the Banū Sāsān, and indirectly, to the possibility of Jewish membership of these bands of rogues and beggars. The sole text known to the present writer which deals at any length ostensibly with the Jewish element amongst the Banū Sāsān is Jaubari's *Kaḥf al-asrār*, the fifth *ḥaṣṣ* of which is entitled *Fi kaḥf asrār kadhabat aḥbār*, the translation of which runs as follows:²¹)

Chapter Five

This comprises six sections on the unveiling of the secrets of the deceivers amongst the learned Jewish scholars.

[Section One] Know that this group are the most accursed of God's creation, the most evil-natured, and

¹⁸) See Ozair Yisrael, *a Hebrew encyclopedia* (New York 1951), VI, 162-3; *Encyclopaedia judaica*, XI, cols. 1443-6; etc.

¹⁹) See J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmud und Midraschim* (Darmstadt 1963), 527; *Encyclopaedia judaica*, V, col. 643; etc.

²⁰) See Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 733-4, ad Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 397.

²¹) The text from which this translation has been made is based upon a provisional critical text which is being prepared for publication, together with a German translation, by Prof. Stefan Wild of Amsterdam University (who has published a preliminary study on the *Kaḥf al-asrār*, "Jugglers and fraudulent Sufis", *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Visby-Stockholm 1972, 58-63). Prof. Wild's text is based in the first place upon Leiden and Istanbul manuscripts, but pending the publication of a definitive text, I have combined the text of Prof. Wild (to whom I am indebted for his kindness in sending me a preliminary version of his text) with those of the defective printed editions of Damascus 1302/1885 and Cairo ca. 1336/1918. An early, unsatisfactory attempt to provide texts of this particular chapter of the *Kaḥf al-asrār*, the first text from the longer recension of a Berlin manuscript collated with the Oxford karshuni one, the second one from a shorter version in another Berlin manuscript, was made by M. Steinschneider, "Gauberi's „entdeckte Geheimnisse“, eine Quelle für orientalische Sittenschilderung", *ZDMG*, XIX (1865), 572-7; M. J. de Goeje's strictures (*ZDMG*, XX [1866], 485) that these two texts, based on palpably inferior and defective manuscripts, were quite unintelligible, are regrettably true.

the deepest-rooted in infidelity and accursedness. They are the most evil-intentioned of mankind in their deeds, even though they are the most ostentatious in humility and self-abasement; all this constitutes the very essence of accursedness and craftiness. When they manage to be alone with a man, they bring him to destruction; they introduce by trickery a stupefying drug into his food, and then kill him. The [detailed] explanation of this is that when they want to eliminate somebody, they slip the narcotic drug into his food, until he goes off to sleep. They then pounce on him, having secured and pinioned him, and kill him.

Section Two on the unveiling of their secrets. One of their practices is that they mix together a concoction of one part each of the seed of black Indian hemp, wax from the ear (*wasakh al-udhn*) and squills (*baṣal-al-ḥa'r*), and then they put the resultant substance into any kind of food whatsoever. The person eating it goes to sleep immediately, whereupon they secure him and kill him in some unfrequented place. So know that they are the most evil-natured of God's creation, and the most deeply-rooted in infidelity and accursedness, and beware of keeping company with them, for they are devoid of fidelity to their word, of religion and of trustworthiness. This is a description of the deceivers amongst the Jewish scholars. As for the generality of them (i.e. those who are not *aḥbār*), they are concerned with the dispensing of perfumes and drugs; there are various types of these people, of which a description will now follow.

Section Three on the unveiling of their secrets. The explanation of this is that they adulterate and counterfeit all the different perfumes and then sell them to the Muslims, caring nothing about their interests. For example, they concoct their own myrobalanus (*halilaj*), pepper, saffron, musk, sandalwood, amber, tutty, bamboo manna (*tabāshir*), dragon's blood, sugar, camphor, gum mastic, and everything connected with the compounding of perfumes. I shall mention all this in its appropriate place, and if God wills, I shall unveil its secrets and practical aspects, and shall set down something about it.

Section Four on the unveiling of their secrets. One aspect of this concerns the physicians amongst them with a training in the natural sciences. They are the deepest-rooted of them in treachery and hypocrisy, and they possess their own secrets to which no-one else has access. Included in these are the ability to make distant things come near and to make difficult things easy. When they wish to treat a person for illness, they deal carefully with his condition. They hasten before everything else to build up his strength, hence they concoct for him a healing drug appropriate to his illness, and cure him accordingly within a few days. But if the physician wishes to treat them deceitfully, he does not bother at first to keep up the patient's strength, so that he lets part of the latter's physical state deteriorate. Then he makes up for him a drug suitable for curing that disease, and treats him with it for three days. But then he craftily administers to the patient something which brings on a new disease, and so he goes on, curing him of one condition and plunging him into another, and transforming him, as it were, into a cucumber-bed

which he can harvest every day and on which he can live.

If the sick person happens to possess a substantial share of worldly goods, and he has an heir, the latter indicates to the physician what he is to do and how he is to treat the sick man; hence the physicians gets to work on him with his skill, and gets him into a weaker and weaker condition until he finally finishes him off. In the same way, if the sick person has a wife who desires his death, she blandishes the physician and says, "O physician, I adjure you by God, if the signs of death are upon him, then tell me the good news, and you shall have from me your fill of the sweets of pleasure!" He thereupon replies, "As regards his illness, he will be made hale and hearty, but I can administer a drug to the patient which will enfeeble all his physical faculties and finally kill him!" When the woman, with her defective moral sense, her lack of religion, and her desire for her husband's death, hears this, she says, "O physician, see what you can do, and whatever you desire of me [you can have]". He then protests, "This is a course of which I cannot approve and upon which I dare not embark!". But she keeps on at him, promising him whatever he desires. He replies, "This is a matter which cannot be brought to a successful outcome with promises of future favours, but only with money". So he accepts from her a sum agreed upon between them. If the woman is pretty and he desires to enjoy her, he leaves her for that day, but then he says, "You realise that this plan can only be carried out by my copulating with you, in order that I may concoct for your husband a drug containing human semen, and the whole affair will be completed". He keeps pressing her until she agrees to that. Now just look at this trickery, craftiness and evildoing, how they make free of people's wealth, bring shame on this woman, and destroy their precious life-blood!" Take note of all this, and keep yourself aware of their practices, and you will not be taken in by any of these dubious activities, for they are more accursed, more evil-minded and more full of trickery than all the rest of mankind!

Section Five on the unveiling of their secrets. One aspect of this concerns the peddlars (*bawāriz*) and itinerant sellers of trinkets (*kharrāzīn*) who go round to houses and agricultural estates and gardens²²); they have a secret activity which no-one knows about and which is not capable of exact definition or description. One facet of it involves the fact that they do shameful things with womenfolk and lead them into practices which cannot be easily pictured. They then sell to them substances which will cloud and confuse men's intelligences, disorder their brains, make them stupefied, and send their minds off the rails. Hence when a man in this condition sees someone with his wife, he is unable to say anything, and if she goes off somewhere, he says nothing

²²) This seems to be the sense of *bawāriz*, which I have not been able to find in the lexica, but is presumably a plural of *bāriz* "he who sallies forth", here used in the sense of "peddler, itinerant vendor of drugs, herbs, etc." *Kharrāz* I take here in the sense of "peddler of beads, trinkets (*kharrāz*)", the equivalent of the modern Arabic *khurdajī*, rather than its standard meaning of "shoemaker, cobbler".

¹²) Recently edited and translated by Merlin S. Swartz from the unique Leiden manuscript (Beirut 1971).

¹³) See Ramzī Na'na'a, *al-Isrā'iliyyāt wa-atharuhā fi kutub at-tafsīr* (Damascus-Beirut 1390/1970), 72-5.

¹⁴) *Muqaddima fi uṣūl at-tafsīr* (Damascus 1355/1936), 45-6.

¹⁵) An accessible, but wholly uncritical and unscholarly text, copied from a single Cairo manuscript, is that of Ibrāhīm Ḥammāda, *Khayāl az-ẓill wa-tamthiliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl* (Cairo 1963), 187-231, which may be corrected and controlled in many places by the excerpts from '*Ajīb wa-Gharīb* in G. Jacob's "Ein ägyptischer Jahrmarkt im 13. Jahrhundert", *Sitzungsber. der königl. bayerischen Akad. der Wiss.*, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse (1910), Abh. No. 10, pp. 1-42, based on three manuscripts.

¹⁶) Ḥammāda, 210-14, Jacob, 21-4.

¹⁷) Ḥammāda, 189-96, Jacob, 6-10.

to her, and whatever she may say, he assents to it. Amongst these substances are camel's brain, which has a very powerful effect in this connection, likewise vulture's and wild goat's brains, and many other things whose enumeration would take too long. These physicians have many other tricks, so be aware of all these!

Section Six on the unveiling of their secrets. One aspect of this is that they possess a certain drug which, when a woman gives it to her husband, renders him stupefied and unaware of what is happening. When they wish to produce some of this drug, they take a measure each of winter-cherry (*kākanj*), anacardium nuts and agaric, and the whole of this mixture is then pounded up to a fine powder. It is then introduced into food, and when anyone eats it, he becomes stupefied and lethargic.

One obvious feature of this chapter of Jaubari's is the absence of any practices which are specifically Jewish in that they involve Jewish religious practices or Hebrew formulae, etc., whereas the preceeding fourth *faṣl* has dealt with the priests and monks (*ruhbān*) of the Christians and their preying upon the credulous members of their faith, with much citation of specific practices and tricks, such as a trick concerning the candelabrum in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, one concerning an iron image in a monastery called Dair aṣ-Ṣanam, one concerning a miraculous water flow at a Coptic monastery at al-Abshīṭ in the Delta of Egypt, one concerning an image in a Cyprus monastery, and one worked at a church in Saidnāyā near Damascus. Some of these tricks, e.g. the one in Cyprus, had been personally witnessed by Jaubari. One assumes that Jaubari's direct knowledge of the internal life of the Jewish communities, as opposed to knowledge of the external and public aspects of Jewish life, was much less or even virtually non-existent. Hence his citation of vague generalities only, based on the assumption that the Jewish rabbis had in their ranks a similar number of tricksters as the Christian priests and monks and the Muslim Ṣūfis, popular storytellers, etc., and the disappointing impression which the chapter consequently makes as a document for the social life of Jewry in the medieval Islamic world.

Jaubari's most specific accusation against the Jews is that of abusing their position as physicians and druggists, an obvious accusation in view of the traditionally extensive Jewish representation within the medical and pharmacological callings, a representation which must have been as flourishing and obvious to Jaubari as it had been to Muslims in earlier periods. Only a generation or so before, Maimonides had been employed by the Qādī al-Fādīl and al-Malik al-Afdal Nūr ad-Dīn, whilst Saladin had consulted such well-known Jewish medical men as Shams ar-Riyāsa Hibatallāh b. Jumai', al-Muwaffaq b. Shū'a, and Abū l-Ma'ālī Tammām. Moreover, in the Ayyūbid lands of Syria and Palestine, physicians held prominent positions within the local Jewish communities of towns like Tripoli and Ramla²³). In the

²³) Cf. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society, the Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo geniza*. II. *The community* (Berkely-Los Angeles-London 1971), 245, and E. Ashtor-Strauss, "Saladin and the Jews", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 309-13.

spheres of pharmacy, drug-compounding, perfuming, etc., two of the standard works on pharmacology, to be consulted as vade-mecums for centuries to come in the Middle East, were composed by Jewish contemporaries of Jaubari, sc. *ad-Dustūr al-bimāristānī fī l-adwiyā al-murakkaba* of the Karaite Ibn Abi l-Bayān (d. 634/1236-7) and Abū l-Munā al-Kōhēn al-'Aṭṭār's *Minhāj ad-dukkān fī adwiyat nau' al-insān* (written 658/1260²⁴). But the accusations in the *Kashf al-asrār* could well have been raised against physicians and pharmacists of any race or faith in the Muslim Middle Ages. These professions had their own arcana, which their practitioners were naturally concerned to protect from the general public and even to exaggerate their command of mystifying processes and formulae. There must always have been wives fretting to be rid of obnoxious husbands, and heirs who could not wait for their fathers to die naturally, just as there must always have been corrupt physicians and druggists ready to oblige them for a financial consideration. The exaction of sexual favours from attractive wives by libidinous physicians, mentioned in the fourth section of Jaubari's chapter, would, however, provide an extra *frisson* of horror to a Muslim reader, for whom the placing of a believing woman in the sexual power of a Dhimmī and Jew was particularly abhorrent and, of course, contrary to the *Shari'a*.

Post-scriptum

Professor Ch. Pellat has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that two extant works, one on astrology, are attributed — whether correctly or not is unclear — to the Qādī Abū l-'Anbas Muhammad aṣ-Ṣaimarī mentioned at the beginning of this article; he refers for further information to his article "Un curieux amuseur Baḡdādien: Abū l-'Anbas aṣ-Saymarī", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschr. der Univ. Halle*, XVII (1968), G, H, 2/3, pp. 133-7.

Manchester, November 1976

C. E. BOSWORTH

Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John G. White Department, Cleveland Public Library

Contents:

- Introduction
- Chess - no. 1-8
- Religion - no. 9-28
- Law - no. 29-34
- Language & Literature - no. 35-41
- History & Geography - no. 42-47
- Varia - no. 48-52.

Introduction:

The Arabic manuscripts described below are from the collections of the John G. White Department of Folk-

²⁴) See M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. I, Ergänzungsband VI, Abschnitt 1 (Leiden-Cologne 1970), 309-10, and for al-Kōhēn al-'Aṭṭār, the article s.v. forthcoming in *El*² by A. Dietrich.

lore, Orientalia and Chess of the Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio. John Griswold White (1845-1928) was a prominent attorney in Cleveland who had a lifelong interest in books and chess. The chess collection, deposited in the endowed Department bearing his name, is the largest of its kind, containing thousands of pages of manuscript and archival material as well as the most significant editions of all published works on chess¹).

John G. White's interest in chess included study of the game's origins in the East. He relied on experts to round out his holdings of works in Arabic and other Oriental languages. The eight chess manuscripts described in this handlist are only a few of his chess holdings in Near and Middle Eastern languages. The Department also has chess manuscripts in Persian and Turkish along with photostatic copies of many other important chess manuscripts. These copies were usually made through the good offices of Harold Murray who remarks in his *History of Chess*, "It was my good fortune, at an early stage of my work, to enlist the interest of Mr. John G. White of Cleveland, the owner of the largest chess library in the world. Mr. White's generous and unfailing courtesy in placing his library freely at the service of any student of chess has been acknowledged over and over again ... Without that help, the book would never have been written"²).

With regard to Oriental studies, Mr. White's interests ran from the Far East through Africa. It is worth pointing out that one gets the feeling in working in the Department that White was drawn to the universality of Eastern cultures rather than to the narrower Biblical or philological approaches of many orientalists of his generation. As Alice N. Loran, Head of the Department describes his views, "Er sah also die Notwendigkeit, fremde Kulturen zu verstehen, um bessere menschliche Beziehungen zu erreichen. Er erkannte die Bedeutung der Literaturen in ihrer Muttersprache — im Gegensatz zu jenen Werken, die lediglich ihrer Interpretation dienten. Er sah auch die Wirkung und den Einfluss der morgenländischen Zivilization auf die Welt des Abendlandes vorans"³).

White made his first gift of materials to the Cleveland Public Library in 1885. From that time until his death his gifts exceeded 50 thousand volumes in folklore and oriental studies⁴). Today, in addition to the 52 Arabic

¹) Access to the collections may be had through two published catalogs: Cleveland Public Library. John G. White Department. *Catalog of the Chess Collection (Including Checkers)*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1964; and the *Catalog of the folklore collection*, also published by G. K. Hall. Unfortunately no such published list exists for the Department's extensive holdings in Orientalia.

²) Harold J. R. Murray, *History of Chess*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 6. This work will be referred to below as HC. For supplementary material there is Reinhard Wieber, *Das Schachspiel in der arabischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde, 1972 (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Orients. 22). This work will be referred to in the handlist as SAL.

³) Alice N. Loran, "Die Schachsammlung des John G. White", *Schachwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, No. 5 (January 1975), p. 147.

⁴) For details of White's close association with the Cleveland Public Library see C. H. Cramer, *Open Shelves and Open Minds*, Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1972, pp. 105-137.

manuscripts described in this handlist, the Department has over 75 Persian manuscripts and over 20 in Ottoman Turkish all of which have been cataloged⁵).

1. *Kitāb al-Shaṭranj* by Abū al-Muẓaffar ibn Sa'īd (called thus in text). The author is also known as Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sa'īd al-Lajlāj. See Brockelmann GAL, SI, p. 219, Murray *History of Chess*, p. 173f and 200f, and Wieber *Das Schachspiel in der arabischen Literatur*, p. 16ff. This manuscript is a copy of As'ad Afandī no. 1858, of which the John G. White Department also possesses a photostat (Wq 789.095 Ab91r).

81 numbered leaves; interleaved with translation of diagrams by John Griswold White; outside 15 x 22 cm., text 9 x 14 cm.; 17 lines per page in a clear, professional *naskh* accompanied by numerous diagrams; thin, yellow paper; bound and interleaved for John G. White; binding is brown leather with single gilt rolled border; binding is in fragile condition.

Ms. begins: Qāla al-Shaykh al-Imām Abū al-Muẓaffar bin Sa'īd al-ma'rūf bi-al-Lajlāj raḥmat Allāh

Ms. ends: Aranā wa ḥadatha manqūshah fī ba'd al-hijārah bayn al-'ahd al-Yūnaniyīn fa-nuqilat ilā al-'Arabīyah.

(W 789.095M Ab91r2)

2. *Nuzhat arbāb al-'uqūl fī al-shaṭranj al-manqūl* by Abū Zakariyā Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥakīm. The manuscript contains descriptions of chess games in English by Harold Murray on fly leaves. Marginal notes on games are by J. G. White. For discussion of the original manuscript see Somogyi, "The Arabic Chess Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41: 2 (March 1959), p. 430. This work and Wq 789.095M H191u are referred to as the Lee manuscripts borrowed from Dr. Lee of Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire, England by Nathaniel Bland and never returned to their owner. They are now in the John Ryland Library. Although not found in Brockelmann, *Nuzhat arbāb al-'uqūl* is discussed by Murray, HC, p. 175 and Wieber, SAL, p. 32ff. The date given in the colophon is unusual in light of the descriptions by Somogyi and Murray.

79 leaves; outside 21 x 26 cm., text 15 x 18 cm.; 17-20 lines per page; very shaky *naskh*, many *nuqaṭ* missing, words omitted or miscopied; contains diagrams, some in red; paper is "Rothes Extra Strong Vellum"; bound in green morocco, spine reads "Nozhah fi'l Shatranj. Al-Hakim Lee MS, No. 76 (ca. 1400)"; the work was copied by the Rev. J. Posthewaite in 1903.

Qamm (i.e., tamm?) akhīran ... wa kān al-farāgh min naskh yawm al-arba'a rābi' Jumār al-akhīrah (sic) min 902 wa-al-ḥamd

(Wq 789.095M Ab 919n)

3. *Kitāb al-Shaṭranj mimā allafahu al-'Adlī wa-al-*

⁵) The White Department has been fortunate to have had a series of outstanding curators. It is to them and especially to the current Department Head, Mrs. Alice N. Loran, and her staff that I owe so much.

Ṣūlī wa-ghayruhumā. This is a copy of 'Abd al-Hamīd manuscript 560 (see Murray, HC, p. 171 and Wieber, SAL, p. 12ff). It contains works and games by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, al-'Adlī and al-Lajlāj. There are a few poems about chess. Bound with leaves 24a and 24b is a letter to J. G. White from Harold Murray. There is also a translation done by Margoliouth of the passage at 24a-24b dealing with the game of chess as originally played in India. Tipped in at the front is a note by Murray on the contents of the volume.

142 leaves (248, counting interleavings); outside 21 x 29 cm., text 13 x 20 cm.; 19 lines per page; *naskh* with numerous illustrations of chess games; paper is thin, yellow stock which bears traces of having been ruled with a stylus by the copyist; the ink of the title retains a grainy quality; bound in leather for Mr. White, it has been interleaved with his commentary and translations; binding has been repaired.

Ms. begins: (after basmala) dhakara al-'Adlī: asbāban fī waq' al-shaṭranj 'iddatan wa radda 'alayhi Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī fa-dhakarnā ba'ḍ mā dhakarahu al-'Adlī wa mā radda 'alayhi al-Ṣūlī

Ms. ends: Tammāt al-ḥamd Allāh ... li-akhdh shaṭranjayn taratan 'alā fī'l al-faras wa taratan 'alā minzā (sic) al-firzān mar'an bayt shā (sic) ... followed by diagram.

(Wq 789.095M Ad59)

4. Binding title: A collection of forty-nine problems of the older oriental game of chess in the Arabic language. H. J. R. Murray, in a note at the front of the manuscript, states that the work contains many problems and solutions of manuscript number 2234 at Vefa ('Atiq Afandi), Eyyub and manuscript number 561 of the 'Abd al-Hamīd Library. Murray has commented on the games on 3 leaves bound at the front of the volume.

41 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 7 x 9 cm.; glossy oriental paper, repaired and remounted by White; clear *naskh* with text in black and games in red; the number of lines per page varies from problem to problem; White had the manuscript and Murray's notes bound in 1915, binding is interleaved with blank bond; some of the leaves of the manuscript are missing, some are out of order; manuscript was copied in 972/1564-65.

Ms. begins: Yaḡūl shāh bi-al-rukḡkh min thānī al-faras fa-an nazala ilā thānī al-fil qāla lahu shāh bi-al-rukḡkh wa akhadha rukḡkhahu bāṭilan

Ms. ends: Jā'a al-aswad bi-rukḡkhihi ilā thālith fīl al-aḡmar al-ayman wa wajaba al-ghalab wa idhā khatā' al-aḡmar mā qultuhu kān al-ghalab 'alayhi asra'; sanat 972.

(W 789.095M C685)

5. *Nafḡat kimā'im al-ward fī tafḡil al-shaṭranj 'alā al-nard*. (Binding title: Fragrans rosae alabaster) by Muḡammad ibn Aḡmad ibn Muḡammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Sukaykir. The work and its author are cited by Brockelmann (GAL, SII, p. 489), Murray (HC, p. 179) and Wieber (SAL, p. 38). See also the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society (1937, p. 170) in which Murray reviews Casañas' *Libro del Ajedrez*. The manuscript was copied from Bodleian Arabic manuscript Pocock 16.

24 leaves (including comment in English by Murray and transcriptions of two diagrams not found in the original text); outside 20 x 26 cm., text 10-12 x 15 cm.; 23 lines per page; European *naskh*, games and diagrams are in red and black, games contain notes by Mr. White in pencil; manuscript was bound by White with Murray's copies of one diagram from Bodleian Arabic manuscript 182 fol. 37 and Bodleian manuscript Digby Oriental 16 fol. 398; the work was copied by H. J. R. Murray in 1906.

(Wq 789.095M D593f)

6. *Kitāb 'anmūdḡhaj al-qitāl fī la'b al-shaṭranj* by Shibāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḡmad ibn Yaḡyā ibn Abī Ḥajala al-Tilimsānī. Neither the author nor the work are found in GAL, however the latter is described by Murray, HC, p. 175ff. He says, "One of the most valuable features in this ms. is the information which it supplies as to the nature of the traditional diagrams of normal positions in the Openings". According to Wieber (SAL, p. 29) the original is in the John Rylands Library, Arabic manuscript number 767.

89 leaves; outside 20 x 26 cm., text 12 x 14 cm.; 15 lines per page; often unclear Western *naskh*, almost completely vocalized; games are in red and black ink, headings are in blue pencil; marginal comments by Murray are in pencil; the book was bound by White along with three end leaves with comment by him and Murray. Two additional leaves copied by Posthewaite are bound with this work. They appear to be from another codex and are virtually indecipherable. Copied in Autumn 1903 by the Rev. J. Posthewaite.

Ms. begins: (after basmala): fa-lammā kān al-shaṭranj mimā aḡama 'alā faḡl muḡannafīhi al-dalīl wa aḡbaḡa al-lā'ib bihi fī Miṣr

Ms. ends: ... al-farāḡh min hadhā al-nuskḡah (sic) ... al-yawm 19 min shahr Rajab ... sanat 850 'alā yad al-'abd al-faḡir ... 'Alī bin Muḡammad al-Arzaḡī

(Wq 789.095M H191u)

7. *Kitāb al-shaṭranj al-Baṣrī* (or) *Kitāb fī al-shaṭranj wa manṣūbātīhi wa mulāḡihi* ascribed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Murray describes the manuscript and its contents in HC, p. 173, Wieber in SAL, p. 25ff. The manuscript is interleaved with photostats of B. M. Rich. Additional manuscript 7515 of which it is a copy. Each page of transcription is initialed by E. R. Hodges. Arabic transcription occurs on each leaf recto; translation by White is on verso. Some games are not translated.

164 leaves; outside 18 x 22 cm., size of text varies with length of games and descriptions; a halting *naskh* replete with errors; ruled European note paper; bound by White with incomplete photostatic copy of the Rich manuscript; a note on the original by Murray, a non-holograph copy of a letter from Murray to Sir E. Maunde Thompson dated 15 January 1902 in which he discusses the original manuscript, and notes on the original by various authors transcribed by White (total of 16 leaves); White's note on the copying: "This copy was made for me in April-27 November 1877 (sic) by Mr. Hornblower, and collated by E. R. Hodges; by J. Labinjie in 1878. It was again collated by Mr. (Charles) Rieu 29 April 1881".

Ms. begins: Kitāb al-shaṭranj al-Baṣrī kitāb fī al-shaṭranj wa manṣūbātīhi wa mā lihihi (sic) a'lim anna (hadh)ā al-kitāb ghayr munbar (i.e., mubnā) 'alā mā ta'ārafa fī zamānīnā min anna al-firzān yajma' 'amal al-firzān wa-al-filān

Ms. ends: Tamma al-kitāb bi-'awn Allāh wa min-natihi wa luṭfihi bi-tārikḡ al-yawm 16 min shahr Jumḡā al-akhirah (sic) min sanat 655

(W 789.095M K646s)

8. *Kitāb al-shaṭranj* attributed to Abū Zakariyā Yaḡyā ibn Ibrāḡim al-Ḥakīm. Murray (HC, p. 174f) disagrees with this ascription. See the discussion in Wieber (SAL, p. 21). The manuscript is a copy of Vefa ('Atiq Afandi) manuscript number 2234.

159 leaves; outside 20 x 28 cm., text 11 x 19 cm.; 18 lines per page; hand is a fine *naskh*, guidewords, headings in red, many games in red and black; paper is brittle; bound by White in imitation leather, one leaf of notes by White bound at the end of the volume; a note by Murray is pasted on the endpaper: "Ms. Vefā ('Atik Efendi) Eyyub No. 2234. Constantinople; attributed ... to Abū Zakariyā Yaḡyā ibn Ibrāḡim al-Ḥakīm transcribed by Muḡammad Rahwār 'Uṡmān the Mu'eddib AH618 = AD1221".

(Wq 789.095M K646)

9. *Qur'ān*. This striking copy from the Maghrib has been carefully described by Nabia Abbott in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 55 (Jan.-Oct., 1938), pp. 61-65. An outstanding feature of this *Qur'ān* is its paper. Professor Abbott says, "The paper is of a fine quality, thin, rag paper, cream colored, with practically every folio bearing parts of the watermark. The watermark is of special interest, as it is the only one we know of that has Arabic writing ...".

398 leaves; outside 18 x 24 cm., text 11 x 16 cm.; 14-16 lines per page; bold *maghribi* script; unbound; preserved in the same leather case described by Abbott. The scribe is Muḡammad ibn Muḡammad ibn Mikā'il ibn Faṡimah.

(Wq 091.9927 K84c)

10. (Prayer book with sections from the *Qur'ān*). The text is primarily comprised of passages from surahs 1, 44, 45, 56, 78, 97, and 113. There are a few prayers and pious stories in Arabic and Turkish.

101 leaves; outside 11 x 18 cm., text 7 x 12 cm. (including borders); decorated 'unwāns at 2A and 3B; 9 lines per page; bold *naskh* hand, gilt decorations; glossy oriental paper; there are decorative motifs displaying the names and descriptions of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs, these are painted in various colors; binding is oriental with flap, red and gilt medallions and corner pieces; at the end 6 leaves were prepared for writing but left unused.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... Surah 2: 2-3.

Ms. ends: Basmala and doxology: subḡān Allāh wa al-ḡamd Allāh wa lā ilāḡ illā Allāh wa Allāhu akbār wa lā ḡawl wa lā qūwah etc.

(W 091.9927 P898)

11. *Tarḡumah-'i munājāt-i Qur'ān*. The verses which comprise most of the work are from the *Qur'ān*. These are followed by commentary in Turkish entitled "Sharḡ-i munājāt-i Qur'ān".

88 numbered pages; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 6 x 11 cm. (includes gilt borders); 14 pages of Turkish text; 11 lines per page; clear *naskh* script with headings in red, gilt ornaments and borders, Turkish commentary also in *naskh*; paper is a dark European stock; oriental binding with gilt medallion; binding is damaged; this work is bound with *al-Ḥirz al-ḡaṣīn al-mubārak*. Copied by Bahjatzādah.

Ms. begins: Hadhā tarḡuman-'i munājāt-i Qur'ān. Basmala ... mālik yawm al-dīn yā man ja'ala (what follows is Surah 2: 22).

Ms. ends: Katabahu al-faḡir al-'abd al-ma'rūf al-mad'ūw Bahjatzādah ḡamīdan 'alā Allāh wa muṡallīan ilā nabihi alladhī arsalahu Allāh mubashshir ... sanat (erased).

(W 091.9927 K84m)

12. *al-Ḥirz al-ḡaṣīn al-mubārak* by an unknown compiler. The text is in Arabic with marginal notes in Turkish. Contents include religious poetry, lists of prophets, theologians and various edifying matters. Poetry is by, *inter alios*, Zayn al-'Abidīn Muḡammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. At the end of the manuscript are five leaves of prayers in Turkish and Arabic.

75 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 6 x 12 cm.; clear *naskh*, complete vowelizing, guidewords; headings are in red; glossy oriental paper; binding is as for number 11.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... al-ḡamd Allāh alladhī dallat samā'uhu al-ḡusnā 'alā tanazzuḡihi ... wa-al-zawāl wa 'alā kamāl 'alayhi wa qudratihi

Ms. ends: wa ṡall 'alā Muḡammad fī akhir kalāminā wa fī awwal kalāminā wa ṡall 'alā Muḡammad kamā muḡibb wa ... wa ṡall 'alā Muḡammad kamā ṡallayta wa bārakta wa raḡimta 'alā Ibrāḡim innak ḡamīdun majīdun wa 'alā ālihi ajma'in.

(W 091.9927 K84m)

13. *Tajwīd al-Qur'ān* by Muḡammad ibn al-Jazirī who is probably Brockelmann's Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Muḡammad ibn Muḡammad ibn al-Jazārī (GAL, II, p. 201). This work on *Qur'ān* recitation contains short pieces in Turkish at the end covering the hunt, the ḡajj, horticulture and some prayers. *Tajwīd* contains a running commentary which is described below (number 14).

49 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 8 x 13 cm.; 17 lines per page; *naskh*, red letters at intervals, guidewords; the paper is a thin oriental, some foxing; binding is a strong suede, *Tajwīd* is bound with several Turkish treatises and with the Arabic work on writing described below; the work was copied by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Salām in 1141/1728.

Ms. begins: hadhā kitāb tajwīd al-Qur'ān. Basmala, etc. ... amma ba'd a'lam anna qirāt al-Qur'ān bi-al-tajwīd

Ms. ends: katabahu al-ḡaḡir al-faḡir 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Salām bi-'awn Allāh wa qad atammtu hadhihi

al-risālah fi haqq al-tijwid fi laylat al-Jum'ah fi laylat 19 min shahr Jumādā I sanat 1141

(W 091.9946 M892t)

14. (Introduction to *Tajwid al-Qur'an*) ascribed to Muḥammad al-Jazirī. This work with its Turkish commentary deals with the elementary rules for *Qur'an* reading; it serves as *muqaddamah* to *Tajwid al-Qur'an* (no. 13).

46 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 10 x 14 cm. (but varies with commentary); 2-4 lines per page; a *naskh* script; text is in red, commentary is in black; vowelized; at folio 33 writing becomes smaller (15 lines per page) with no vowels; scribe is probably the same as for 13.

Ms. begins: yaqūl rāji 'afw rabb sāmi'i Muḥammad ibn al-Jazirī al-Shāfi'i al-ḥamd Allāh ... wa ba'd fa-an hadhihi muqaddamah fimā 'alā qār'ihi (sic) an ya'lamahū idh wājib 'alayhum

Ms. ends: wa faraghtu min ta'lif hadhihi al-risālah al-mu'azzamah yawm al-khamīs min Ramaḍān al-mu'azzam sanat 806 bi-madīnat Lādandah min ... bilād al-Rūmīyah.

(W 091.9946 M892t)

15. *al-Durar al-ḥisān fī naẓm suwar al-Qur'an*, compiled by 'Abd al-Fattāh ibn al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā. As identified by Sarkis (*Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīyah wa-al-mu'arrabah*, col. 1715) the author is Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāh ibn al-Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Mahmūdī al-Lādhīqī who was born in A.H. 1258. The work is copied by Hilmī, probably Yahyā Hilmī (d. 1325 A.H., see Najī Zayn al-Dīn, *Atlas of Arabic Calligraphy*, Baghdad, 1968). The text consists of religious poems incorporating phrases from the *Qur'an* and the names of the surahs.

12 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 7 x 12 cm. (including gilt borders); 12 lines per page; artistic *naskh*; fully vowelized; guidewords; frequent red letters; gilt and floral 'unwān at 2B; glossy oriental paper; oriental leather binding with tooling, gilt floral center and gilt geometric borders, binding is not strong.

Ms. begins: Hadhihi al-manẓūmah al-musammāh bi-al-durar al-ḥisān fī naẓm suwar al-Qur'an naẓimuhā Abī al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Fattāh ibn al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Adīb al-Mahmūdī al-Lādhīqī al-Ash'arī

Ms. ends: wa lil-muwālā ta'ālā jall ḥamdī wa shukrī fi ibtidā'in wa intihā'i.

(W 091.9927 Ab912d)

16. *Qur'an*. A very handsome copy of the complete *Qur'an*.

358 leaves; outside 10 x 16 cm., text 6 x 12 cm.; 16 lines per page; written in a beautiful *naskh* hand with brilliant 'unwāns at 3B, 4A, 164B, 165A; thin oriental paper; the book is covered by lacquered boards which unfortunately have separated from the spine; the end fly leaves contain a pious rhyme in Persian; the work is most probably Persian.

(W 091.9927 K84b)

17. *Qur'an*; a fine copy of the complete work copied by Yāghjizādah in 1047/1637-38.

313 leaves; outside 13 x 20 cm., text 8 x 15 cm. (including gilt borders); 15 lines per page; written in a delicate *naskh* with 'unwāns at 1B and 2A and decorations in gold and many colors throughout; the last 3 leaves contain Du'ā' Khatim al-Qur'an; paper is oriental; binding is oriental with flap, gold and orange medallions and corners, well preserved.

Ms. ends: Katabahu ad'af al-ḍu'afā' min al-naml darwish 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-ma'rūf bi-Yāghjizādah min talāmīdh al-Sayyid al-Ḥajj Musā Afandī ḥamīdan wa shākiran Allāh ... fi sanat 1047.

(W 091.9927 K84a)

18. (*Qur'an* selections) attributed to a scribe in Chinese Turkestan.

51 leaves; outside 15 x 21 cm., text 8 x 13 cm. (includes ruled borders); 5 lines per page; the hand is a variant of *thuluth*, vowelized; soft rag paper; the book is contained in a primitive case covered with blue-green cloth.

(W 091.9927 K84)

19. (*Munyat al-muṣallī*), however there is nothing in the text to verify this ascription. The author is Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī. The work is accompanied by al-Ḥalabī's commentary (vide *BM Cat. of Arabic Books*, 1967, 1: 555f). The manuscript is lacking leaves at the beginning and end.

228 leaves; outside 10 x 16 cm., text 8 x 12 cm. (including ruled border); 19 lines per page; text is in black *naskh*, commentary in red; medium weight oriental paper; bound in oriental tooled leather with spine repaired.

Ms. begins: (where more or less legible) ... wa qala al-Zamakhsharī ... Labid al-madhkur wa min sharr ḥasid

Ms. ends: wa kānau lanā khashī'ayn mutawādi'ayn fi 'ibādatihim ... aḥṣanat farajahā ḥafāzathu min an yanāl

(W 091.9927 Sa15m)

20. *Ghunyat al-mubtadī* by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī. A guide for rituals and prayer based on the author's *Ghunyat al-mutamallī*, which is a commentary on al-Kashgharī's *Munyat al-muṣallī*. Much of the text appears to correspond to the *Ghunyat al-mutamallī*.

219 leaves; outside 14 x 20 cm., text 8 x 15 cm.; 21 lines per page; clear *naskh*; marginal notes are in Turkish and Arabic; underscorings in red; oriental paper, some foxing; rebound in buckram; 6 pages of prayers in Arabic and Turkish are bound at the end; the manuscript was copied by Ḥusayn al-Jundī in 1070/1660.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī ja'ala al-'ibādah muftah al-sa'adah ... wa ba'd fa-yaqūl al-muftaqir ... Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī qad kuntu sharḥtu kitāb *Munyat al-muṣallī* sharḥan wa sammaytuhu bi-*Ghunyat al-mutamallī*

Ms. ends: wa waqa'a al-farāgh min sharḥ *Munyat al-muṣallī* al-musammā bi-*Ghunyat al-mubtadī* min al-hijrah al-nabawīyah ... min 29 min Shawwāl al-mukar-

ram fi sanat 1070 fi al-yawm al-khamīs ... min yad 'abd al-mudhannib Ḥusayn al-Jundī

(W 091.9927 Ib7s)

21. *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī. Identification is made on the basis of the Berlin catalog of Arabic manuscripts, volume 3. For a discussion of the textual problems of this popular work, see Mingana, *Cat. of the Arabic Mss. in the John Rylands Library*, Col. 334ff. The manuscript lacks the first pages, making identification difficult.

171 leaves; outside 11 x 16 cm., text 7 x 11 cm.; 6-8 lines per page; bold *maghribi*, complete vocalization; text in red and black ink; many letters are daubed with gold paint; heavy oriental paper; rebound in supple red buckram.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... asmā' Sayyidnā Mawlānā Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam

Ms. ends: wa tafaddal (tafaddul?) ṣalāt al-muṣalliyīn 'alayim min ... ajma'in ka-faḍlihi 'alā jamī' khalqihī amīn.

(W 091.9927 J339d2)

22. *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa shuwāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabī al-mukhtār* by al-Jazūlī. (See above number 21.) Manuscript is beautifully decorated.

135 leaves; outside 10 x 16 cm., text 6 x 10 cm.; 11 lines per page; written in a beautiful, clear *naskh*; complete vocalization, guidewords, illuminations, gilt borders and ornaments; headings in red; the paper is a fine, thin oriental stock in excellent condition; the work is bound in oriental leather with gilt medallions, corners and borders; copied by 'Abd Allāh al-'Afwī.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... wa ba'd hadhā fa-al-gharaḍ fi hadhā al-kitāb dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabī ... wa faḍ'ilihā.

Ms. ends: balagha ruḥ Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam minnā al-taḥīyah wa-al-salām katabahu al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh al-'Afwī min talāmīdh Ḥāfiẓ Muṣṭafā al-Ta'imī

(W 091.9927 J339d3)

23. *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* by al-Jazūlī. (See above numbers 21 and 22.)

160 leaves; outside 9 x 10 cm., text 7 x 8 cm. (including borders); 9 lines per page; a careful *maghribi* script; frequent vocalization in red; headings in red and yellow; decorations and crude arabesques; oriental paper; brown leather oriental binding with flap, poor condition; bookplate reading "plus penser que dire"; pages missing at beginning and end; said to have been copied in Algeria.

Ms. begins: Qala al-Shaykh al-Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī raḥamahu Allāh ta'alā

Ms. ends: abruptly: wa ṣall 'alā Muḥammad 'adad afwāj bi-hārika (sic) min

(W 091.9927 J339d)

24. *Qiṣṣat Yūsuf* by an unidentified author. Recounts traditions concerning the life of this prophet.

54 leaves; outside 14 x 21 cm., text 11 x 17 cm.; 15 lines per page; clear, firm *naskh*; guidewords; glossy European paper; bound in flexible boards with marbled endpapers; the manuscript was copied in 1227/1812.

Ms. begins: Basmala wa bihi nasta'in wa-al-ṣalāt wa-al-salām 'alā Sayyidnā Muḥammad wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣahbihi ajma'in wa ba'dahu fa-hadhihi Qiṣṣat Yūsuf al-Siddiq

Ms. ends: wa dafanahu bayn qubūr abā'ihi fi Bayt al-Maqdis wa Allāh a'lam fa-tammat hadhihi al-nuskah ... fi sanat 1227.

(W 091.9927 K6439)

25. *Qiṣṣat Sayyidnā Ibrāhīm ... ma' al-Nimrūd*. Collected traditions about the Prophet Abraham and King Nimrūd. Attributed to Wahb ibn Munabbih (GAL, SI, p. 101).

44 leaves; outside 13 x 20 cm., text 10 x 16 cm.; 17 lines per page; *naskh*; European paper now brittle; rebound in buckram; the last 6 leaves are bound upside down and backwards; copied in 1279/1862-63; at 1B is an ownership statement: "Hadhā al-kitāb milk al-faqīr Ḥasan al-Shihābī al-Maqdisī ibn Fayḍi Allāh al-Shihābī al-Maqdisī". The manuscript is probably the first part of a longer work.

Title at 1B: Hadhihi qiṣṣat Sayyidnā Ibrāhīm 'alayhi al-salām ma' al-Nimrūd la'anahu al-malik al-mannān

Ms. begins: Basmala. Qala Wahb ibn Munabbih ... aḥādīth awlād Kūsh wa milād al-Nimrūd ibn Kan'an la'anahu Allāh

Ms. ends: ... fi al-kitāb al-thānī ablagh ... tamm hadhā al-kitāb al-awwal fi ... Sha'bān 1279.

(W 091.9927 K643)

26. *al-Ḥizb al-kabīr* by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Shādhilī, cataloged in the J. G. White Department as: "Prayers for certain hours, days and months, preceded by the 99 names of God, 200 names of pilgrims and other religious matters". This is a nice example of North African bookmaking.

191 leaves; outside 10 x 13 cm., text 7 x 10 cm. (including gilt borders); 17 lines per page; the book is written in a delicate *maghribi* hand; ornamentation is in many colors; marginal notes by the book's copyist are in red ink; work includes color representations of Mecca and Medina; thin paper, badly cut by stylus during illustration of the text; red leather binding with flap; gold floral medallions on front and back covers with gold geometric borders; 18th century?; contains library stamp bearing a crown and the word "bath".

Ms. begins: Basmala. Qala Allāh ta'ala wa lillāh al-asmā' al-ḥusnā fa-ud'ūhu bihā akhrajā al-Tirmidhī

Ms. ends: wa salām 'alā al-murasalīn wa-al-ḥamd Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn intahā al-ḥizb al-kabīr lil-Imām al-Shadhilī raḍī Allāh 'anhu

(W 091.9927 P8982)

27. *Tārīkh al-khamīs fī aḥwāl anfas al-naḥīs* by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥsin al-Diyārbakrī. See GAL, II, p. 381; SII, p. 514. The work has been published, notably in Cairo in A.H. 1283 and A.H. 1302.

There is an early German translation of part of the work: *Geschichte der Tödtung des Chalifen Omar* by O. von Platen, Berlin, 1837.

374 numbered leaves; outside 17 x 25 cm., text 11 x 17 cm.; 26 lines per page; a fairly clear *naskh*, red under-scoring; some poetry; heavy European paper bearing an indistinct watermark, some worm damage; oriental red leather binding with flap, in very poor condition, tooled medallion and geometric borders; a *fihrst* of 5 leaves is bound in front, 2 leaves of poetry are bound at the end of the volume (*fihrst* and poetry are in a different hand); ownership statement and stamp of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad Ṣādiq al-Bakrī al-Ḥafīzī.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī khalāq nūr nabīhi ṣallā ... qabl kul'awā'il thumma khalaqa minhu kul shay' min al-a'ālī wa-al-asāfil ...

Ms. ends: ... thumma ... wālidunā al-Imām ... ibn al-Imām Yūsuf al-Dā'i ... ilā al-ḥaqq du'ān (?) fi thalāthah 41 (?) tuwuffiya fi damār sanat 132 (?) wa nuqila minhā ilā sa'dah (?) wa mashhaduhu fihā mashhūr tammat al-kitāb.

(W 091.9927 H95t)

28. *Uyūn al-athar fi al-maghāzī wa-al-shamāyil wa-al-siyar* by Fath al-Dīn Abī al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Sayyid al-Nās al-Ya'murī. This is a biography of the Prophet.

189 leaves; outside 17 x 26 cm., text 13 x 20 cm.; 23 lines per page; last pages of text wanting; *naskh*, vocalized, marginalia, guidewords, chapter headings written boldly at top corners of pages; heavy oriental paper, edges badly damaged by worms, but text generally unaffected; scribe and date of copying wanting; ownership statement in *maghribi* script dated 1239/1823-24.

Ms. begins: Basmala qāla al-Shaykh al-Imām al-Ālim al-'Allāmah al-nassābah Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayyid al-Nās al-Ya'murī al-ḥamd Allāh ...

Ms. ends: ... anta taḍribu qāla awāqad rā'ayta dhalik yā Salmān qāla qultu na'am ... (colophon).

(Wq 091.9927 Ib5u)

29. *Kanz al-daqa'iq* by Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Nasafī. This is an abridgement of his *al-Wāfi fi Furū'*. The work has copious glosses attributed to Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Yūsuf Badr al-Dīn al-'Ainī (d. 1451).

189 leaves; outside 11 x 17 cm., text 6 x 11 cm.; 13 lines per page; careful *naskh* for text and marginal commentary, guidewords, headings in red; paper is of a medium weight oriental stock in good condition except for the end; some marginalia has been trimmed off in binding, some water stains; rebound in buckram; some pages missing at end; a 7-page table of contents in a different hand is bound at the front, it reads:

bāb rakwat al-māl, bāb al-'ashir, bāb al-rikāz bāb al-'ishr, bāb al-maṣraf, bāb al-ṣadaqat al-fiṭr, kitāb al-sawm, bāb mā yufsid al-sawm wa-mā lā yufsiduhu, faṣl fi al-'awāriḍ, faṣl man nadhra sawm, bāb al-'itakāf, kitāb al-ḥajj, bāb al-'ihrām, faṣl man lam yadkhul Makkah, bāb al-qirān, bāb

al-tamatu', bāb al-jināyāt, faṣl 'idh qatala ('idh qutila), bāb mujawazāt al-waqt bi-ghayrī ihrām, bāb al-tadbīr, bāb al-'istilād, kitāb al-'imān, bāb al-yamīn fi al-dukhūl, bāb al-yamīn fi al-'akīl wa-al-shurub, bāb al-yamīn fi al-talāq wa-al-'itāq, bāb al-yamīn fi al-bay' wa-al-shirā', bāb al-yamīn fi al-ḍarb wa-al-qatl, kitāb al-ḥudūd, bāb al-wata' alladhī yujib al-ḥad wa-alladhī lā yujibuhu, bāb al-shahādah 'alā al-zinā wa-al-ruju' 'anhā, bāb ḥadd al-shurb, bāb ḥadd al-qadhif, (faṣl fi al-ta'ziz?), kitāb al-sariqah, faṣl fi al-ḥirz, faṣl fi kayfiyat al-qat', bāb qat' al-ṭariq, kitāb al-siyar, bāb al-ghanā'im, bāb 'istilā' al-kuffār, bāb al-musta'min, bāb al-'ishr wa-al-khiraj, faṣl al-jizyah, bāb al-murtadīn, bāb al-bughāt, kitāb al-laḥiq, kitāb al-luṭṭah, kitāb al-'ābiq, kitāb al-mafqūd, kitāb al-shirkah, kitāb al-waqt, bāb idāfat al-ihrām ilā al-aḥrām, bāb al-iḥṣār, bāb al-fawāt, bāb al-ḥajj 'an al-ghayr, bāb al-hudā, kitāb al-nukāḥ, faṣl fi al-muḥramāt, bāb al-'Awliyā', faṣl man nukāḥ al-raḥiq, bāb nukāḥ al-kāfir, bāb al-qasam, kitāb ridā', kitāb al-talāq, bāb talāq al-qarīḥ, faṣl antī ṭaliquḥ ghadan, faṣl fi al-ṭalāq, bāb kināyāt bāb tafwīḍ al-ṭatāq, faṣl al-amr bi al-yad, bāb al-ta'liq, bāb al-marīḍ, bāb al-raj'ah, bāb al-ilā', bāb al-khal', bāb al-ḥijāb, bāb al-li'ān, bāb al-'annīn, bāb al-'uddah, bāb thubūt al-nasab, bāb al-nafaqah, bāb al-ḥadānah, bāb al-'itāq, bāb al-'abd yu'taq, bāb al-ḥilf bi-al-'itq, bāb al-'itq.

Ms. begins: Basmala al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī a'azza al-'ilm fi al-a'sār wa ā'lā hizbahu fi al-amṣār

(W 091.9927 Ab3123k)

30. *Aḥkām al-shar'iyah* by an unidentified compiler. The work, identified as an abridgement of a larger work or works, concerns Maliki jurisprudence. Copious marginalia.

205 leaves; outside 20 x 30 cm., text 14 x 23 cm.; 29 lines per page; an extremely careless *maghribi* script; headings in red, guidewords; heavy European paper with watermark; oriental leather binding with flap, tooled medallion of red leather in center, tooled borders, worm damage, fragile condition; slips supplying extra comment written in the same hand are tipped into the text at intervals; the copyist has supplied variant readings in the margins, these are preceded by the sign *Khaf* (خ); copied in 1194/1780 by 'Abd al-Faḍl bin Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... wa ba'd fa-inna lammā (sic) kānat al-aḥkām al-shar'iyah lahā maḥallum kabīrum min al-dīn ...

Ms. ends: Kamala wa al-ḥamd Allāh 'alā dhalik ... 'alā yad al-'abd al-da'if (etc.) 'Abd al-Faḍl bin Muḥammad al-Mahdī ... 29 min Sha'bān 'ām 1194

(Wq 091.9927 Ah46)

31. *Jāmi' al-rumūz* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kūhīstānī. See GAL, SI, p. 648. This compendious introduction to Hanifite law is a commentary on 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Marghīnānī's *Bidāyat al-mubtadī' Jāmi'*

al-rumūz has been printed in Istanbul, Calcutta, and Lucknow.

486 leaves; outside 20 x 30 cm., text 12 x 22 cm.; 23 lines per page; clear *naskh* hand, guidewords; thin oriental paper, worm holes, brittle; rebound in buckram, in poor condition; ownership stamp "J. O'Kinealy"; copied in 1108/1696-97 by 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Arif.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... amma ba'd fa-lammā kān naẓm manshūr al-fatāwā min anfa' al-muhimmāt ...

Ms. ends: Hadhihi kitāb (sic) al-musammā Jāmi' al-rumūz ... yawm al-ithnayn 4 min shahr ... 1108 min hijrat Sayyidnā ... sanat 1108.

(Wq 091.9927 Sh17j)

32. *al-Qawānīn al-muḥkamah* attributed to Abū al-Qāsim ibn Ḥasan al-Qummī. His full name according to Brockelmann is Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shifī al-Jilānī al-Qummī, known as Ṣāhib al-Qawānīn (GAL, SII, p. 825). *Qawānīn al-muḥkamah* is an abridgement with commentary of a longer work on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by Ḥasan ibn Zayn al-Dīn. The work is composed of text and exhaustive marginalia. There are 12 miniatures in the Persian style.

181 leaves; outside 15 x 21 cm., text 9 x 15 cm.; 22 lines per page; a *ta'liq* script; marginalia by copyist, guidewords; glossy European paper with watermark; oriental binding in red leather with gold medallions, in good condition; the manuscript was copied in Najaf by one Aḥmad Nasārī (sic) in 1242/1826.

Ms. begins: Basmala al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī hadānā ilā 'uṣūl al-furū' wa furū' al-'uṣūl wa arshadnā ilā sharā'i' al-aḥkām

Ms. ends: dhalika al-jild al-awwal min al-qawānīn 'alā yaḍ aqal al-ṭullāb rutbah wa 'amal ... Aḥmad ... Nasārī fi al-ard al-aqdas al-musamman bi-al-Najaf ... fi yawm al-thālith fi shahr al-Muḥarram al-ḥarām sanat 1242

(W 091.9927 K961k)

33. (Gloss on Mīr Ḥusayn ibn Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Maybudī's commentary on al-Abḥarī's *Hidāyah*) by Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī. See GAL, I, p. 464.

142 leaves; outside 10 x 17 cm., text 5 x 11 cm.; 19 lines per page; copied in a fine, small *naskh*; oriental paper; manuscript has been rebound in leather; copied by Mīrzā ibn Maḥmūd al-Kāshānī in the year 988/1580; the book bears several ownership seals.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... wa ba'd fa-yaqūl ... Muḥammad ibn Ḥasayn al-mad'uww bi-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī an sharaḥa al-Hidāyah al-Athiriyah ...

Ms. ends: qad faragha li-itmām al-kitāb fi ... Ramadān ... sanat 988.

(W 091.9927 F179h)

34. *Tahrīr qawā'id al-mantaqiyah* by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī. See GAL, SII, p. 293. This often published work is a commentary on Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī's *Shamsiyah fi al-qawā'id al-mantiqiyah*.

151 leaves; outside 11 x 18 cm., text 7 x 12 cm. (in-

cluding gilt borders); 15 lines per page; written in a fine *naskh*; tables are in red and blue ink; oriental paper, in good condition; oriental binding with traces of gilding, strong; the manuscript was copied in 971/1564.

Ms. begins: Anna abhā durar tanazzama (tanza-ma?) bi-banān al-bayān

Ms. ends: tammāt hadhihi al-risālah al-sharīfah bi-'awn ... fi yawm al-aḥad 7 shahr Rajab ... sanat 971 min al-hijrah al-nabawiyah al-muṣṭafawiyah.

(W 091.9927 K969t)

35. A collection of proverbs cataloged as "Proverbiorum arabicorum centuriae duae ab anonymo quodam arabe collectae et explicatae, praesertim celebris Abū Meidi aliorumque complurium sententias quasdam complexae ex editione secunda Th. Erpenii (Lgd. Bat. 1623 ...) cum ejusdem et Iosephi Scaligeri ... versione latina et scholiis electis".

Outside 21 x 35 cm., text 17 x 33 cm.; the number of lines per page varies; caption title reads: "Aus dem Nachlass meines lieben Freundes ... Caspar Kuschel 25 April 1945 (signed) Ludwig Spieth stud. Ling. orient Halle 1845 5 Mai"; the text is arranged in 3 columns: the Arabic proverb, the translation into Latin, and an explanation in Latin; the manuscript is written so that the columns should be read from left to right; script is a European *naskh*, fully vocalized; heavy European lined paper; the work is bound in cardboard with no. 47 (see below); written on cover is "Caspar Kuschel 103 Analecta et Apographa Arabica".

(Wq 091.9927 K968p)

36. Cataloged in J. G. White Collection as "Alī ibn Abī Tālib, Caliph. *Sententiae*". The text of *Nahj al-balāghah* copied by Cornelius van Waenen. This manuscript is said to be the original from which was published van Waenen's edition (Oxford 1906). Some correspondence relating to this edition is bound at the beginning of the first volume. The text is in 3 volumes: 1) text, 2) annotations, and 3) observations.

Outside 16 x 21 cm., text 12 x 19 cm.; the number of lines per page varies; manuscript is written in a clear European hand; paper is heavy European stock; bound in red morocco, gilt borders, marbled endpapers.

(W 091.9927 A141)

37. (*Sirat al-Tubba' Ḥassān al-Yamānī*) by Yazīd ibn Ziyād ibn Mufarrij al-Ḥimyari. See GAL, SI, p. 92 and Amin Fu'ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman*, p. 55. This work is based on various accounts of the pre-Islamic period. It is doubtful whether this is the complete work. The manuscript contains numerous poetic passages.

4 parts bound together; outside 16 x 22 cm., text 12 x 18 cm.; 23-25 lines per page; written in a careless *naskh*, guidewords; paper is a semi-glossy European stock with watermark, in good condition; oriental binding with flap, brittle; the manuscript bears ownership stamp of B. C. Reichardt.

Ms. begins: Basmala wa bihi nasta'in wa ṣallī Allāh 'alā Sayyidnā Muḥammad ... qāla al-Asma'i wa Abū 'Ubaydah (Ma'mar ibn Muthannā?) ...

Ms. ends: fa-'āda kullun man nazarahā yandahashā minhā wa rataba lahu fihā jamī' mā yakfihi huwa wa aṣḥābuhu ... alladhī(?) ya'kulu wa yashrabu wa yalidu yaṭratu(?) ilā qaḍā nahbahu wa laḥīqa (sic) bi rabbihi

(W 091.9927 Si76)

38. *Ḥalbat al-kumayt* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Nawājī. See GAL, II, p. 56f and SII, p. 56. See also the Bulāq edition of 1276. The work is an anthology of poetry on wine, accompanied by commentary.

312 numbered pages; outside 21 x 34 cm., text 13 x 25 cm.; 23 lines per page; written in a good, clear *naskh*, underscoring in red, guidewords, some marginal notes in a different hand; semi-glossy oriental paper; binding is a dark brown oriental leather, fine stamps and tooling at the medallion and at the edges; in poor condition at the spine.

Ms. begins: Kitāb ḥalbat al-kumayt jama'ahu al-'al-lāmah Shams al-Dīn ... Basmala ... al-ḥamd Allāh al-ladhī adāra ku'ūs al-adab 'alā ahl al-dawq

Ms. ends: (with the couplet of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mawṣilī as ends the text of the Bulāq edition). Some of the couplets at the end of Bulāq are missing from the manuscript under discussion.

(Wq 091.9927 Sh171h)

39. *Histoire Arabe de Sindabad le Marin*. Mise en Française par ... François Petis Sieur de la Croix. This manuscript was purchased from Ad Orientem, Ltd., Sussex and was described in its catalogue 33 as follows: "... manuscript on paper, Arabic text with interlinear translation into Latin on rectos and French translation on facing pages, 112 ll., followed by Dictionarium verborum omnium quae inveniuntur in Historia Sindabadis Nautis Arabico Latino, an Arabic-Latin word-list, 38 ll., in all 150 ll., contemporary French light brown calf, gilt border and spine, the foot of the spine lettered 'B', morocco labels, from the collection of Auguste Chardin (Sale, Paris, 9 February 1824, lot 1837), MS. 846, Philipps' Collection. Sm. narrow folio. Paris, 1701(-1713)".

(W 385.3A P445h)

40. (A collection of Arabic grammar lessons) by Alexander Kāzim Bay for G. Blyth. The lessons in Arabic are divided into five parts; there is also one essay in Persian. This statement occurs on 1B in English: "George Blyth. Written by Mahomed Ali (for Alexander Kazim Bey) at Astrachan 1822".

71 leaves; outside 15 x 21 cm., text 9 x 16 cm.; 11 lines per page; written in a clear *naskh*, guidewords, frequent vocalization; brief interlinear explanations in Persian; European paper in good condition; binding is probably European, firm.

Ms. begins: Basmala. naṣara (interlinear: fi 'l-i māḍī) yaṣṣuru (interlinear: fi 'l-i muḍārī)

Ms. ends: tammat al-kitāb bi-'awn Allāh al-Malik al-Wahhāb fi al-laylah 19 min Jumādā I fi sanat 1238 wa kutiba li-Janāb Aqā Blyth 'ālim al-Inklisī al-sākin fi Hajjī Turkhān.

(W 091.9927 M377)

41. *Mukkhkh al-ba'ūd fi 'ilm al-'arūd* by Mīr Aḥmad Shāh al-Riḍwānī. This book summarizes briefly works on prosody by al-Sakkākī, al-Zamaksharī, al-Asnawī (al-Isnawī) and others. At colophon is the seal of the author.

21 leaves; outside 14 x 22 cm., text 10 x 19 cm.; 17 lines per page; *naskh*, partially vocalized; rough oriental paper; bound with *Thalāth rasā'il* printed at Constantinople in A.H. 1298/A.D. 1880-81.

Ms. begins: Qāla al-'abd al-muftaqir ilā rabbihi al-bārī Abū al-Ṣafā Mīr Aḥmad Shāh al-Raḍwānī al-Fashāwarī (al-Fishāwarī, i.e., Pishawari?) hadhihi qaṣīrah min ṭawīlah wa khāniyah jamīlah nādirah fi fann al-'arūd.

Ms. ends: tamma al-kitāb li- 30 min shahr Ramaḍān sanat 1305 fi Indūr kātibuhu mu'alifuhu al-Raḍwānī.

(W 892.7 Sa31)

42. *Tārīkh thaghr 'Adan* by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Bā Makramah. See GAL, SII, p. 239f. Contains geographical and biographical information pertaining to Aden. This manuscript is not mentioned by Löfgren in his edition of Abū Makhramah, *Aden in Mittelalter* (Uppsala, 1950). The book bears ownership statements of A. G. Ellis and William Moore.

124 leaves; outside 14 x 19 cm., text 9 x 15 cm.; 15 lines per page; *naskh* hand, some rubrication; guidewords; heavy European rag paper bearing watermark; European binding in delapidated boards; manuscript was copied by 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī in A.H. 1261/A.D. 1845.

Ms. begins: Basmala al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī khalāqa al-samawāt al-arḍ (sic) wa ḍabara al-ashyā' bi-al-ibrām

Ms. ends: wa kān al-farāgh min al-nasākḥah (sic) hadhā al-kitāb al-musammān bi-kitāb al-thaghr yawm al-hadd 23 fi shahr al-Qa'dah al-maḥram sanat 1261 bi-qalam al-'abd al-faqīr

(W 091.9927 T139t)

43. (*Futūḥ al-Ifriqiyyah*) ascribed to Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī. See van Koningsveld, "The Arabic Manuscripts Collection of René Basset", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 30: 5-6 (Sept.-Nov. 1973), p. 370f. The manuscript being described here, like Basset Or. 14.001, is attributed to Ibn Qiligh al-Ifriqī.

244 leaves; outside 17 x 22 cm., text 11 x 15 cm.; the manuscript is written in a not very clear *maghribī* script; chapter headings are in blue, first words of chapters in red, guidewords; strong oriental paper, some damage from water and worms at beginning and end; oriental red leather binding with flap, in poor condition.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... qāla al-shaykh al-Imām al-'Alim al-'Allāmah al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mihjat ... ibn Faligh (Qiligh) al-Ifriqī raḥimahu Allāh ta'ālā wa raḍī 'anhu

Ms. ends: wa ba'd ammā balaghna min al-akhbār min Qayrawān ilā ... al-Maghrib wa sallā Allāh 'alā

Sayyidnā Muḥammad 'ammā mā fi 'ilm Allāh(?) ... wa kān al-farāgh minhu fi sabīhah yawm al-anīs ... aḥmadi (sic) fi 'ām 1182.

Regarding the fall of Qusantīna, the text states: Dhikr futūḥ Qustantīniyah. Qāla ṣāhib Muḥammad ... thumma an al-Muslimīn attafaqa ra'ihim 'alā al-raḥīl ilā Qusantīnah (sic) fa-amara 'Uqbah raḍī Allāh 'anhu bi-al-raḥīl nahwahā 'inda ṣalāt al-ḥuḥr fa-lam yazālū sāyir ... ilā ṣalāt al-'aṣr wa nazālū bi-arḍ Maskīyānah wa bātū tilka al-laylah ilā an aṣbaḥa Allāh bi-khayr al-ṣabāḥ wa ṣallū ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ wa raḥālū wa taqaddumat fursān al-Muslimīn wa graḥddū al-sayr ilā an gharubat al-shams fa-nazālū 'alā mawḍī' hunālīka

(W 091.9927 W139f)

44. *al-Ifādah wa-al-i'tibār fi al-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-al-hawādith al-mu'āyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr* by Muaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī. This manuscript does not contain the author's preface translated by de Sacy (Paris, 1810). The title page and front end paper were probably supplied at a later date. The manuscript is incomplete; pages are missing after leaf 11. In addition to de Sacy, see also GAL, SI, p. 880f, and S. M. Stern, "A Collection of Treatises by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March 1962), pp. 53-70. The book was accessioned into the J. G. White Department in March 1924.

89 leaves; outside 10 x 28 cm., text 10 x 18 cm.; 17 lines per page; written in a bold *naskh* hand, writing is gritty to the touch; strong oriental paper with a few holes but otherwise in good condition; the manuscript has been rebound and repaired several times, it is in extremely poor condition; the book was copied by the author in Cairo in A.H. 600/A.D. 1204.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... al-muqaddamah al-ūlā wa hiya 6 fuṣūl al-faṣl al-awwal fi khawass Miṣr (al-'ām-mah bimā anna?) arḍ Miṣr min al-bilād al-'ajībat al-athār al-gharibat al-akhbār

Ms. ends: katabahu mu'alifuhu al-faqīr ilā Allāh ta'ālā 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī fi Ramaḍān sanat

(Wq 091.9927 Ab312a)

45. *Akhbār mulūk al-'aṣr wa rū'asā' al-dahr* by an unidentified author. The work deals with the history of the Ayyūbids and contains extensive biographical material beginning with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb ibn Shādī ibn Marwān (Saladin). There is a statement (1A): Khāṣṣah al-faqīr Iskandar Abkārīyūs sanat 52. Loose pages inserted in the book contain some passages in French and some notes in Arabic.

286 leaves; outside 15 x 22 cm., text 10 x 17 cm.; clear *naskh*, guidewords; strong paper of undetermined origin; rebound in buckram.

Ms. begins: Basmala ammā ba'd fa-hadhā tārīkh jalīl al-sha'n yataḍammanu akhbār mulūk al-'aṣr wa rū'asā' al-dahr yufidu akthar al-nās li-ma'rīfat aḥwal

Ms. ends: qabaḍa al-Sulṭān 'alā al-Qaḍī Badr al-Dīn ... kātīb al-sirr wa astaḡarra bi-akhihi al-Qaḍī Kamāl al-Dīn 'iwaḍan 'anhu wa istamarra akhuhu al-Qaḍī Badr

al-Dīn bi-al-tarshīh ... qarrara 'alayhi fa-hadhā akhir mā intaha ilaynā min amr al-tārīkh.

(W 091.9927 Ak46)

46. *Amal al-āmil fi 'ulamā' jabal 'Amīl* by Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥurr al-'Amīlī. See GAL, II, p. 412 and SII, p. 578. See also the edition of Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn, Baghḍad: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1966? The work consists of notices of Shi'ite figures in Lebanon's Jabal al-'Amīl region.

234 leaves; outside 16 x 25 cm., text 9 x 18 cm.; 15 lines per page; clear *naskh* script, guidewords, personal names in red; the paper is from a strong stock of indeterminate origin; bound in 3/4 morocco; manuscript bears bookplate of Mortimer S. Howell of Calne, Wiltshire, England; at the end of the colophon is the statement, "Presented to me by Maulani Sayyid Nasir Husain son of the late lamented Shamsu-lulama, the Maulani, Sayyid Hamid Husain, of Mahalla Nakles, Lucknow, India on 10 February 1889 (signature illegible)"; the manuscript was copied the same year by Faḍl 'Alī al-Kashmirī.

Ms. begins: Basmala al-ḥamd Allāh muntahā al-amal al-āmilīn muḍā'af 'amal al-'ulamā' al-'amilīn ... wa ba'd fa-yaqūl al-faqīr ilā Allāh al-ghaniy Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Ḥurr al-'Amīlī al-Mashgharī qad khaṭira fi khāṭiri wa bālī

Ms. ends: wa qad faraghtu min ta'līfihi fi awwal Jumadā II sanat 1092 wa tasharrafa bi-kitābatihī aqall al-'ibād ... al-mad'ūw bi-Sayyid Faḍl 'Alī al-Kashmirī fi 10 al-awsaṭ min shahr Jumadā I sanat 1306 'afā Allāh 'anhu.

(W 091.9927 Am53a)

47. *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi dhikr al-amṣār wa-al-aqtār wa-al-buldān wa-al-juzur wa-al-madā'in wa-al-afāq* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī. See GAL, SI, p. 876f. This is a revision as well as an epitome of *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-afāq*.

The copy is bound with *Proverbiorum arabicorum* (no. 35); it is bound to be read from left to right, text covers only one side of each leaf.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... ammā ba'd innī waqaftu 'alā al-kitāb al-musammī bi-Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-afāq wa ta'ammaltu ma'anīhi wa maqāsidahu (sic)

Ms. ends: inna hadhā al-juz' al-'āshir min al-iqlīm al-sābi' ... fa-hadhā ajmī' mā ittaṣala binā min ... aqtār al-arḍ min ma'mūr wa maghmūrah

(Wq 091.9927 K968p)

48. *Ta'bīr al-ru'yā* by Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm ibn Yahyā ibn Ghannām al-Harrānī al-Numayrī al-Maqdiṣī. See GAL, SI, p. 913. What appears to be another copy of this work is noticed as *Ta'bīr al-manam* in the Garrett Collection at Princeton University (P. H. Hitti, et al., eds., 1938) no. 935. The work contains a general discussion of dreams, methods of dreaming and the power of dreams. Most of the work is devoted to a glossary in alphabetical order of the terms used in describing and analyzing dreams.

267 leaves; outside 12 x 17 cm., text 9 x 13 cm.; 15 lines per page; *naskh* script; there is evidence of two copyists, as the script changes after 67B from a strong hand to a shaky one, guidewords; paper is glossy oriental in good condition; binding is a contemporary leather, floral medallion with one rolled border on front and back covers; the paper has been badly trimmed for binding and many of the glosses are lost; endpapers at back bear ownership seal, the binding is fragile; margins contain alternative readings; the manuscript was copied in A.H. 1120/A.D. 1709.

Ms. begins: Basmala ... al-ḥamd Allāh alladhī ja'ala al-nawm rahātan lil-ajsād

Ms. ends: wa kāna al-farāgh minhu yawm al-jum'ah al-mubārak 16 min Dhī' al-Ḥijjah ... sanat 1120

(W 091.9927 Ab91t)

49. Cataloged in John G. White Department as "a philosophical treatise in Arabic", ascribed to Muḥammad Tāhīr Wahīd Kazvīnī (d. 1708 or 9). The text is a short theosophical work. For the supposed author (copyist?) of this work, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 314ff. The work is a nice example of *ta'liq*.

34 leaves; outside 14 x 24 cm., text 10 x 18 cm. (including gilt borders); fine *ta'liq* script, gilt 'unwān at 1B; oriental paper with some foxing; oriental leather binding with geometric tooling on the edges; this work is bound with a Turkish work on the Safavids and a collection of letters in the name of 'Abbās II of Persia.

Ms. begins: ā'zam min an yaj'alahu al-mubtadi'

Ms. ends: an yanzurū fihī bi-'ayn al-inṣāf wa yajtanībū tariq al-jawr wa-al-i'tisāf.

(W 091.9927 T13t)

50. *Kitāb Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd* by an unknown author. This work on magic gives incantations to be employed in achieving and maintaining good health.

10 leaves; outside 10 x 26-29 cm., the text covers the entire page; 24 lines per page; written in a very careless *naskh*, there are talismanic tables; 10B has been badly damaged and an attempt has been made (perhaps by the copyist) to fill in the missing lines; the paper is very heavy, of the weight of poster board. 1A and 10B show traces of having been written on a colored (green, red and blue) paper with an architectural border entwined with ribbons; probably a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century copy; the manuscript is loosely tied through the centerfold; the entire work is very difficult to read due to fading ink, grease stains and numerous corrections.

Ms. begins: Kitāb Sulaymān bin Dāwūd (sic) hadhā kitāb Sulaymān bin Dāwūd 'alayhi al-salām basmala al-burj al-awwal Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd al-malik

(Wq 091.9927 So47r)

51. Cataloged in White Department as Arabic manuscript on magic. It is a fragment of a longer work, dealing with the beneficial effects of certain talismans, incantations and other therapeutic formulae.

15 leaves; outside 19 x 23 cm., text 14 x 19 cm.; 20 lines per page; written in a rapid *naskh*, red headings,

guidewords; paper has been preserved between two layers of fabric; bound in pamphlet style by White Department.

(W 091.9927 Ar11)

52. *Fi ma'rifat jayb al-tartib wa faḍl al-dā'ir*. A short work containing logarithms using letters to represent numbers. It comprises rough calculations and notes on how to measure heights and distances from a known point.

32 leaves; outside 8 x 20 cm., text 6 x 18 cm.; 15-16 columns per page; tables in the body of the work are in red and black; there is a short text on front and back fly-leaves; paper is oriental, worm eaten often to the point of illegibility; oriental leather binding with extensive worm damage.

Ms. begins: fī ma'rifat jayb al-tartib wa faḍl al-dā'ir

Ms. ends: inna kān ghariban fi-mā ḥaṣala fa-huwa ṭūl al-balad al-majhūl bi-al-taqrib tamma.

(W 091.9927 F44)

Austin, Texas,
September 1976

MICHAEL W. ALBIN

Syro-Palestinian Parallels to Lebanese Toponyms

Stefan WILD, *Libanesische Ortsnamen: Typologie und Deutung*. Beirut, Wiesbaden, In Kommission bei F. Steiner Verlag, 1973 (8vo, XII, 391 pp.) = *Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Bd. 9. Price: DM 48*.)

This book deals mainly with Lebanese toponyms which are of non-Arabic origin. The author states that of ca. 2500 Lebanese toponyms only 1300 were included, most of which from A. Fraiḥa's *Asmā' al-mudun wal-qurā al-lubnāniya wa-tafsīr ma'āniḥā* (Beyrouth 1956). The book is arranged as follows:

Foreword (vii-viii)

Table of Contents (ix-xii)

Introduction (1-65)

A. General Pre-Considerations

1. The Position of the Toponyms in the Linguistic System
2. Methodology

*) Abbreviations as in *AHw.*, *CAD* and in the book under review, except for the following: *AOP* = W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*. Leipzig 1930; *DISO* = C. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*. Leiden 1965; *Ġamh.* = Ibn al-Kalbī, *Hiṣām, Ġamharat an-Nasab* (ed. W. Caschel), 1-2. Leiden 1966; *HG* = M. Avi-Yonah, *Ge'ogrāfiyāh Histōrit šel 'Ereš Yiśrā'el*, 2nd ed. Jerusalem 1951; *IC* = G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*. Toronto-Buffalo 1971; *Mur.* = P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at*. Oxford 1961; *PTU* = F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. Rome 1967; *Topographie historique* = R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*. Paris 1927. — The personal determinative is omitted in the transliteration of the NA, NB and LB personal names which are discussed below.

3. Linguistic-Historical Outline

4. Setting Limits to the Sources of the Material

- B. To the Special Problematic of the Lebanese Toponyms: the transcription of Lebanese, Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian toponyms, the Aramaic and Canaanite toponymic substratum, points of phonology, orthography and morphology, and pre-Semitic toponyms (Wild argues that there are no assured examples of such toponyms in Lebanon)

Catalogue (67-322)

I. Morphological Types

A. Types with Suffixes (22 suffixes)

B. Toponyms without Ending

C. Types with prefixes

D. Some Nominal-Classes Types

Excursus: The Greek Forms *Τύρος*, *Σιδών* and *Βύβλος*

II. Compound Toponyms

A. Compounds with Designations of Terrain and culture Words

B. Compounds with Titles and *Kunya*-Names

English Summary (323-330)

Bibliography (331-340)

Addenda (341-344)

Indexes (345-391)

1. Lebanese Toponyms
2. Syrian Toponyms
3. Literary Attested Toponyms from Arabic Sources
4. Other Arabic Toponyms
5. Biblical Toponyms
6. Arabic Dialect Words
7. Turkish Names and Words
8. Latin Forms and Words
9. Greek Forms and Words.

The reviewer would like to add more Syro-Palestinian parallels to the toponyms so elaborately discussed by Wild, and to explain some more Lebanese toponyms.

P. 48. For *t* > *t* after *r*, cf. already *Ya'rūt* (J. Sussman, *Tarbiz* 43, 1973/74, Plate opposite p. 158: 10), possibly from Heb. *ye'ārōt* "thickets" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 585b). Note Pal. *Tur'an* < *Tir'an* (from Aram. *tar* "gate"). — P. 52. *Kfair* means "little *Kfar*" just as Pal. *Kfairāt* means "*Kfar-s*"¹). — P. 72. *Žibrin* < *gabrīn* "men", cf. URUGab-ba-ri-ni (Weissbach, *Misc.*, 10 and Pl. 4, iii: 1, 3). — P. 73. 'Abdīn "slaves, servants". Cf. NA URUAb-di-nu (NAT, 2). — P. 77. *Btiḡrīn* <

¹) Likewise, Pal. **Bal'amōt* (Gk. *Βελεμώτ*, *HG* 125) is pl. of a proper name meaning "*Bal'am-s*", i.e. the settlements named *Bal'am* (Bibl. *Yibl'ām*, modern *Bal'ame*). Note *Bl'm lyyth* (*Tarbiz* 43, Pl. opposite p. 158: 27) "upper B." (from the Byzantine period), probably as opposed to an assumed lower *Bal'am*.

bēt yagrīn "place of the stone-piles", cf. 'ygrī (Sussman, *l.c.*, 11) ²). P. 80. *Mribbīn* < *bē rabbīn*, "place of the elders", cf. perhaps Pal. *Iribbīn*. For *rabb*: *ribb* see E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and the Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsaa)* (Jerusalem 1959, in Hebrew), 48f. — P. 81. *Qa'barīn* (cf. 'Aqibrīn, p. 91) "mice". NA has URUAk-bar-i-na, Ak-kab-ri-na, Ak-(ka-)bar/ba-ri-na (NAT, 7). Pal. 'Akbara (south of Safed) reflects the JAram. emphatic sing. whereas Pal. 'Aqbara which is situated more to the north (near Fassūta) is the emphatic sing. form of the Lebanese toponyms ³). — *Ra'sīn*, cf. Pal. *Rāšīn* and *Rāsin*. — P. 82. *Rumīn*. Cf. NA URUBi-ti-ru-me near Sidon (NAT, 92) and *Am-me-ru-me* (*Iraq* 25, 1963: 92 [= Pl. 21], BT 108: 1) (personal name). — P. 83. *Sibrīn* "aloe plants", cf. Pal. *Šabbārīn*. — *Sirīn*. Also Pal. — *Sagbīn*, cf. the NA toponym URUSa-ga-ba-tū šā *Mardukiya* (OIP 2, 53: 46) "*Mardukiya's* fortress". — *Sinnīn*. Also Pal. *Šinn* "rock" is possibly the first component of the Pal. toponym *Šinnabrē*. — P. 84. *Šibtīn/Šabtīn*. Cf. Pal. *Šabtīn*. — *Šihīn* "cisterns", cf. Pal. ('Ein) *Šihī* (< *Šihā*, sing.). — P. 87. For *Žannīn* < *gannīn* "gardens" cf. NA URUGa-ni-na (NAT, 130) and *Jenīn* in Cis-Jordan; -n- is not doubled in *Γινάιν* and *Ginayy* (*HG*, 125) as well. *Jenīn* is also found in Trans-Jordan. — P. 88f. *Žazzīn* < *gazzīn* "treasures". Pal. *Ūšarīn* has the same meaning (JAram. *ōšrīn*, Jastrow, *Dict.*, 32, note the emphatic sing. *Ōšara* in Trans-Jordan). — P. 89. *Sribbīn* < *Σαράβιον* < *Σεραπειών*, cf. Pal. ('Ein) *Sarābis*; *Saraḥia* possibly also belongs here (differently Avi-Yonah, *HG*, 116). — *Hbālīn*, pl. of *hbāl* "wreck, ruin" (cf. p. 230). — *Šdiqīn* is (with *Fraiḥa*, 102) *šadiqīn* "righteous men". — *Ġaddīn* < *guddīn* "walls, fences". Cf. Pal. *Jiddīn*. — P. 89. 'Anžar. Cf. Pal. 'Anjara. — P. 90. 'Alqīn "leeches", cf. *ḥa-la-qī-i/in-ni* in the Uruk incantation (C. H. Gordon, *AfO* 12, 1937-1939, 117), and with NA *Vokalharmonie*, URUA-li-qī-na (CCENA 11, iv: 7, cf. Parpola, *ZA* 64, 1975, 113, a.1.). — P. 92. *Dibīn* < *dēbīn* "wolves". Cf. NA (Nagitu) *Di'-bi-na* "(the island) of the wolves" (S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Paris 1912, 134), and URUDa-e-ba (NAT, 96) "wolf" (with the "broken" spelling *Ca-e* = *ē*). — P. 94. *Šanqibrīn* < *šen qabrīn*. For *qabrīn* "graves" cf. NA URUQa-ab-ri-na (NAT, 282). OB *Qa-ab-ra-a* which is mentioned in documents from Mari and Shemshara may also belong here (sing.; for -ā cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965, 116). — *Tlailīn* < *tallīn* < *tellīn* < *tillīn* "hills, mounds". Cf. NA URUTil-li-i-ni, *Tillē* (NAT, 356f.). — *Žamrīn* < *gumrīn* "charcoals". Cf. Pal. *Jamrīn* and *Jamrūra* (Γεμμαρουρί, *HG*, 113). — P. 95. *Žibbīn* < *gubbīn*. For *gubbā* "pit, cistern" cf. OB *Gu-ub-ba-tumKI* (W. Röllig, *RLA* 3, 673a, s.v.). For *gubbā* cf. NA URUGu-ub-bat (NAT, 135), NB/LB *Nār Gub/Gu-ub/ba-ta/tu*₄

²) For the spelling cf. 'yqbyn (Sussman, *Tarbiz* 43, Pl. opp. p. 158: 27, cf. p. 137, n. 359 and p. 146f.) which may render *yqabin* "excavations, tanks" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 591).

³) 'Akbara is identified with 'Akberē ('Ακκαβέρων) which was a Jewish settlement in the Roman period (*HG*, 142).

(NBN, 298), and with the suffixes *-ān* and *-it* NB/LB *Nār Gub-ba-ni-tu* (Kohler-Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, 2, Leipzig 1891, 21, 84-2-11, 61). — P. 96, *Našibin*. Cf. also NAT, 258f. — *Qinnisrīn* < *qen nešrīn*. *Qen* "eyrie" is also the first component of the NA toponyms *URUQa-an Ra'-me-ili* (Lie, *Sar.*, 46: 287) and *KURQi-in Nippur* (NAT, 286). — Note the following Pal. toponyms with *-in*: (*Beit*) *Bazzīn* "(place of the) falcons", *Būrīn* < *bōrīn* "cisterns", *Burqīn* "lightnings", *Dabbārīn* "drives, ways of moving" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 279), *Isrīn*, possibly *asrīn*, pl. of *asrā* "wine press" (*ibid.*, 1103b), *Kūfīn* < *kūpīn* "baskets" (*ibid.*, 624), (*Beit*) *Umrīn* "(place of) the sheep", cf. NA *URUIm-mir-i-na*, *Im-me-[r]i-na* (NAT, 174), the sing. is found in Pal. (*Beit*) *Ummar*. — The following two Phoenician toponyms, which refer to places near Sidon in the NA period, end in *-im*: *URU-si-ḥi-im-me* (NAT, 176) possibly *asīḥim* "ditches, trenches" or sim. (despite Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 39), cf. *šwh* in Moabite and Hebrew, and Hebrew *šyḥ* (DISO, 27), OB *A-si-ḥu-um* (JCS 7, 1953, 58, n. 41; 67), NA *URU-si-ḥi* (NAT, 40), and *Asicha* in the middle Euphrates region (cf. A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 229f., *A-si-ḥu-um* is attested as a personal name at Mari, RA 65, 1971, 62-63, B, v: 33), *URUṭa-la-im-me* (NAT, 97, s.v. *Da°*), possibly *Tala'im* "lambs" (despite Dussaud, *l.c.*, cf. NA *URUṭa-la-a-a-in*, NAT, 98, s.v. *Da°*, possibly Aram. *Talayīn* "lambs, youngs" or sim.)⁴. — *Kirkīn* "settlements, villages". *Kirk* < *kark* is perhaps included in the LB gentilic *LÚKi-ir-ka-a-a* (VAS 6, 302). — *Mardīn* < *merdin*, cf. NA *URUMar-di-ia-a-ni-e* (NAT, 239, with the suffixes *-i*, *-ān* and *-ē*) and Pal. *Marda*. — P. 98, *Ein Maždalain*, cf. Pal. *Majdalein*, *Kaḥrein* and *Juffein* (< *gappēn* "two wings" or "two stone fences with gates", cf. Jastrow, *Dict.*, 262a). — On *Labnānu* see Kutscher, *Lešonenu* 33, 1968/69, 97f. Note NB/LB *URUŠi-da-nu* (BHT, 12: 12, Strassmaier, *Actes du 8^e Congrès*, 28: 5) for Sidon which is usually spelt *URUŠidūnu* in NA, NB and LB transcriptions. — P. 99, (*Kfar*) *Hayyān* is attested as a personal name at Ugarit and in NA transcription (PTU, 137, APN, 283b). — P. 101, *Haumāl* < *hōmān* "walls". Cf. perhaps NA *URUHu-mu-ut* (NAT, 169) with *-ōt* (cf. p. 123) and *Hūmīn* with *-in* (p. 89). — P. 102, *Bikfayya* < *bē kēpayyā* "place of the rocks" and *Kai-fūn*. Cf. JArām. *Bē Kepī* < *bē kēpīn* with NA *URUKepi-na* (NAT, 207) "rocks". Note Pal. *Kafr Kīfya* and *Kēf Rās*. — P. 103, *Dārayya* < *dārayyā* "houses, farms", also Pal.; the Iraqi toponym *Bādarāyā* does not belong here, but goes back to NA *Bit Di-ra-a-a* (Rost, *Tigl. III*, Ann. 143). The pl. *dārātā* is probably represented by NA *URUDa-ra-a-te/ti* (NAT, 99); cf. also Pal. *Dārayyāt*. — *Hašbayya* < *hašbayyā* "jugs, sherds". The pl. of Aram. *hašbā/hašpā* is probably represented by LB *URUHa-as/sa-pi-e* (NBN, 293), Pal. *Isfin* and

⁴ The suffix *-aym* which is frequent in toponyms (cf. AOP, 54f., § 11) may be found in another two Phoenician toponyms which also refer to places near Sidon: *URUIn-im-me* (NAT, 175) and *URUQar-ti-im-me* (NAT, 285). Cf. Bibl. *Enayim* and *Qiryātayim*.

Hisfin. Pal. *Husipā* (modern *Isifye*) also belongs here. — P. 104, *Kīfrayya* < *kaprayyā* "villages", cf. the LB meadow *GARINKap-ri-ni* (NBN, 293). — P. 105, *Rīš-mayyā* < *rēš mayyā* "beginning of the water, source". Cf. Pal. *Rūšmiyye*; *rās* is also found in Pal. *Rāsūn* < *rāsōn* and *Rāsīn* (cf. above). — P. 106, *Dirdjāyja*, possibly *dair di gayyā* "the monastery of the valley", cf. *Giyyāt* < *giyyōt* "valleys" (p. 124), and Pal. *Jiyya* and *Jayya*. — *Irnayya* < *Urnayyā* "pines". — *Ain 'Ayya* < *Ain 'Ayyā* "the sources of the ruin". — P. 108f, *T'albāya* < *ta'lbāyā* "foxes", cf. perhaps Pal. *Σαλαβά*, modern *Salhab* (HG, 124) with metathesis and *< h* (cf. modern *Ḥizma* for *'Azmāwet*), provided that *Σαλαβά* does not represent **Salhabā* < *Salhebet*. — *Žinžlāya*, cf. NA *URUGul-gul* (NAT, 135) Bibl. *Gilgāl*, Pal. *Γαλλουλις* (HG, 128, modern *Jiljūliyye*), and *Jel-jūl*. A *qVlqVl* formation (which is especially frequent in toponyms) is also Pal. *Qilqiliyye* (Καλεκαίλια, HG, 128), possibly related to *qilqa/eltā* "dunghill, ruins" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1382). — P. 110, *Liftāya* < *līptāyā* "rapes, turnips". The sing. may be found in Pal. (*Bir*) *Lifta*. — *Naḥlāya*. Cf. also Pal. *Nīlyā*, *Naḥlin* and *Nīlin*. — P. 112, (*Kfar*) *'Ammāi* < *'ammayā*. *Am-ma-a-a* is a personal name (APN, 21b). — P. 113, *Būdai*. Cf. Pal. *Beit ūdir*. — P. 114, *Irkai*. Cf. Pal. *Yirka* "mountain slope". — *Irzai*. Cf. Pal. *Beit Irza* "place of the cedar". — P. 116, *Bāflai*, perhaps < *bē Aplai* (cf. APN, 24). — *Nābai*. Cf. the personal name *Na-ba-a-a* (etc., NBN, 118). — *Sinai*, possibly a hypocoristic with the theophoric element *Sin*. — *Sibnay*. Cf. the Biblical personal name *Šebnā*. — P. 117, Cf. Pal. *Ḥadīta*. — P. 119, *Žinnāta* < *ginnātā* "gardens". Cf. Pal. *Jannāta* and NA *URUGān-na-(a-)te/ti*, *Gān-na-na-ti*, *Gān-na-a-na* (etc., NAT, 129). — P. 123, *Anūt*. Cf. Bibl. *Bēṭ 'Anōt* or perhaps Aram. *'anātā* (cf. p. 126); for *ā* > *ō* cf. Pal. *Buraikūt* (Arabic diminutive of Heb. *berēkōt*) and *Qaryūt* (< *qaryōt*). — P. 125, *Rīmāt* < *raimātā* "antilops, oxen". Cf. Pal. *Beit Rīma*, OSyr. *raimā* (sing.). — P. 126, *-āt* is also found in Pal. *Suḥmāta*, *Ḥarrāwāta*, *'Ayyāta* (cf. *'Ayyāt*, perhaps "mounds of ruins") and *Ikfārāt*. — P. 128, *Abba* < *'ubba* "(Berg-)senke". Cf. Pal. *Ibbīn* < *'ubbin* (pl.). — For *Adma* cf., with *a* > *i*- and *-it*, Pal. *Idmīt*. — P. 132, *Bdibba* < *bē dubbā* (< *dibbā*). *Dibbā* may also be a personal name, cf. NA *Di-ib-ba-a* (APN, 70a). — P. 133, *Bḥāla* < *bē ḥālā* "place of the mother's brother". Cf. Pal. *Kafr Ḥāl*. — *Bḥūwāra*. Cf. Pal. *Huwāra*. — P. 134, *Bkūza* < *bē kūzā*. *Kūzā* is a personal name (APN, 119b). — *Blūza* < *bē lūzā* "place of the almond tree". Cf. Pal. *Tallūze* (< *Tūr Lūzā*, HG, 124). — P. 136, *Bšāma* < *bē sēmā* "place of the silver". Cf. perhaps Pal. *Beit Sāma*. — P. 137, *Bziza* < *bē Zizā*. Cf. the Biblical personal name *Zizā* and the Trans-Jordanian toponyms *Ziza* and *Zēzūn*. — *Dūma* may go back to Canaanite *Adūmā* "red"; cf. Pal. *Dūma* for *Adūma* *Ἐδομα*, HG, 122). Homonyms are also found in Aramaic and Arabic speaking areas, cf. NA *URUDu]-ma-a* in the Harran area (Parpola, ZA 64, 110) and *URUAd-du-um-ma-te* (etc., modern *Dūmat al-Jandal*, see I. Eph'al, *The Nomads on the Border of Palestine*, Dissertation, Jerusalem 1971,

83f.). — P. 138, *Dūqa*. Cf. below ad p. 227 (*id-Dūq*). — P. 139, *Fālūja*. Cf. Pal. *Falūja*. — P. 140, Cf. Pal. *Ḥarbata*, NA *URUHa-ar-bi-na* and *URUḤar-bi-e* (NAT, 150, both pl.). — P. 142, *Kfar Ḥilda* < *kpar ḥuldā*. Cf. also the Biblical feminine name *Ḥuldāh* and the NB masculine name *Ḥal-du-ū-a* (An. Or. 9, 2: 18). — P. 143, (*Rās*) *Ista* < *rēš eštā* "peak, cape of the back" with etymologizing substitute of *š* by *s*. Cf. perhaps Pal. *Deir Istya*. — P. 145, *Mairuba* < *mai raubā*; for *mai°* cf. *Maifūq*. — P. 146, *Marnaba* < *mār arnḥā*. Cf. the NA personal name *Ar-na-ba-a* (APN, 30a). — Aram. **šagōrā* "aqueduct, canal" is perhaps represented by the NA river name *Sa-gu/gur-ra/ri* (NAT, 298, modern *Sajūr*). — P. 147, *Miša* < *mišhā* "oil". Cf. Pal. *Mesḥa*. — P. 148, *Niha*. Bibl. *Ge ha-Ḥārāšim* does not belong here but means "the artisans' valley". — P. 149, *Qabrī-ḥa* < *qbar Briḳā*. Cf. perhaps Pal. *Tarbiḥa* < *tal Briḳā*? (*Nahr*) *Qadiša*. Cf. Pal. *Qadiš* and *Qaddita* (probably < **Qaddištā*). P. 150, *Qilya* < *qalyā* "roast (grain)". The emphatic pl. thereof is possibly found in Pal. *Qalāya*. — P. 152, *Salta* < *saltā* "flint". Cf. perhaps Pal. *Salt*. — (*Mazra'at*) *Sarža* < *sargā* OSyr. "saddle". Cf. perhaps Pal. *Sargōnin* (pl., with *-ōn*). — P. 155, *Šabḥa* < *šubḥā*. Cf. BT *Šabḥa*, and NA *URULUSabḥānu*, *URUSa-ab-ḥu-na* (NAT, 297, 304, provided that it is not to be read *Sap°*), and *URUSu-ba-ḥe-e* (NAT, 314). — P. 156, *Šikka* < *sikkā* "thorn". Cf., with *-u* (= *-ō*), NA *URUSik-ku-u/ū* (NAT, 309, near Sidon). — P. 157, (*Marāḥ*) *Šinnāra* < *šunnārā* "cat" (JArām.). *Šunnār* is found as a family name at Nablus. — *Št/ṭ(a)ura*. Cf. Pal. *Šṭōra*. P. 158, *Tibna* < *tiḥnā* may just as well be from *Timnā* as in Palestine. — P. 160, *Zarda*. Cf. the Biblical toponym *Zered*. — P. 161, (*Kfar*) *'Abida* < *kpar 'biḏā*. Cf. the LB personal name *A-bi-da-a* (UET 4, 128: 7). — P. 162, (*Marāḥ*) *il-Haira*. For *ḥērā*, *ḥērtā*, (*al-*) *Ḥira* cf. perhaps NA *URUḤi-ra-ta-a* *Qa-ša-a-a* (NAT, 165) "the fortress of Qašāya" (possibly a personal name) and Pal. *Ḥarta*. — P. 163, *'Abela*, perhaps *Abela* in view of Pal. *'Iblin* (< *Abelin*) and *'Abelin*. — *'Alma* (also Pal.), cf. Heb. *'almāh* "young girl" and Aram. *'ālmā* (emphatic sing.) "world, eternity". — *Dird'aina*, possibly *dair di 'aynā* "the monastery of the spring, source". — *Lahya*. Cf. Pal. *Beit°*; perhaps it is related to *ilāh* "god" with aphaeresis. — *Maržaba* may be a *maqal* formation of *R-G-B*; another preformative from the same root is the Biblical toponym *Argōḥ*. — *Mdūḥa* < *mdōḥā* "mortar" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 733). — *Šabbūba*. Cf. perhaps Bibl. (*haš-*) *Šobebāh*. — *Šalima* is possibly derived from *Š-L-M* (*Fraihā*, 103). — *Šfiḥa*. Cf. OSyr. *šapip* "eager" and Pal. *Beit Šafāfa* (for which cf. the OSyr. fem. pl. *šapāpātā*). — *Šaitūha* and *Šittāha* are possibly derived from *Š-T-Ḥ* "to spread, stretch" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1553) with *Fraihā*, 100; the former toponym is an Arabic diminutive formation. — *Šālūta* is probably derived from *Š-L-T* "to rule". — *Žab-būla* is a *qattil* formation of *G-B-L*, cf. Pal. *Jabbul* and, with dissimilatory *m*, NA *URUGa-am-bu-lu* (Borger, *Esarh.*, Nin. A, iii: 6, near Sidon). — *Žarra* is possibly Arabic for "jug". — *Žibla* is a *qitl* formation of *G-B-L*. *Žida* and *Žila* may be derived from JArām. *gidā* "thread,

cord" (etc., Jastrow, *Dict.*, 234b) and *gil* "form a circle, rejoice" (*ibid.*, 238a) respectively. — P. 164, *Bmalke* < *bē malkā*. Cf. Pal. *Malka*. — *Bsummāqa*. Cf. Pal. *Summāqa*. — *Kaḥar Ḡadya*. Cf. Pal. *Beit Jidya*. — *Kaḥar Sūsiyā* < *kpar sūsyā* "village of the horse". Cf. Pal. *Beit Sūsin* (pl.). — For the Iraqi toponym *Kaḥar 'Azza* cf. Pal. *'Azzūn*. — P. 165, *Bakalba*. *Kalbā* may be a personal name (NBN, 86f.). — Add to the list Iraqi *Ba'qūba* < *bē 'Aqūbā* "place of (the person named) 'Aqūbā". — *Asni* < *asnā* "blackberry". Cf. Pal. *Isna*. — (*Tall*) *Bibi*. *Bibi* may also be a personal name (APN, 63b). — P. 166, *Bkirki* < *bē kurki* "place of the crane". Cf. perhaps LB *URUBit Kur-ka-na* (YOS 7, 32: 3, kindly collated on my behalf by Dr M. E. Cohen, New Haven). — P. 171, *Kfar Miški* < *kpar maskā* "place of the tax". Cf. *Byt Mškw* (Mur. 42: 1, 4, cf. Milik, 157, a.l.), Pal. *Miske* and *Miskāya* (the latter possibly represents the emphatic pl.). — P. 172, *Qarqafi* is also found in Palestine. — *Naḥli*. Cf. ad p. 100 (*Naḥlāya*) above. — P. 173, For a possible Phoenician pronunciation *rūs* cf. Pal. *Rūšmiyye* (above). — P. 174, *Šūni* is a frequent Pal. toponym. — *It-Tiri*. Cf. JArām. *Tiryā*. — *Yammūni* < *Yammōnā*, diminutive of Aram. *yammā* "sea". Note NA *URUIm-mi-ū* (NAT, 174, probably near Kašpūna and Sidon) which may be a Phoenician gentilic of *yamm* (with *ya* > *i*-) plus *-ō* (cf. p. 209f.). — *Yārūti*, cf. Pal. *Yārūt*. — P. 175, *Anfi* < *anpā* "hill, cape" (lit. "nose"). Cf. NA *URUAm-pa* (Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 39), *URUAp-pi-na*, *URUAp-pu-ū-ni* (NAT, 21), OB Mari *Ap-pa-anKI* (ARM 8, 11: 10), all with assimilation of *-n* and with *-in*, *-ōn* and *-ān* respectively. — *Btid'i* < *bē Tid'i*. Cf. perhaps the Safaitic personal name *Td'* (IC, 130) and the LB personal name *Ti-du-ū* (PBS 2/1, 97: 5, 11, R). — *Iddi*. Cf. Bibl. *Iddō* and NA *Ma-ri-id-di* which according to Tallqvist (APN, 134b) is Aram. "Adad is lord". — (*Kfar*) *Kiḥli*. Perhaps *kuḥlā* "blue paint, kohl, antimony". — *Skāki* is possibly *skākā* "covering (with boughs)" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 990) which is also attested as a toponym in the Judean desert according to the Bible and the Qumran documents (see HG, 227) and in Samaria where it is represented by modern *Iskāka* (for the form cf. Pal. *Iktāba* < *ktābā* "writing"). — P. 178, *Ḥazzirtā* < *ḥazzūrtā*. *Ḥazzūrtā* "apple (tree)" is possibly found in Pal. (*Jabal*) *Ḥazzūr*. — *Ḥrabta* < *ḥrabtā* "waste, abandoned settlement". Cf. with etymologizing *ḥ*, Pal. *Ḥarbata*. — P. 180, *Tuffāhta* < *tuppāhtā* "apple tree". *Ḥabbūs* "apple" is possibly found in Pal. *Kafr 'Abbūs* (with *ḥ* > *'*). — P. 182, *Bait Raqta*. Bibl. (*ha-*) *Raqqōn* may also belong here. — Add the following Pal. toponyms with *-ta*: *'Anabta*, *Barašta*, *'Ebta*, *Hamta*, *Jaḥta*, (*Kfar*) *Rahta*, (*Kfar*) *Silta*, *Mišibta*, *Ramta*, *Rumeilta* and *Sāmta*. — P. 184, *Qbaiti* < *qubbṭā* "vault, arch; tent". Cf. NA *URUQu-ba-a-te* (NAT, 286, pl.). — P. 186, *Ždita* < *gdītā* "she goat". Cf. Pal. *Jdeita*. — *Žita* < *g'itā* "loud noise, roaring", cf. Pal. *Ja'ūna*. — P. 187, Note Pal. *Kafritta*. — P. 189, *Šūrit*. Cf. NA *URUSu-ri-tu* (NAT, 319). — P. 190, *Dardūrit*. Cf. Pal. *Dardāra*. — *Farḥit* < **parḥit*, (from *parḥā* "fowl"). — *Mdamit* < *bē dmit*. Cf. *'Aidamūn* (p. 195). — *Šwilit* is possibly from *šbilā* "path" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1514). — *Brašit* <

bē ra'ašit, from ra'aš "loud noise" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1489); cf. *Ž'ita*. — Qib'it. Cf. Pal. Qaba'a and perhaps the Aramaic tribal name LúQa-bi- (Rost, *Tigl.* III, 56: 7). — For -it cf. the Pal. toponyms 'Almit, Salbit Moditha (Mōdēšiv) which also have other suffixes, as well as Pal. 'Azrit, Hamrit, Jib'it, Salfit and Tilfit. Note NA URUGab-lit (ADD 899, i: 28), from G-B-L and URURu-gu-li-ti (NAT, 296) for which cf. the Biblical toponym Rōglim. — P. 195, 'Aidamūn < 'ain dmōn "source of the blood (dim.)"; cf. Pal. Damūn. — 'Aitrūn < 'ain tūrōn "source of the mountain (dim.)". Cf. LB URUTu-ra-nu (YOS 7, 84: 13). — (Himi) Arnūn < Arnōn may be a homonym of Biblical Arnōn. — P. 196, 'Ažaltūn. Cf. Mhwez 'gltyn (Y. Yadin, *Yediot* 26, 1961/62, 219). — Baq'ūn. Cf. NA URUQa-rat Ba-qa'-a-ni (Tell Halaḥ, 23: 6); for qarat, qarti "settlement" or sim. cf. NA URUQa-rat mNa-an-ni and URUQar-ti Hal-di (NAT, 284). — Barqūn < barqōn "lightning (dim.)". Cf. URUBur-qu-na (EA 250: 43); Bibl. Barqōs does not belong here. — P. 198, Bdādūn < bē dādōn. Cf. the NB personal name Da-da-nu (BRM 1, 26: 2, 4, 11). — Bhamdūn < bē Hamdūn. Cf. NA Ha-am-da-nu (APN, 84b) and NB/LB Ha-me-du-ni (BIN 2, 132: 55). — P. 199, Hab of Habnimra and Habrammūn is perhaps from *habl, cf. Heb. hebel "share, possession, lot" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 420) with assimilation of -l to the following liquid; Habrūm may be the same name as Bibl. Hebrōn with the suffix -ōm (cf. Bibl. Gid'ōm), and Habšit does not necessarily belong here (it may be derived from H-B-š with -it). — P. 200f., Ma'rabūn < ma'rāhōn dim. of "west". Cf. NA Ma'-ru-ub-bu (Friedrich-Röllig, *An.Or.* 46, 96, § 201). — P. 202, Šārūn < šārōn. Cf. NA URUSa-ru-na of Bit Adini (NAT, 307). — P. 203, Žaramūn < garmōn. Cf. the Aramaic tribal name Gi-ru-mu (NAT, 137f.), the place name URUGi-ru-mu (RA 30, 1933, 190) and the Biblical tribal name (hag-) Garmi. — 'Admūn is perhaps 'ain dmōn (cf. above) in view of the proposed derivations of 'Aqtanīt (p. 253) and Bikfayya (p. 225). — Ašnūn < šnōn "radish" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1290). Cf. the toponym Kafr Baišanūn (Mur. 169: 2f., from 938 or 939 A.D., in Palestine?), i.e. kpar bē šnōn (for the sequence cf. Pal. Kpar Bēt Pāgē) (S. Klein, 'Ereš Yehūdāh, Tel Aviv 1939, 170f.). — 'Ašūn, perhaps 'ašōn, cf. Heb. 'ēš (< *aš, cf. Aram. 'ā) "wood", plus -ōn. — Qarna'ūn is possibly qarn(a) 'Aun "the summit, peak of 'Aun" (for this Arabic personal name cf. Ġamh., 213, NA A(!)-ū-ni, Tell Halaḥ, 106: 19). — Žirūn is possibly from gērōn, cf. Can. gēr "client". — Raiḥūn may go back to rapōn, cf. the Trans-Jordanian toponym Ραφών (cf. Raphana, HG, 154) which is probably derived from R-P-Y "to heal" (cf. Bibl. Pādōn from P-D-Y). — P. 204, Mārūs. Also Pal. — The suffix -is is probably found in Pal. 'Ibdīs and Nūris (from 'abd > 'ibd "slave, servant" and nūr "light" respectively). The suffix -is is found in Pal. Jabriš (from Jabr, Ġamh., 251) and the suffix -ūs is found in Pal. Na'mūs (from na'm, cf. the similar names which are listed in Ġamh., 439, 444). — P. 210. Other toponyms with -ō may be NA URUBi'-ru-u/ū (NAT, 72, near Sidon), possibly *Bīrō, from B-'R "to burn" (Cf. Pal.

Βαράος, name of hot springs in Trans-Jordan, HG, 167), (Bait) Hašbo (cf. URUHa-ša-bu, EA 174: 8) possibly from H-š-B "to think, consider" (DISO, 97), Tibo, possibly from T-Y-B "to be good", and Žilo (cf. Bibl. Ġilō. — P. 213, Bnāyil < bnāyil. Ba-na'-ili is a name of a Jew at Nippur in the fifth century B.C. (BE 9, 25: 1; 45: 1, L.E.). — (Zūq) Mkāyil. Another form of this personal name is Maḥhūl. — P. 215, Birqyil may alternatively be baraḥ'el "Baraḥ ('lightning') is god". "Lightning" is the theophoric element of the following NB/LB names (1-5): dBa-ru-qu-nu-[ri] (A/SL 16, 1899/1900, 73, 16: 10), (2) dBa-ru-qu-ile'i (VAS 5, 62 + 63: 19), (3) dBa-ru-qu-... (Camb. 387: 16), (4) Ab-di-dGIR (VAS 15, 20: 3, cf. AHw., 122a, s.v. birqu), (5) Pa-ši-ir-dBa'-ra-qa- (BRM 2, 45: 8, for the first element cf. AHw., 844f., s.v. pašir, pašir). Note dBirqu (Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 81b, s.v.) and the toponym Nār dBu-ru-qu (Weidner, AFO 9, 1933/34, 93: 44, possibly *Barūqu with NA Vokalharmonie). The NA hypocoristicon Bur-qa-a (ADD 711, r. 13) and the Palestinian toponyms Βόρκαιος (modern Barqit, HG, 100f.), Burqa and Burqin (pl.) also belong here. — P. 217, 'Ammiq < 'ammiq "deep". Cf. Pal. 'Ammūqa. — P. 218, 'Ain) 'Anūb. The Biblical name is 'Anūb. — 'Ar'ār. Cf. Pal. 'Ar'āra. — P. 220. Add Bibl. Ba'al Tāmār. — P. 224, Il-Baruk. Cf. Hbrk in Judea (= hab-Bārūk, Caphar Barucha, HG, 116, 227 with refs.). — P. 225, (Kfar) Bit < kpar bait. Cf. Pal. Kafr Beita. — P. 226, Dib'al < di b'al "belonging to Ba'al". Cf. (Mazra'at) Šilba'l (p. 244). — Dibil. Cf. Pal. Dubel. — P. 227, id-Dūq OSyr. dauq(ā) "view point". Cf. Pal. had-Dōq (Δουκά, HG, 120, 227), and Dūqet Kafr 'Aqeb. — Il-Fardis, cf. Pal. Faradis⁵⁾. — P. 229, (Harf/Kfar) Hazir < hazir "pig". Cf. NA URUHuzirina (NAT, 171) which is the Aram. pl. — (Kfar) Hbāb < hḥāb "brand". Cf. Χαβαβα, modern Habab (HG, 155). — Inšif < nšip. For the formation cf. perhaps Pal. Ijzim < gzim (cf. Jastrow, *Dict.*, 231a). — P. 233, Kaftūn may be derived from kaft "cave, hole" with -ūn (cf. p. 194). — P. 237, in-Na's "Fallow land with strong and deep-rooted grass" (Fraihā, 354). Cf. Bibl. na'sūs⁶⁾. — P. 238, (Kfar) Qāhil. Cf. the Biblical toponym Maḥhēlōt. — P. 239, il-Qarqaf, Qarqafi. The latter is also found in Palestine. — P. 241, Smāh < smah, "flower, shoot, sprout". Cf. Pal. Samah. — P. 244, Šhūr < JAram. šhōr "extinguished coal" or Hebrew šāhōr "black". Cf. Pal. Beit Saḥūr. — P. 245, Šnan'ir. For 'ir "guard" cf. Pal. 'Ira. — P. 248, Zammār. Cf. Pal. Zammārin (pl.). — P. 252, Žižim, Canaanite gaggim "roofs". Cf. perhaps Pal. Jijin

⁵⁾ Gk. Ἡρωδείοι, Heb. Hrdys (HG, 92, 226). Perhaps yōnē hardisā'ōt means "doves from Hardis" (differently E. Oren, *Tarbiz* 34, 1964/65, 356ff., Z. Vilnay, *Tarbiz* 35, 1965/66, 192, Kutscher, *Lešonenu* 32, 1967/68, 110f.).

⁶⁾ Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, s.v. (following BDB and I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, 2, 416f.). "thorn enclosure" (of *Alhagi Camelorum* Pisch); E. König (*Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2nd and 3rd ed., Leipzig 1922, s.v.) "concealment; hedge" (of a certain kind of thorns).

(with -in-)⁷⁾. — Abrūk and Akrūm are probably derived from B-R-K and K-R-M respectively; for the formation cf. Pal. Arsūf. — Fūq, Maifūq. The latter possibly contains mai- "water". — Ġarzūz is possibly a qatlul formation, cf. Ġerizim (Ġerizzim). — For Ma'rūb cf. above ad Ma'rūbūn. — Rfid. Cf. Bibl. R'epidim and Arpad, and NA URUMar-pa-da(-a-a) (NAT, 239) and perhaps NA URULa-ri-ib/p-da (NAT, 225). — Sir. Cf. Pal. Sirin "thorns" (cf. p. 83). — (Kfar) Šir. Cf. Pal. Šir (Tarbiz 43, Pl. opposite p. 158: 27) and NA URUŠi-ri-na (NAT, 324), possibly "hinges, pivots" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1280b). — Zān. Cf. NAURUTil Za-ni-i (NAT, 356). — Žmūm is possibly from agmōn "reed, cane" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 13). — P. 255, 'Amšit < 'ambšit < 'ain bē šit. Cf. perhaps Pal. Baššit < bē šit? "Seth's place" (for ba- cf. Baṭṭōf below). — 'Ailūt < 'ain Lūt "Loth's source". It is not clear whether Pal. 'Eilūt belongs here (it is identified with ancient 'Aitalō (HG, 133). — P. 256f. In Palestine the form is usually beit-; exceptions are Beisān (Bibl. Bēt Š'ān, later Beisān) and Beisamūn (< bē Šamōn? Šamōn may be a variant of Ešmūn, cf. Qabr Šmūn, p. 202f.). Note Pal. Baṭṭōf < bē ntōpā (HG, 135); the second component is probably found in Hirbet Natiš which is situated in the valley (sahl) of Baṭṭōf. The form bē- is possibly found in the NA toponyms URUBe Ra-ḥa-ia-te (ARU 152: 6), "the shepherds' place", URUBe Rap-ša-ši(-a-a) (NAT, 72) "Rapša's⁸⁾ place" and URUBe Sa-ḥi-ḥa (Tell Halaḥ, 105: 4) "Ša-ḥiḥa's⁹⁾ place", provided that the reading is not Bat¹⁰⁾; ba- is possibly found in Βασκαμά (bēt šaqmā, šiqmā?, HG, 152). — P. 260, (Mazra'at) Bazbūn. Za-bu-nu is also a personal name (e.g., NBN, 216b). — (Dair) Bḥannin. Cf. the personal name Ha-ni-nu (Camb. 385: 19, LB, Amorite Ha-ni-nu-um, UET 5, 167: 3). — P. 262, Bšis. Cf. Pal. Beit Sūsin (pl.). — P. 263, (Mazra'at) Bšaffūr < bē šippōr. Cf. NA URUBit (m)Šu-pu-ri (NAT, 89, near Sidon). The first -u- may be due to NA Vokalharmonie. Šippōr here is probably a personal name, cf. Bibl. Šippōr. — P. 264, Bazrīz < bē zrīz. NA URUZa-ar-za-a-te (NAT, 383) is possibly derived from the same root. — P. 267, (Dār) Šmizzin. Cf. NA URUMe-ze-e (NAT, 247)¹¹⁾ and Mzh (Tarbiz 43, Pl. opposite p. 158: 12); for the first component cf. perhaps Pal. Ša'nab; 'nab possibly means "cluster, grape; berry" (cf. Jastrow, *Dict.*, 1091). — P. 269, (Bait) Yāhūn. Cf. perhaps NA KURia-ḥa-a-nu (NAT, 183), the name of the Aramean territory which was named later Bit Agūsi (in northern Syria). — Yanūh. Cf. NA URUMa-na-aḥ-ḥu (NAT, 235), possibly *Manāh (cf. Heb. Mānōah). — P. 270, Yārin. Also Pal. — Yārūn is probably from

⁷⁾ Trans-Jordanien Βηνναμαρσίμ (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* [ed. Klostermann, Leipzig 1904], 138, 21) for Bēt Namrim, probably does not render the form which was current in Trans-Jordan (i.e. -in), but a form influenced by LXX.

⁸⁾ Cf. the Safaitic personal name Rfšn (IC, 284)

⁹⁾ Cf. *ibid.*, 341, s.v. šh.

¹⁰⁾ Old Aramaic has by, probably for byt (see Kutscher, *A History of Aramaic*, 1, Jerusalem 1971 [in Hebrew], 22).

¹¹⁾ Double consonants are not always represented in NA renderings of foreign names.

*Yar'ōn (= Bibl. Yir'ōn)¹²⁾. — P. 271, Yaḥšūš (from Aram. H-š-š "to feel pains, suffer", Jastrow, *Dict.*, 511f. cf. Ginsberg *apud* Gordon, AFO 12, 117). Note the PN Hā-šu-šu (Iraq 23, 1961, 45 and Pl. 24, ND 2707, r. 8', NA) which is perhaps a Phoenician name. — Yāšit is probably from Š-Y-T "to place" or sim. — Yanta may be derived from N-T-Y "to stretch, pink (a tent)"¹³⁾. — Yabrūd. Cf. Pal. 'Ein Yabrūd. — Note the Pal. toponym Ya'bad (possibly from -B-D "make, work") and the following West Semitic toponyms which are listed in NAT, 182f.: LÚla(-a)-daq/da-qu(a-a), (possibly from D-Q-Q)¹⁴⁾, KUR/LÚla-ad-bu-ru (or Ia-a-di-bi-ri, from D-B-R)¹⁵⁾, URUIa-ab/p-ti-ru (from B/P-T-R)¹⁶⁾, URUIa-ra-nu (perhaps from R-N-N)¹⁷⁾, URUIa-ri-di (possibly the same name as URUA-ri-di, K 535, r. 1, unpubl., cited by Parpola ZA 64, 109, n. 28, with ya- > a-, perhaps from R-Y-D)¹⁸⁾, LÚla(-a)šī-AN, I-šī-AN (NB), Ia-as-AN (NA), KURla-ū-sa-a-a (possibly from 'W-š)¹⁹⁾. — Žinsnāya < gan snāyā "garden of the blackberries". The first component is probably found in Pal. Jinsinya, Jinsajūt and Janjir (Gan(ne)gar, HG, 133). — 'Azūr. Cf. Pal. 'Azra. — P. 273, (Kfar) Fāqūd. Cf. NA URUPa-qu-ud (NAT, 273) and Pal. Pacida (paqidā, HG, 147). — P. 275, (Mazra'at il-Haukir < ḥōkēr "tenant, lessee". Cf. perhaps NA URU/KURHu-uk-(ku-) ru-na, Hu-uk-ku-ri-na (NAT, 168). — P. 276, (Zabal šir) Šaubak. Cf. Šōb/pāk, name of an Aramean in the Bible. — P. 278ff. Gk. Έκδιππα for Bibl. Akzib (NA URUAk-zi-bi, NAT 11) causes the same problem as Gk. Τύρος and Βύβλος for Semitic Šōr (Šūr) and G'bal (Gubla) respectively. Perhaps Gk. š was pronounced here like the Canaanite voiced sibilant /z/. — P. 289, Bait il-Kikko. Cf. Pal. Beit Kikka. — Bir (or a similar form) "well" and gi' may already be found in the Phoenician toponym URUB[i-i]r-gi' (NAT, 74, NA, near Sidon). — P. 290, bqā', OSyr. paq'āṭā "valleys, plateaus". Cf. Pal. Βακαθά and Βακά (pqī'in, HG, 136, 163). — P. 293. Note Pal. Deir Abān and Dweir Abān. — P. 297f. Kfir

¹²⁾ Possibly from Y-R- "to be afraid" (differently Kampffmeyer, ZPDV 16, 1893, 44). The personal name Ia-ri- (BRM 1, 25: 2, NB) may be derived from the same root.

¹³⁾ The Bibl. toponym Yuffāh (LXX Ιετταν, 'Iτταν, Tavo, modern Yafta) may be derived from the same root (Borée, AOP, 102, 6).

¹⁴⁾ "To crush, pound, powder" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 319, cf. D-W-Q "id." and "to examine carefully", *ibid.*, 287 f.). Note URUIa-a-da-qu (BIN 2, 120: 6, NB/LB) and cf. KUR/URUDi-qu-qi/qi-na (NAT, 105, NA, with the pl. suffix -in) which may be derived from the same root.

¹⁵⁾ "to lead" or sim. (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 278) URUDi-bi-ra-ti and URUDi-bi-ri-na (NAT 101, NA) may be derived from the same root with the pl. suffixes -āt and -in respectively.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. Arab. batara "to cut off", Hebr. btr "id.", the Biblical toponym (hab-)Bitrōn and the Amorite toponym Ia-ab/p-tu-ru (JCS 7, 57, OB).

¹⁷⁾ "to cry loudly, jubilate" or sim. (Arabic and Hebrew).

¹⁸⁾ Cf. OB Ia-ri-du-um, I-ri-da-nu-um and Ri-id-IM (Goetze, JSS 4, 1959, 146, n. 2).

¹⁹⁾ "to grant", cf. the Arabian names listed in IC, 40f., 655, Ywš at Lachisch (PSb. 7 [70], 1962, 228) as well as OB Ia-ū-šu (Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, 31) and Ia-ū-š-AN (AOAT 3/1, 35: 28). For the Phoenician toponym URUIs-nu-u/ū (NAT, 377, NA) and the Ugaritic toponym URUIs-na-ti (etc.) see M. Astour, *An.Or.* 50, 367, 196.

< *k̄p̄ir* is already found in Bibl. *K̄p̄irim*; the form *kuf̄r* is found in Palestine. *K̄far* plus an Arabic PN is Pal. *Kafr Lām* (cf. *Ġamh.*, 376). — P. 300. For Lebanese *maṭḥani* and Syrian *ṭāḥūn* cf. Pal. *ṭāḥūne* (pl. *ṭawāḥīn*). P. 300f. For the geographical distribution of Canaanite *Magdal* (etc.) see B. S. J. Isserlin, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society* 7, 1956, 83ff. — P. 303f. *Rās il-'Ain* is also found in Palestine (where *Rās in-Naba'* is attested). — P. 304. Cf. Pal. *Šūq-Mazzai* (modern *Ḥirbet Šūq Mazin*, HG, 118) and NA URUSu-qa mMa-ru-si (NAT, 318, cf. the Aramean tribe LÚMa-ru-su, *ibid.*, 242). — *Tire* is a frequent toponym in Palestine. — Cf. the Palestinian settlement *Wādī Fūkīn*. — P. 306, *žall*. Cf. the pl. forms Pal. *Žillīn* and Γαλλίνα (modern *Jiliya*, HG, 110) and with -ōn: *Žallūn*. Perhaps also Pal. *Jaḷqamūs* belongs here, but its second component (-qamūs) is unexplained. — P. 307. JAram. *gabbā* "back, hill, rising ground" is possibly found in Pal. *Gab(b)āfā* (Γαβαφα), modern *Jabbāta* (pl., HG, 132f.), and, with -ōn, in Bibl. *Gibtōn* (LXX Γαβαθων, NA URUGab-bu-tū-nu, Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, iv: 180, with NA *Vokalharmonie*, for the formation cf. NA *Am/nqarrīna* for Bibl. *'Eqrōn*). Modern *Jebbatūn* in northern Gilead probably goes back to a homonym. — *Žubb* with the meaning "bush, thicket" is perhaps found in the same area (Steuernagel, *Der 'Adschlūn*, Leipzig 1927, 584). OSyr. *gubbṭā* "ditch, trench" is probably found in JAram. *guḇṭā*, *guṭṭā* "pit" (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 217). — P. 313. Cf. Pal. *Deir Hanna*. — *Mār Ilyās/Iliya/Liya*. Cf. *Deir il-yūs/il-Liye/il-Liya* and *Bakr Abu Liye* (cf. *Weli Abu Bakr*) in northern Gilead. — P. 314. For *Nuhra* cf. the JAram. PN *Nhōray* (Jastrow, *Dict.*, 881). P. 315, *Šalliṭa*. Another personal name which is derived from *Š-L-T* (with -āt) is NB/LB *Šā-la-ṭa-a-tū* (GCCl 2, 360: 8). — P. 322. Tribes which are named after places are already attested in the first millennium B.C.; cf. the Aramean tribe LÚRapiqu (Brinkman, *PKB*, 270).

In conclusion we would like to express our thanks to Dr Wild who arranged and treated the toponyms in an exemplary way — always systematically and competently, thereby showing how to deal with the toponymy of a given territory. The above remarks primarily illustrate the stimuli which this book gives not only to the study of Lebanese toponymy, but also to the study of the Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian toponymy. R. ZADOK

BOEKBESPREKINGEN

ALGEMENE WERKEN

Fritz FREMERSDORF, *Antikes, Islamisches und Mittelalterliches Glas*, sowie kleinere Arbeiten aus Stein, Gagat und verwandten Stoffen in den Vatikanischen Sammlungen Roms. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1975 (gr.4to, 133 S., 2 Farbtafeln, 92 schwarz-weiss Tafeln). Preis: Lire 120.000.

Aus dem Vorwort erfahren wir, dass die Bearbeitung

der überaus wichtigen Glassammlung der vatikanischen Museen Prof. Fremersdorf grosse Schwierigkeiten bereitet hat. Während der Hitlerzeit hatte man ihn sogar verleumdet. Man hatte es ihm übel genommen, dass er für diese Arbeit aus einem amerikanischen Stipendium (gestiftet von Prof. Morey) bezahlt wurde und behauptete dass er die Arbeit an den kölnischen Sammlungen dafür vernachlässigte. Schon 1937 war mit der Bearbeitung des Katalogs ein Anfang gemacht worden. Nach dem Kriege hat der Verfasser das Werk fortgesetzt. Auch die Drucklegung kam nur langsam voran. Endlich 1975 wurde der Katalog als Vol. V des *Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* veröffentlicht.

Im Laufe der Arbeit wurde beschlossen nicht nur die Gläser, sondern auch kleine Arbeiten aus Stein, Gagat, Bergkristall und verwandten Stoffen im Katalog aufzunehmen.

Über die Katakombenfunde bemerkt der Verfasser, dass wir heute wissen, dass die ältesten christlichen Katakombengräber Roms nicht vor die 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrh. anzusetzen sind. Viele Katakombengläser, besonders aus früherer Zeit, müssen also noch heidnisch sein. Die häufigen Funde von *fondi d'oro*, aber auch anderer Gegenständen wie Ringe und Armbänder aus Knochen und Elfenbein, Muscheln, bronzene Glöckchen und vieles andere mehr erklärt er als Erkennungsmerkmale für die Besucher der inschriftlosen Gräber.

Von den schönen farbigen Sandkerngläsern, die früher allgemein für typische Erzeugnisse Ägyptens gehalten wurden, sind die meisten wohl an anderen Stellen des Mittelmeerbeckens, u.a. Grossgriechenland, Etrurien, Istrien u.a.O. gefertigt worden, was für die hier publizierte spätere Stücke sicher zutrifft. Im Leidener Museum gibt es auch verschiedene aus der Troas und aus Gräbern bei Smyrna.

Von sogenannten *Millefiorigläsern* (vasa Murrina) gibt es in der Sammlung frühe (augusteisch bis mitte des 1. Jahrh.) und späte Stücke (3. Jahrh.), darunter auch die Gläser in Nachahmung von Halbedelsteinen. Zu dem langzylindrischen Glasbehälter Nr. 186 möchte ich bei den angeführten Parallelen noch die beiden schönen Stücke im Museum zu Leiden (Braat, *Oudh. Med.* XLIV, 1963) hinzufügen, wie auch bei der Besprechung der Gläser mit Vogelfedermuster und die mit buntgefleckter Oberfläche noch ein Paar gute Stücke (siehe ebenda).

In der Einführung geht Prof. Fremersdorf natürlich auch auf die Frage der Herstellungsorten von Gläsern ein. Das ist noch immer eine sehr schwierige Frage. Es ist in der Römerzeit mit Gebrauchsware und Luxuserzeugnissen aus Keramik und Glas weithin Handel getrieben worden wie die Funde deutlich erkennen lassen. Auf S. 17 führt er eine Auswahl Gläser der Vatikanischen Sammlung auf, derer Technik weitgehend mit dem nordischen (bzw. kölnischen) Material zusammengeht, diesem öfters z.T. zum Verwechseln gleichkommt. Dass es sich bei diesen Stücken einwandfrei um rheinische, bzw. kölnische Gläser handelt wagt der Verf. nicht ausdrücklich zu sagen. Über Fabrikationsorten kaiserzeitlichen Gläser wird darum im allgemeinen wenig gesagt. Viele Formen sind in der Kaiserzeit an weit auseinander-

dergelegenen Stellen fabriziert worden. Nur tausende von Spektralanalysen könnten hier vermutlich weiter helfen. Von den Salbflaschen und Aschenurnen findet man viele Parallelen besonders in Syrien und Ägypten. Letztere müssen auch in grossen Mengen in Aquileia gefertigt sein. Prof. Fremersdorf hat im dortigen Museum allein schon 276 Stücke gezählt. Merkurflaschen sind öfters in Gallien und im Rheinland gefunden worden. Sie kamen schon im 1. Jahrh. vor aber auch noch am Ende des 3. Jahrh. In dieser Spätzeit werden die unbeschädigten Stücke der vatikanischen Sammlung datiert.

Wenn möglich gibt der Autor auch Datierungen, aber meistens ohne Beweise. Man fragt sich ob aus den angeführten Parallelen gelegentlich nicht Beweise für eine Datierung zu entnehmen wären. Sehr nützlich ist in dieser Hinsicht das Buch von Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, das wohl im Literaturverzeichnis vorkommt aber, so weit ich sehe, nirgends zitiert wird. Fundorte sind bei den Vatikanischen Gläsern selten erwähnt. Auch sind viele Glasformen Jahrhunderte lang unverändert geblieben, sodass eine Datierung einzelner Stücke öfters nur in Zusammenhang mit anderen Artefakten aus dem gleichen Fund unternommen werden kann.

Von den mittelalterlichen Gläsern stammen die ältesten aus der Völkerwanderungszeit. Spätere Stücke sind meistens islamisch und einige Exemplare aus dem 11/12. Jahrh. sind sicher Venezianisch und desto interessanter weil über den ältesten venezianischen Glastypen bisher fast nichts bekannt ist.

Besonders wertvoll sind manchmal die Einführungen zu den verschiedenen Abschnitten des Katalogs, wie man das erwarten kann von einem Autor der sein ganzes Leben dem Studium der Antiken Kleinkunst, besonders dem der Gläser gewidmet hat. Durch die zahlreichen, öfters geradezu vollständigen Anführungen gleichartiger Stücken in anderen Sammlungen mit Zitierung der einschläglichen Literatur (manchmal sind auch Abbildungen beigelegt) ist das Buch ein wahres Standardwerk geworden, nicht nur für Glas, sondern auch für Arbeiten in Bergkristall, Gagat, Halbedelstein, Elfenbein usw.

Fast alle Stücke, auch die vielen Fragmente, sind in guten fotografischen Abbildungen wiedergegeben. Nur wären auch noch zeichnerische Wiedergaben, halb im Durchschnitt, erwünscht wie man das von Publikationen von Harden u.a. gewöhnt ist. Man kann daraus besser Rand- und Fussbildungen erkennen. Beschreibungen sind dafür manchmal unzureichend.

Auch wegen gewissen seltsamen Glastypen die sich in den vatikanischen Sammlungen befinden ist dieser Katalog eine willkommene Ergänzung zu den vielen Arbeiten über antikes Glas, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten erschienen sind.

Leiden, April 1975

W. C. BRAAT

*
*

Otto KURZ, *European Clocks and Watches in the Near East*. Warburg Institute, London — Brill, Leiden 1975 (8vo, pp. xii + 109, 16 pls.) [= *Studies of the Marburg Institute XXXIV*]. Price: 48 guilders/£ 9.

The late Otto Kurz's *European Clocks and Watches in the Near East* which originated as a lecture in 1973 has appeared in print with a wealth of scholarly footnotes with commendable speed. A study of aspects of the history of technology in the Ottoman Empire between 1480 and 1850, a period generally dismissed by Western writers as beneath their interest, it will do much to shake ignorant dogmatism, and shows the ultimate predominance of the West in a new light.

Initially Muslim time-pieces, horologes or astrolabes, were pre-eminent in the mediaeval world. The planetarium clock sent to Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in 1232, most probably by al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt [10], continued the tradition of diplomatic gifts inaugurated by Hārūn al-Rashid's clepsydra sent to Charlemagne in 807 [7], but it had no European equal. Astrolabes, mostly Spanish-Moorish, though probably not made for export, circulated everywhere in Europe: 13th century astrolabes bear Latin inscriptions often contemporary with their Arabic dates [13, 15], though, ironically, the Latin is often more difficult to date precisely because of the difficulty of dating Gothic majuscule. And even a clock with a mercury escapement [18-19], exploiting a medium first referred to in Aristotle's *De Anima*, made by the Rabbi Isaac ibn Sid, is known from Alfonso the Wise's *Libros de Saber de Astronomia*. Though it did not have much of a future it is conclusive evidence that 13th century craftsmen continued to experiment and did not content themselves with reproducing Hellenistic or earlier Muslim clocks. Only one sign of recession can be noted: witness Hartner's amazing conclusion ("Asturlāb" *El*²; cited Kurz 11 n. 4): "Spanish-Moorish astrolabes always have a Julian calendar, Egyptian a Julian or Coptic, while Persian never have a solar calendar". The Persians, nevertheless, use both the Syriac solar calendar and Malikshāh's reformed calendar of 1075, the Jalālī. Necessarily so, for taxes, no less than the rest of the Muslim world, were principally assessed on the harvest. How then did they tell the months?

Hartner's conclusion is true only up to a point, since L. A. Mayer (*Islamic Astrolabists and their Works* (Geneva 1956) 18, 74) mentions two astrolabes bearing the Jalālī (in addition to the Hijrī, Yazdagirdī and Seleucid) calendar. However, one is dated very late (by Muḥammad b. Muḥsin 1195/1789) and the other (by Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. Yusha') does not appear in his list. Mayer himself remarks how surprising it is that the Il-Khānids, who patronised astronomy and particularly the Marāgha observatory, should have omitted their own era. This, however, began only with Ghāzān, and none of the instruments from the observatory he founded at Shanb outside Tabriz appears to have survived. His general conclusion, that not a single instrument dated ... solely in accordance with any other lesser chronological system used in the lands of Islam is known, certainly stands.

Circa 1300 came the Western invention of spring- or weight-driven clocks with a simpler regulating escapement. This was doubly critical: such clocks were cheaper and more practical; they also inaugurated a period of experimentation in the West which constantly outstripped Islamic experiments in clock-making. It is probably of less significance that it made al-Jazari's treatise on clocks and automata, the *Kitāb fi Ma'rifa al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya*, obsolete since, as the present reviewer has already argued [*Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXXIII, p. 358-363], this was probably a compilation in the first place, which was copied as amusement, not for its practical value. But in Europe astrolabes, which in the 14th-15th centuries were still widespread, were displaced as time-pieces by clocks. The treaty of 1479 (the text has, inexplicably, 1477) between Mehmed II and Venice, one clause of which [20 n. 2] was that a craftsman able to make chiming clocks should be sent to Istanbul, is typical of the interest Western clocks also aroused outside Europe. The Habsburg embassy of 1541 to the Porte after Süleyman the Magnificent's invasion of Hungary included among the gifts it offered a large silver planetarium-clock, doubtless to impress the Sultan with its exoticism, like the clock sent from Venice for the Mamlūk Sultan, Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, in Cairo (15154 [24 n. 1, citing Sanudo *Diarii* 20, 168] which was ultimately given to the chief Interpreter. However, it had an extraordinary result. When the Ottoman-Habsburg armistice was signed in 1547 Süleyman stipulated that part of the annual Austrian tribute/*Türkenverehrung* would be in clocks and watches, the bizarrer, as it turned out, the better.

European embassies to Turkey thereafter (24-27] included large clocks, often with an attendant clockmaker to keep them going till they were accepted, as standard diplomatic gifts. The pieces were first class work, Kurz emphasises, intended for the European market, turquerie and all, though avoiding overtly religious themes [33]. As these automata-clocks accumulated at the Saray, however [41] spectacular effects predominated over practicality, for example, the organ-clock offered by Queen Elizabeth I as an accession present to Mehmed III (1595) or an Augsburg clock of circa 1600 which howled like a wolf every hour [42-3, 39] and, suitably amplified, must have produced quite an impression.

Kurz's belief, shared by Francis Watson in his review of the work in *The Times Literary Supplement* (September 17th 1976 1158) that none of these German clocks survives in the Saray needs qualification. In August 1976 the exhibition of clocks and watches at the Topkapı Saray contained the cubic gilt and engraved bronze base (No. 43/391) of a weight-driven automaton clock, from which the automaton, and probably some of the works, is missing. The dial has cipher-numbers, as in Arabic, and the piece is dated "? 1550". No provenance is suggested, but the workmanship is obviously South German and the piece may well be from Augsburg. As Kurz remarks [43]: "Their ambitiousness, and their incredible complicated mechanisms, which would have needed constant attention by a team of specialists, must have contributed to their early neglect and ultimate destruction". Little better, though, can be said of Europe [45]. There are

palace collections including Renaissance clocks in Vienna, Kassel and Dresden, but of the English, French and Spanish collections nothing survives but inventories.

There was an Ottoman response, the informed treatise [49 and references in notes] of Taqī al-Dīn (1525-85), the Court Astronomer/Müneccim Bāshī of Murād III, on weight- and spring-driven clocks, most probably based on his practical experience with the foreign machines which came his way in Istanbul. A miniature in Luqmān's *Shāhanshahnāme* (989/1581) showing the ill-fated observatory built for him by Murād III [reproduced in Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul 1974) Pl. 17] shows both the traditional astronomical instruments and a spring-driven clock (the identification is the author's) with several dials. Whether it was his own work we shall never know, for the observatory was razed in 1580 and no treatise by any pupil has come to light. The destruction of the observatory was an odd episode. Inalcık's assertion (*The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London 1973) 179) that it was the triumph of fanaticism needs demonstration, and Otto Kurz's pessimistic conclusion [51] is perhaps overstated.

The demand for watches grew, no longer confined merely to the Sultans of their high officials. Throughout the 17th century [54 ff] there was a colony of Swiss Calvinist watchmakers at Galata, mostly youths who had terminated their apprenticeship gaining a few years' experience by assembling or repairing watches made in Geneva. One of the last of them was Isaac, the father of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. By the 18th century the English had collared the trade, and on a vast scale [72-79]. Between 1772 and 1810 [78] George Prior, one of the most reputed manufacturers, made nearly thirty thousand, though few of them appear to have reached the Ottoman provinces. Such an enormous quantity suggests that when a watch stopped the customers did not have it repaired but simply bought another. An amusing illustration of their use [73-74] is the emerald-encrusted dagger, which gained notoriety in the film *Topkapı*. It had been made for Mahmūd I as a present for Nādir Shāh of Persia, but remained in Istanbul because the latter was assassinated (1747) before it could be delivered: inset in the hilt is a small London watch.

On the Ottoman side, however, there was still no surrender. 17th-18th century Istanbul-made watches were, Kurz judges, as good as Swiss watches of the early 17th century. However, the English and the Swiss experimented continuously with more sophisticated movements, shock-proof devices and even thermometric scales [93], the Swiss adding all sorts of artificial canaries to pop out unexpectedly and whistle the time. The 18th century English watchmakers could satisfy the demand only by ordering movements wholesale from other makers. The Persian market [62-64] presents a marked contrast. Under Shāh 'Abbās at Isfahān there were two European clockmakers, both of whom came to bad ends, and his successors showed sporadic interest in European clocks: for example, by the Treaty of Finckenstein in 1809 Napoleon undertook to send to Persia *horlogers capables de faire des pendules*. But

the treaty remained a dead letter and Persian demand was never on a large scale. Kurz remarks that, given the scale of the European export trade it would be unreasonable to expect a local industry to compete. But it is extraordinary that in the face of what amounted to a Turkish mania so little local competition was stimulated.

Equally significant was the invention of the pendulum clock in the 17th century, ironically, a device groundlessly believed at the time to be of Arab origin. They reached the Saray by 1716, were thereafter collected no less avidly, and a Swiss clock-repairer [79] was appointed to keep them in order. They also were sophisticated with carillons or musical boxes [85-86], though these rarely made any concession to Turkish taste: while music *alla turca* [84] was sweeping Europe, clocks for Constantinople had repertoires of Western tunes: perhaps when they all jangled and pinged it was difficult for the untrained ear to distinguish. Few attempts were made to decorate them to Turkish taste, and even 19th century Gothic Revival clocks appear to have found a market. Can they have been for the bizarre Gothic Revival Valide Camii at Istanbul (1871) built by the mother of 'Abdül-'Aziz? The 'ulamā's disapproval was short-lived. The public clock at Yenice Vardar/Giannitsa in Northern Greece [100] bears an inscription dated 1167/1753-54 recording its erection as a pious work, and by the early 19th century large grandfather clocks were standard furniture in mosques, tekkes, and even Greek Orthodox churches. By the late 19th century, however, the movement was in reverse. In 1891 a clock made for the Turkish market less than a century previously returned to England as a collector's curiosity. History was then to repeat itself: the bizarre tastes of the Ottoman Sultans became the modern collector's standard.

The Renaissance automata-clocks raise one of Otto Kurz's persistent preoccupations, guilds and specialisation in the Middle Ages and after. [31] "The clocks became more and more ambitious, which meant that they were now the teamwork of clockmakers, goldsmiths, cabinet-makers and specialists in mechanical music, a necessary division of labour which became even more complicated by the insistence of the various guilds that no outsider must ever perform a job which by law or tradition was their privilege". The stronger guilds [32] could even ignore insistent Imperial demands. The status of guilds in mediaeval Islam is still a disputed topic, though they were never strong, and even less is known about specialisation. There is some good evidence for it, for example, minaret building in Mamlūk Cairo; but the contrast is interesting. European guilds were intimately connected with specialisation, but in Islam this may not have been the case at all. Supposing, against the evidence, that al-Jazari's clepsydras were ever made, it is simply unclear whether comparable complications to those in 16th century Augsburg would ever have arisen.

As Mamlūk and Ottoman practice demonstrates, conflict between Islamic guilds was irrelevant when Court orders were to be executed. Craftsmen were simply con-

scripted, and Raymond's conclusion (*Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* II (Damascus 1974) 565) for the 17th-18th centuries that the heads of the *tawā'if* might at most stipulate the minimum wage to be paid, is almost certainly valid for earlier periods. Moreover, Court workshops, with particularly skilled artisans directly attached to the ruler — though they might occasionally execute private commissions, lay outside the scope of any of the guilds. If one takes the Royal libraries from the 15th century onwards, like that of Bāysunqur at Herāt (died 827/1423-4) or the *nak-kashane* of Mehmed II (died 886/1481) and his successors in the Topkapı Saray, we find a large staff of specialised craftsmen working together entirely without competition. This is, characteristically, implied rather than stated by Otto Kurz, but it is nonetheless important.

One further interesting implication of his survey is that the clocks and watches were primarily popular as toys, not as timepieces, like the Augsburg clock sent to Istanbul in 1592 [40] described in an inventory as in the shape of a turban with a chamois on top turning its head backwards and forwards and pawing gilt serpents and scorpions which writhed when the hour chimed. Not all automata were acceptable. Hans Ulrich Krafft while a prisoner in Tripoli in the Lebanon (1573-77) was ordered [45] by a Turkish captain to repair a German clock he had received from Hungary, with a head which opened its mouth when the clock struck. Krafft made it work, but the captain became convinced the clock contained a demon and threatened to smash it to bits unless the head was removed immediately. Their popularity generally as toys explains, incidentally, the monotony of the devices: for example, blinking elephants, like an elephant clock made circa 1559 [29], an idea which recalls the Hellenistic Gorgon clock at Gaza, a Chinese clepsydra made for Qubilai Khān and al-Jazari's elephant clock as well, none of them with any obvious connexion. Taqī al-Dīn's treatise shows no knowledge of al-Jazari's which, despite Kurz's suggestion [51] does not appear to have been copied at the Ottoman Court or translated in the mediaeval West. His observation [29], therefore, that the drives were different is crucial: the West ultimately had as little interest in the history of horology as the East.

Given, however, that it was the automata which attracted, when were time-pieces bought by the Turks at all? Mere automata would, anyway, have caused far less trouble with the European guilds. Although the clock sent to Süleyman the Magnificent in 1541 may well have made that sovereign fix the subsequent tribute partly in time-pieces, we simply do not know what then caused demand to expand from the Court throughout Ottoman society. On the European side the intricate machines were demonstrations of craftsmen's virtuosity and are no evidence for customers' specifications, since their decoration and conceits could appeal to Muslims and Christians alike. Even in the 18th-19th centuries relatively few concessions were made to Turkish taste, and we are in the curious position of having the export side well documented, but a captive, and silent, market where even to speak of "Turkish taste" is misleading,

for we see it only as interpreted in later European terms. What was the stimulus to Turkish demand? — curiosity in machines at work? delight in luxuries? or a desire to keep up with the Habsburgs, Tudors, Medicis or Borgias, and the bourgeoisie? The economics of luxury trades, diplomatic missions and producers who cater for no particular clients, present well-known problems, which in this essay are exposed as a sophisticated tease.

The main problem *European Clocks and Watches in the Near East* poses is, however, not economic, but cultural. The neglect of Taqī al-Dīn's treatise by the later Ottomans may have been regrettable, but it highlights the futility of European clocks and watches, which recorded equal hours, as time-keepers where time, and the daily prayers, are fixed by "unequal" hours, the length of which is determined by season and latitude. Hence the continuing necessity of astrolabes, which in Europe were obsolete by the 17th century, and the spread [67] of more elaborate sundials to check the time the new clocks kept. The witty philistinism of Hilaire Belloc's epigram for a sundial,

"I am a Sundial, and I make a botch
Of what is done far better by a watch"

would have raised no Ottoman smile.

So long as these large European clocks remained inside the Saray public scandal, at least on a large scale, could be avoided. However, it is striking how quickly the taste for watches, and large clocks, spread outside. There was, quite naturally, resistance from the 'ulamā', perhaps a legacy of the pietism characteristic of 15th century Mamlūk Egypt, when the qiblas of various Cairo buildings were corrected for prayer with new mihrābs. There was even some speculation. Kātib Çelebi/Hājji Khalifa, the late 17th century Ottoman geographer, amused himself in a treatise, the *Mizān al-Haqq*, with geographical puzzles like the possibility of observing Ramaḍān at the North Pole, or whether Mecca, where the qibla faces all directions, might have a corresponding point on the earth's surface, as the North and South Poles correspond. There is no sign that this influenced the 'ulamā', though the publication of the Mūteferrika edition of his *Jihānumā* in 1732 [69] may well have led to the spread of small compasses to determine the qibla. But the ultimate acceptance of pendulum clocks by the 'ulamā' and the recognition, against entrenched prejudice, that infidel machinery might work better than traditional ways of Islamic time-keeping, represents an astonishing cultural evolution. In ages past, when Westernisation was synonymous with Progress, this could not have been recognised. But the commonly accepted view of late Ottoman society as totally obscurantist evidently needs considerable qualification, and it is one of the great merits of this excellent essay that it makes this so clear.

The present review is far from exhausting the charms of this delightful modern version of a mediaeval book of wonders. It is pleasant to think of the amusement it must have given the author, and tempting to concentrate upon the apparently endless curious and important details he brings to our notice; though the temptation

should be resisted, for he demonstrates the general neglect of Ottoman cultural history and of Western relations with Islam after the Middle Ages. Otto Kurz was a scholar of wide learning and subtle refinement. But he also used his curiosity to raise and suggest answers to important general problems, on some of which so little is known that anyone less imaginative would have dismissed them. Scores of scholars, classicists, mediaevalists and orientalist owe him gratitude for this. The present essay is a worthy memento, and a telling likeness of its author.

The American University in Cairo, J. M. ROGERS
May 1976

* *

THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA 1976
1977. Twenty-third Edition. London, Europe Publications Limited, 1976 (4to, XX + 930 pp., 1 map).
Price: £ 15.50 - ISBN 0 900 36296 0.

This survey and reference book consists of four parts: General Survey, Regional Organization, Country Surveys and other Reference Material. The introductory pages include a short article titled: "The Year in the Middle East" by W. B. Fisher, covering the events from June 1975 to June 1976. The General Survey, also by W. B. Fisher, opens with "An Introduction on the Middle East and North Africa", defining the area and giving information about the physical background, the social geography, the economic geography and assessing the present-day problems. Michael Adams contributed the article about the Arab-Israeli confrontation 1967-1976, and the article titled "The Jerusalem Issue". Then follows "Documents on Palestine" including "The Declaration of the first World Zionist Congress of August 1897" to the "Second Interim Peace Agreement between Egypt and Israel of September 4th, 1975". This collection of documents is followed by information on the Palestine Organizations.

Michael Field wrote the article "Oil in the Middle East and North Africa" following the events up to June 1976. His article includes statistics and lists of Oil Groups producing and exploring in the region. Hanns Maul contributed the article "The Arms Trade with the Middle East and North Africa" with statistics.

Part Two: "Regional Organizations" opens with a survey of memberships of the United Nations and related agencies in the Middle East and North Africa. This is followed by data about other organizations operating in the region under U.N. auspices. This part includes besides data on the Arab League, the Central Treaty Organization, The European Economic Community, the Federation of Arabic Republics, the Islamic Conference, The Maghreb Permanent Consultation Committee, the OAPEC, the OPEC, the Regional Co-Operation for Development, and other regional organizations.

The country by country surveys of part three are subdivided into sections on physical and social geography, history, economy, statistics, directory and bibliography.

Information has been up-dated since the 22nd edition and also the bibliographies are fairly up-to-date. The enormous amount of data presented in this volume makes it impossible to have all data correspond to the situation of June 1976.

Looking through the acknowledgements one has the feeling that this list should have been a little longer, i.e. the quest for data should have been met with a better response.

Part four includes a "Who's who in the Middle East and North Africa". One should like to know what are the criteria for inclusion or for exclusion. Included are e.g. Tawfiq al-Hakim and Yusuf Muhammad Siba'i, but not Nagib Mahfuz and Yusuf Idris.

Summing up, a useful publication which has since long deserved its place in any library concerning the Middle East and North Africa.


Leiden, November 1976


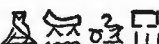
C. NIJLAND

EGYPTOLOGIE

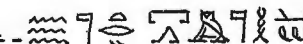
K. A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Bibliographical*. Vol. I. Fasc. 5 und 6. Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1974 (4to, je 64 S.), £ 1.50 je Fasc.

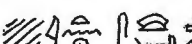

Hiermit werden zwei weitere Hefte des monumentalen Unternehmens von K. A. Kitchen angezeigt, die Inschriften Sethos' I. enthalten. I 5 enthält nur Inschriften aus dem Abydos-Tempel Sethos' I., wobei weitgehend auf die Standardpublikation von Calverley Bezug genommen wird. Bei den Inschriften des Schlachthofes konnte auf Abschriften Černýs in seinen Notebooks zurückgegriffen werden. Ein Text von der Treppe konnte durch unpublizierte Variante im Tempel Ramses' II. vervollständigt werden (I 189). In Heft 6 enthalten die Seiten 200-211 Inschriften Sethos' I. aus der Hypostylen Halle von Karnak. Diese hat Rez. mit eigenen Photos verglichen; Verbesserungsvorschläge sind — wie zu erwarten — minimal:

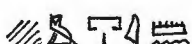
I 210,2 Ende lies: 

I 210,12 lies:  und 

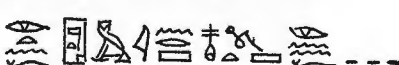
Nach den Texten dreier Statuen aus Karnak folgen Inschriften Sethos' I. aus seinem Totentempel in Gurna. Hierzu sollte zu I 220,5 ff. bemerkt werden, dass nach meiner Abschrift die Nordseiten der Architrave den Text vervollständigen bzw. variieren:

I 220,5 

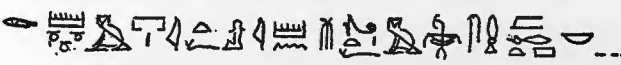
220,6   ---

Var. zu 220,9:  nswt-bjtj

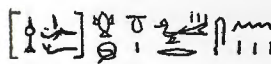
jr.n.f m mnw.f n jtf Imn-r'

 ---

Var. zu 220,10:



Es folgen ein Text aus dem Grab des Königs (Nr. 94), Fragmente aus Deir el-Medineh, Elkab und Akschah, ferner eine Auswahl von Restaurationsbemerkungen dieses Königs an den verschiedensten Denkmälern. Unter den „Miscellaneous and Minor Monuments“ (Nr. 99-107) ist vielleicht zu bemerken, dass I 231,6 nach Parallelen zu ergänzen ist:



Abgeschlossen wird Heft 6 durch mehrere hieratische Texte, darunter auch die bekannten Sethosrechnungen, die Spiegelberg veröffentlicht hat. Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass Kitchen auch in diesen Urkunden Verbesserungen gegenüber Spiegelbergs Lesungen gibt, die bei Benutzung des Textes zu berücksichtigen sind.

Hamburg, September 1976

W. HELCK

* *

Eric HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*. Nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches herausgegeben. Teil I: Text, autographiert von Andreas BRODBECK. Genève, Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1975 (gr. 4vo, XIII + 274 pp.) = *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2.

The last two decades have seen a marked revival of scholarly interest in the long-neglected religious texts of the New Kingdom. This renewed interest is reflected by several studies in the Book of the Dead from the pen of Heerma van Voss; by Jan Assmann's works on sun hymns and similar compositions; by Alexandre Piankoff's splendid Bollingen publications of mythological NK papyri, the texts from the shrines of Tutankhamun, and the Litany of Re; and in numerous books and articles by other scholars. Foremost among them is Erik Hornung, who presented us in 1963 with the first reliable and exhaustive edition of the Amduat. This publication, which constitutes a milestone in the treatment of religious texts from the royal tombs of the NK, is now to be followed by an equally comprehensive study of the so-called Litany of Re, undertaken with the help of a well-qualified team of young scholars.

The text of this Egyptian book was first published in 1875 by Edouard Naville, who based his edition primarily on the version preserved in the tomb of Sethos I. His designation of this book as the "litanie du soleil" has since become widely accepted, although the Egyptian title, attested in all twelve NK copies of the text, is actually "Book of the Adoration of Re in the West". Its first part comprises the invocation of Re in his seventy-five names, a curious figure recently linked convincingly to the snake-god and his seventy-four brothers and sisters in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor (M. Th. Derchain-Urtel, "Die Schlange des Schiffbrüchigen", in:

Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 1, 1974, 83-104). These invocations are followed by a corresponding number of self-predications on the part of the king for whose benefit the text was engraved in his tomb. Two vignettes complete the composition.

The first volume of this new edition consists of a brief description of the project, followed by 274 pages of autographed hieroglyphic texts. As in A. de Buck's classical edition of the Goffin Texts, all twelve copies are reproduced in full, arranged side-by-side in vertical columns. This presentation of the text, admirably autographed by A. Brodbeck, facilitates a quick comparison of the different copies and is a great convenience to the prospective user. A remarkable achievement in itself, the first volume will hopefully soon be followed by a translation and a commentary.

They will doubtless be of the high quality one is coming to expect from "L'École de Bâle".

Lethbridge, June 1976

DIETER MUELLER

* *

Michel GITTON, *L'épouse du dieu. Ahmes Néfertary. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*. Paris, 1975 (in 40, 104 pp., eine Zeichnung als Frontispiz) = *Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 172. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 15. Preis: 50 Ffrs. *)

Diese Arbeit ist eine thèse de 3e cycle und gehört zu jener Kategorie von Untersuchungen, die ein präzise umrissenes Thema materialmässig aufbereiten und deswegen meistens lange Zeit wertvoll bleiben ¹⁾. Sie gliedert sich, wie schon der Titel andeutet, in zwei Hauptteile: 1. Les documents contemporains, 2. Les documents posthumes. Dabei ist die Vorlage der Denkmäler in Form von kommentierten Beschreibungen und Listen im ersten Teil zunächst chronologisch und dann sachlich, im zweiten primär nach Sachgruppen gegliedert. Im zweiten Teil werden am Ende u.a. Ikonographie und Kult und dessen Geschichte besprochen. Als Indices findet man eine Liste der Objekte mit Namen der A-N in Museen und eine weitere mit den zitierten thebanischen Gräbern.

Auf eine umfassende Inhaltsangabe möchte ich zugunsten einiger mir erwähnenswert erscheinender Punkte verzichten. Das soll der Abrundung dienen, nicht den Wert des Buches schmälern. Es folgen anschliessend Hinweise auf Addenda et Corrigenda.

Das bedeutendste zeitgenössische Denkmal der A-N ist die „Stele“ aus Karnak mit dem Vertrag bezüglich des Priestertums als 2. Amunprophet. Kees hatte vor Jahren herausgestellt, dass es sich nicht, wie zunächst

*) Diese Besprechung unterscheidet sich insofern vom Üblichen, als dass ein vorläufiges Manuskript zwischen dem Rezensenten, dem Verfasser und Herrn De Meulenaere diskutiert werden konnte. Dadurch ergaben sich wertvolle Zusätze und Verbesserungsvorschläge, deren Autor jeweils genannt ist. Beiden Herren danke ich herzlich für ihre Bereitschaft.

¹⁾ Eine Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse erschien im *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, s.v. Ahmose-Nofretete.

angenommen, um eine Übertragung des Amtes des 2. Amunpropheten an A-N, sondern im Gegenteil um dessen Abtretung an den Bruder, Gemahl und König Ahmose handelt ²⁾. Das ist in der nicht-deutschen Literatur nicht angekommen. In jüngerer Zeit war noch Gardiner ³⁾, Redford ⁴⁾, Harari ⁵⁾, Vandersleyen ⁶⁾ und Menu ⁷⁾ nur die alte Version bekannt, die neue wurde von Wolf ⁸⁾, Otto ⁹⁾ und Helck ¹⁰⁾ als in zwischen selbstverständlich angesehen. Gitton kündigt einen eigenen Artikel dazu an.

Eine Arbeit über A-N muss sich naturgemäss mit ihrem wichtigsten Titel beschäftigen, eben dem der *Hmt-ntr*. Eine Klarstellung, d.h. Ablehnung der durch Sander-Hansen propagierten Verbindung von „Geburtslegende“ und Titel *Hmt-ntr* ¹¹⁾ war längst überfällig. Zwar hat dies eigentlich Yoyotte schon 1961 besorgt ¹²⁾, er hat aber, wie der total verfehlt Aufsatz von Tanner ¹³⁾ zeigt, mindestens in den Nachbardisziplinen nicht die gebührende Achtung gefunden ¹⁴⁾. Gitton betont S. 8 zwar, dass A-N den Titel als vererbaren Amtstitel trägt und dass dieser nichts mit dynastischen Erbfolgeregelungen zu tun hat, doch hätte ich mir den Gegensatz zu Sander-Hansen noch einmal deutlich ausgesprochen gewünscht, was, wie der erwähnte Artikel von Tanner zeigt, notwendig ist.

Sander-Hansen hatte den Mythos von der Zeugung des Thronfolgers durch Gott und die Gattin des regierenden Königs seiner Interpretation des Titels *Hmt-ntr* zu Grunde gelegt, obwohl in der Geburtslegende dieser nirgends erwähnt wird. Da die meisten der „Erbtöchter“ des königlichen Hauses der 18. Dynastie ihn trugen, wurde daraus die Doktrin, dass über die *Hmt-ntr* das königliche Blut vererbt werde ¹⁵⁾. Abgesehen von dem fehlenden Titel *Hmt-ntr* im Mythos liegt aber auch in Sander-Hansens Interpretation eine Verdrehung der Aspekte vor: Eine Vererbung des königlichen Blutes über die weibliche Linie bedeutet, dass für die Erfolge die Mutter wichtiger ist als der Vater. In dem Geburtsmythos ist davon nichts zu spüren; die Abstammung der Königin wird nicht einmal angegeben. In ihm will man betonen, der Thronfolger stamme von Gott ab und nicht, dass er reinblütig im dynastischen Sinne sei ¹⁶⁾.

²⁾ Or 23, 1954, 57/63.

³⁾ *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 1962, 174.

⁴⁾ *History and Chronology*, 1967, 3012.

⁵⁾ *ASAE* 56, 1959, 139ff.

⁶⁾ *Guerres d'Amosis*, 1971, 194.

⁷⁾ *RdE* 23, 1971, 155/63, bes. 161ff.

⁸⁾ *Kulturgeschichte*, 1962, 314.

⁹⁾ *Der Weg des Pharaonenreiches*, 1958, 143.

¹⁰⁾ *OLZ* 66, 1971, 18 in der Besprechung von Redford, *History and Chronology*. Der Text wird jetzt auch wiedergegeben von Helck in seinen *Historisch-Biographische(n) Texte(n)*, 1975, 100/03.

¹¹⁾ *Gottesweib des Amun*, 1940, 17. Sander-Hansen war nicht der erste Vertreter dieser Theorie, aber sie hat sich durch seine grundlegende Arbeit über die Gottesgemahlinnen allgemein durchgesetzt.

¹²⁾ *CRAIBL* 1961, 43ff und *BSFE* 64, 1972, 37.

¹³⁾ *ZAS* 102, 1975, 50ff.

¹⁴⁾ Sie findet sich auch noch bei Wolf, *Kulturgeschichte*, 1962, 314/15.

¹⁵⁾ So Schott, *Kronungstag* = *NAWG Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1955, No 6, 199.

¹⁶⁾ Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 1964, 198.

Nach Gitton, und das scheint plausibel, hat dann A-N Titel und Funktion der *Hmt-ntr* in der weiblichen Linie des Königshauses der 18. Dyn. weitervererbt, wenn wir auch nicht regelmässig sagen können, wie die Erbberechtigung im Einzelfall begründet ist ¹⁷⁾.

Wie es dazu kam, dass Titel und Funktion mit A-N an das Königshaus fiel, wissen wir nicht. Dass es sich aber nicht nur um einen Ehrentitel handeln kann (so noch Yoyotte 1961 ¹⁸⁾), zeigt ein unpublizierter Block vom Sanktuar Amenophis I aus Karnak, von dem Gitton eine Umzeichnung als Frontispiz gibt. Man sieht hinter einem Sem- oder Iunmutf-Priester einen Gottesvater und eine Frau in langem Gewand mit Stirnbinde nach rechts schreiten („Freien Zugang haben im Gotteshaus“). Ihre Beischrift lautet: „*Hmt-ntr Drt-[ntr]* A-N“. In weiteren Darstellungen vom Auftreten dieser Priesterin ist die Person immer anonym ¹⁹⁾, was zu implizieren scheint, dass nach A-N die Amtsausübung Stellvertreterinnen überlassen wurde. Die Verquickung der Titel *Hmt-ntr Drt-ntr* in den Beischriften deutet auf eine heliopolitanische Entstehung des Priesteramtes hin ²⁰⁾.

In der Titulatur der königlichen *Hmt-ntr* nach A-N ist *Drt-ntr* nach heutiger Kenntnis erst wieder von Nofure, der Tochter der Hatschepsut, an belegt ²¹⁾. Ob das etwas zu bedeuten hat, wie Gitton S. 16 meint (dem erst wieder Meritre-Hatschepsut II mit diesem Titel bekannt ist), möchte ich bezweifeln. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass eine Priesterin(?) aus dem MR bereits *Hmt-ntr Drt-[ntr]* ist (s.u.), handelt es sich wohl eher um eine Lücke in der Dokumentation.

Auf einer Stele aus Edfu trägt — posthum — schon Ahhotep, Frau des Sequenre Taa II, den Titel *Hmt-ntr*. Das heisst nicht notwendigerweise, dass A-N wirklich die erste Königin mit diesem Titel war (Gitton S. 8). Mindestens war er nicht so einseitig auf A-N zugeschnitten, als dass nicht ein nachlässiger Schreiber ihn ohne weiteres schon der Ahhotep beilegen konnte. Da wir über die Gründe, warum der Titel mit A-N solche Bedeutung gewann, nichts wissen, wäre hier eine Festlegung voreilig.

Für die Zeit vor dem NR verweist Gitton S. 7 ³²⁾ auf zwei Beispiele aus dem MR für den Titel *Hmt-ntr* bzw. *Hmt-ntr Drt-[ntr]* bei Privat(?) personen. Wie er mir brieflich mitteilt, bereitet er eine Arbeit über den Ursprung der Institution der Gottesgemahlinnen als Mémoire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes vor. Dem möchte ich nicht weiter vorgreifen, aber doch schon daraufhinweisen, dass Kees die *Hmt-ntr* im „Butischen Begräbnis“ als „Gemahlin des Königs“ und nicht als Gottesgemahlin versteht ²²⁾.

Auf S. 69 erklärt Gitton die beiden Titelvarianten *Hmt-njswt n(t) jmn* und *Hmt-ntr Hmt-njswt wrt n(t) jmn* als Irrtümer der ägyptischen Schreiber. Die Sachlage wird im ersten Fall durch moderne Abschreiber

¹⁷⁾ Diese direkte Vererbung dürfte spätestens mit Ende der 18. Dyn. abgerissen sein.

¹⁸⁾ *CRAIBL* 1961, 44.

¹⁹⁾ Belege bei Gitton S. 16 ²⁰⁻²²⁾.

²⁰⁾ Gitton S. 16 nach Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1961, 43.

²¹⁾ *ASAE* 39, 1939, 714.

²²⁾ *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen*, 1956, 245.

fehler \downarrow statt \uparrow und umgekehrt verkompliziert ²³⁾.

Die zuletzt genannte Tatsache reicht aber vielleicht nicht aus, die antiken Schreibungen sämtlich zu diskreditieren. So mache ich auf weitere Beispiele aufmerksam, deren Lesungen erst einmal überprüft werden müssten:

1) Skarabäus Turin No 5447 ²⁴⁾

Seite A: $\downarrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$

Seite B: $H3t-\text{špswt}$

2) Plättchen in Form eines Königsrings Turin No 38(?) ²⁵⁾ $\downarrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$

3) Goldring Kairo CG No 52173 ²⁶⁾

$\uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$

Mit geringer Wahrscheinlichkeit gehört in diese Reihe:

4) Stock aus der 18. Dyn. Brooklyn No. 37.1832 E ²⁷⁾

$hsb-jhw pr \downarrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$

²³⁾ Sander-Hansen nennt *Gottesweib*, 16/17 vier Belege, davon sind mindestens drei zu streichen. Sein erstes Beispiel *PSBA* 37, 1915, Taf. 16 (nicht 14) nach S. 145 beruht auf einer Auslassung seinerseits von *Hmt-ntr* nach *Hmt-njswt wrt*. Bei seinem zweiten Beleg *RT* 2, 1880, 171 = Louvre Stele N 662 liegt ein Abschreiber

fehler Masperos vor, \downarrow für \uparrow , nach den anderen Kopien zu

schliessen (Lit. bei *PM* I², 722). Bei der Stele aus Abydos *RT* 13, 1890, 146 = Mariette No 1080 = CGC 34080 gibt Legrain, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 128 von dem Titel nur noch ein \uparrow und ein n ; nach dem Photo Taf. 41 ist man versucht, *Hmt-ntr n(t) jmn* zu restituieren.

Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Herrn Gitton handelt es sich bei dem von Kees, *ZAS* 87, 1962, 61 (Kairo Sarg JdE 55194 = *PM* I², 625) zitierten Titel der *Msb*, Frau des Schabaka, Mutter des Horemakhet, ebenfalls um einen Wiedergabefehler von *Hmt-ntr* statt *Hmt-njswt* (Photo Leclant). (Diese Königin fehlt übrigens bei Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 1973, § 157 und anderswo s.v. Haremakhet). Ein ähnlicher Fehler kann bei dem Titel *Hmt-ntr wrt* der *Mhjt-m-wsh*, Mutter der Nikrotis (*ASAE* 5, 1904, 95 und Sander-Hansen, *Gottesweib*, 108) angenommen werden. Ähnlich wäre nach Gitton (brieflich) auch *RT* 18, 1896, 51 zu verstehen; doch vgl. Kitchen, *loc. cit.*, § 28244.

²⁴⁾ Zitiert nach Gauthier, *Livre des rois* II, 249; Sander-Hansen, *Gottesweib*, 172.

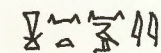
²⁵⁾ Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, 1889, Taf. 55.

²⁶⁾ Vernier, CGC, *Bijoux*, 71. Siehe auch *ASAE* 39, 1939, 7221. Sander-Hansen zitiert ihn mit falscher Wiedergabe des Namens und möchte ihn Teje, der Frau Amenophis III zuschreiben (*Gottesweib*, 74. Dass man den Namen *Tj* lesen darf, ist a priori nicht ganz klar (vgl. *PN* I, 377, 14 neben 384, 19 und ähnliche Beispiele). Eventuell handelt es sich um den Namen *Tj* mit der Koseendung $-tj$: *Tjtj* (vgl. für das AR Edel, *Felsgräber der Qubbet el Hawa* II, 1, 2, 1970, 56/59 mit Nachtrag *GM* 19, 1975, 29). Dafür spricht auch die Variante *Tjt[j]* (*LD Text* III, 222) für den Namen der Frau des Königs Aja, der sonst *Tj* geschrieben wird (*LD* III, 114d). Daher könnte man vielleicht doch an Teje, Frau Amenophis III, (oder eben die Frau des Aja) denken, wenn nicht der Zusatz $mr(t)-(nt)-3st$ vorhanden wäre. Dieser erscheint regelmässig bei einer anderen Teje, nämlich *Tj-mr(t)-(nt)-3st*, der Frau des Sethnach und Mutter Ramesses III (siehe Černý, *JEA* 44, 1958, 35/36 und Kaplony, *RdE* 22, 1970, 100ff.). Den Titel *Hmt-ntr n(t) jmn* trägt sie auf ihren bislang bekannt gewordenen Denkmälern nicht.

²⁷⁾ James, *Corpus Hierogl. Inscr. Brooklyn*, 1974, No 213.

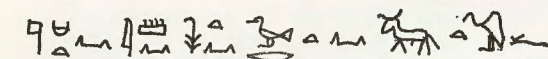
James und Hassan ²⁸⁾ lasen den Namen des Besitzers *Jmn-n3j*, dagegen schlug De Meulenaere vor, anders abzutrennen ²⁹⁾, weil der Name *N3j* belegt sei ³⁰⁾ *Jmn-n3j* jedoch nicht. Dies ergäbe den Titel* „Rinderzähler der Königsgemahlin des Amun“. Gitton erwägt unter diesen Umständen die Emendierung zu **hsb-jhw n pr Hmt-njswt <m pr> Jmn* ³¹⁾.

Bei Ranke findet man unter „*sn3j*“ ³²⁾ einen weiblichen Namen, der in der offensichtlichen Vollschreibung

 lautet. Die Bedeutung ist unbekannt (Koseform zu *Snt* ³³⁾?), aber *Jmn-n3j* scheint damit wohl doch möglich.

Die Titelvarianten 1) bis 3) oder 4) betreffen nicht A-N, aber wenn sie sich nicht als Fehler herausstellen, wird Gitton auch die von ihm S. 69 zitierten eher akzeptieren. Warum sollten nicht die Gottesgemahlinnen auf Grund ihres königlichen Rangs als „Königsgemahlin des Amun“ bezeichnet werden können (zumal wenn es zutrifft, dass *Hmt-njswt wrt* auch ein „Repräsentationstitel“ von Prinzessinnen war -im Kult-? ³⁴⁾). „Grosse Gottesgemahlin“ als Ergebnis einer Kontamination von *Hmt-ntr/Hmt-njswt wrt* wäre dann umso leichter erklärbar.

Gitton zitiert daneben bisher singulären Titel



ohne eine Erklärung zu versuchen ³⁵⁾. Mir scheint, dass er nur Sinn gibt, wenn man vor *njswt wrt* ein „*Hmt*“ ergänzt. Vielleicht ist **<Hmt> -njswt wrt n(t) K3-mwt.f* sogar als erläuternder Zusatz zu *Hmt-ntr n(t) Jmn* anzusehen: Yoyotte hat, sicher zu Recht, wegen der Kombination *Hmt-ntr Drt-ntr* darin eine Anspielung an die heliopolitanische „théogamie cosmogonique“ vermutet (s.o.). Darum passte es sehr gut, wenn das Amt der *Hmt-ntr* Var. *Hmt-njswt* des Amun zu einem Aspekt als Fruchtbarkeitsgott gehörte.

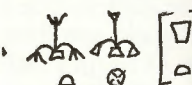
Noch einige Worte zum Kult der A-N. Ihr Totenkult in *Mn-st* trat gegenüber dem des Amun zurück (Gitton S. 78). Über ihre etwaige kultische Verehrung als Heilige wissen wir gar nichts ausser der Tatsache, dass es verschiedene Ausfahrten ihrer Barke gab und dass A-N in Tempeln und auf Privatdenkmälern gottgleich dargestellt bzw. verehrt wurde. Nach Gitton ist der Kultbetrieb in *Mn-st* am Ende der 21. Dyn. erloschen (S. 91), doch gehört ein von ihm undatiert gelassener Priester mindestens in die 21. Dyn., wahrscheinlich aber erst in die Spätzeit (siehe unten zu S. 80). Herr De Meulenaere weist noch freundlicherweise auf den im Katalog

Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan (Paris 1929) Taf. 62 No 401 abgebildeten „saitischen“ Würfelhocker eines Amunpriesters *Dd-Jmn-jw.f-nh* hin, der 1975 im Münchener Handel aufgetaucht ist. Er trägt, was der anonyme Herausgeber des Kataloges nicht angegeben hat, auf dem rechten Oberarm den Namensring *Nfrt-jrj - jh-ms* ³⁶⁾. Das darf man ohne Zögern als Hinweis auf eine noch lebendige Verehrung der A-N ansehen. Der Mann führt eine Reihe von Titeln, aber keinen, der sich auf A-N, den Tempel von *Mn-st* oder das *pr Dw3t-ntr* bezieht.

Dass Totenkult und volkstümliche Verehrung miteinander gekoppelt waren, glaube ich nicht. Aus der 18. Dyn. sind 14 Priester und Sänger der A-N belegt, aus der 19. Dyn. einer, aus der 20. Dyn. einer und aus der 21. Dyn. (aber eher noch später) ebenfalls einer (s.o.). Natürlich ist der Zufall der Überlieferung zu berücksichtigen, doch ist es deutlich: der starke Abfall an Belegen für den Totenkult bei gleichzeitigem Höhepunkt der volkstümlichen Verehrung in der 19./20. Dyn. (Als Anhalt dafür: Von den bei Gitton S. 45ff. aufgeführten 99 Stelen mit Erwähnung oder Darstellung der A-N sind 29 nicht oder nur ungenau datiert, von den restlichen 70 20 in die 18. Dyn., 50 in die 19./20. Dyn.). So fragt es sich, ob man nicht zwischen Totenkult und Heiligenverehrung unterscheiden sollte in dem Sinne, dass zwar letztere von ersterem ausgegangen sein mag, aber auch separat weiterexistieren konnte. Das heisst mit anderen Worten, wenn während der 19. Dyn. der Totenkult in *Mn-st* nur spärlich bezeugt ist, kann dies auch bedeuten, dass die zeitgenössische Heiligenverehrung der A-N woanders ihre anzunehmende Kultstätte gefunden hatte.

Jetzt wird immerhin die Frage aktuell, ob nicht die von Gitton S. 63 als solche abgelehnte Statue Omaha (Nebraska) No 1953.80 = Katalog *ESLP* Brooklyn 1960, Taf. 1 ein kuschitenzeitliches Kultbild der A-N sein kann und nicht eine Statue von Amenirdis I.

Herr De Meulenaere weist auf folgende Überlegungen hin: Vom Rückenpfeiler der Statue in Omaha ist

nur der Beginn erhalten mit:  , lies

[*hnwt*] *šm'w mhw* ...

Nun gibt es eine Statuette der A-N, deren Titulatur genauso anfängt: CGC No 42050 (Gitton S. 61 No 3). Danach ist nicht auszuschliessen, dass es sich beidesmal um Repliken eines älteren Kultbildes der A-N handelt. Zwar tragen auch die Gottesgemahlinnen der Spätzeit diesen Titel ³⁷⁾, teilweise ebenfalls in der Schreibung mit den beiden Wappentpflanzen ³⁸⁾, jedoch innerhalb einer ausführlichen Titulatur. Das ist nicht dasselbe wie bei der Statue Omaha No 1953.80 und CGC No 42050, bei denen mit den beiden Pflanzen die Inschrift beginnt.

³⁶⁾ Die Reihenfolge der beiden Namen ist ungewöhnlich, aber nochmals belegt auf einer Stele der 19. Dyn.: Gitton S. 47 No 40 (vgl. S. 67⁴⁷⁾).

³⁷⁾ Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 1965, 375².

³⁸⁾ Kairo *JdE* 47281 + Sydney R43 (*PM* II², 182) = Daressy, *ASAE* 22, 1922, 262; Kairo *JdE* 59870 (Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 162) = Hölscher, *Exc. of Medinet Habu* 5, 1954, 28 und Taf. 20 B/C.

Ausserdem tragen die in Anm. 38) zitierten Figuren hohe Kronen, Omaha No 1953.80 nicht. Für eine Zuweisung der zuletzt genannten Statue ergeben sich somit die Möglichkeiten: 1. spätzeitliches Kultbild der A-N, 2. Darstellung einer Gottesgemahlin, oder 3. einer Königin der 25. Dyn.

Der Tempel von *Mn-st* stand in der 19. Dyn. noch aufrecht ³⁹⁾ und wurde sogar einmal restauriert. Der Verantwortliche für diese Restaurierung war ein Vorsteher der Maler des Amun, der Mut und des Chons-im-Harem-in-der-Südstadt namens *Ddj3* ⁴⁰⁾. Gitton datiert ihn (S. 95 ¹¹³⁾) ohne Begründung in die Zeit Amenophis III, doch hätte er auf Helck ⁴¹⁾ und Vandier ⁴²⁾ hinweisen können, die ihn als ramessidisch betrachten. In Wirklichkeit gehört er nach Auskunft von Herrn De Meulenaere in die Zeit Ramses II, weil er als Verwandter des Grabbesitzers in dem aus dieser Regierungszeit stammenden thebanischen Grab No 111 genannt ist ⁴³⁾. In den *Dj-njswt-htp*-Formeln seiner Statue werden etliche Götter und drei vergöttlichte Angehörige des Königshauses der 18. Dyn. angerufen: Nefertari, Amenophis (I) und Thutmosis III. Die Restaurierungsarbeit bezeichnet *Ddj3 als* ... (r) *b3k n Jmn r sm3wj mnw m Jpt-s(w)t hr jmnt wrt nt W3st bzw. jnk mr k3t mr hmwwt hrp j3wt nb(t)n(t) Jmn m* (plus Liste der Tempel, darunter *Mn-st*): ... (um) dem Amun zu dienen, um Denkmäler zu erneuern in Karnak (und) in der Nekropole von Theben“ bzw. „ich war Vorsteher der Arbeiten und Vorsteher der Handwerkschaft, Leiter aller Aufträge des Amun in“ ...

Der eigentliche Herr des Tempels *Mn-st* war Amun und er gilt als Nutzniesser bzw. Auftraggeber der Restaurierungen. Die Statue belegt also nicht direkt das Weiterbestehen des Totenkultes der A-N. Im übrigen kann es sich um eine umfangreichere Reparatur wohl kaum gehandelt haben, weil ein Maler damit beauftragt wurde.

Addenda et Corrigenda

S. 11

Bei der Zusammenstellung der zeitgenössischen Denkmäler von A-N vermisst man einen Hinweis auf das unpublizierte, aber zweimal bequem zugänglich abgebildete Statuettenfragment Chicago OIM No 13649 ⁴⁴⁾. Es wäre für die Ikonographie von Bedeutung: A-N trägt ein Federkleid, das unterhalb der Brüste beginnt und dem dort in Leibesmitte ein plastischer Vogel(?) -kopf aufgesetzt ist. Herr Gitton sagt dazu, dass nach einer Auskunft von Herrn Málek die Zuschreibung nicht gesichert sei und an der Statue Änderungen vorgenommen worden seien. Eine Erwähnung, etwa S. 63, wäre trotzdem angebracht gewesen, weil Wilson und Wolf das Stück unter dem Namen der A-N abbildeten.

Der Tod der A-N wird, leider ohne Datum, auf einer

³⁹⁾ Belege bei Otto, *Topographie des theb. Gaus*, 1952, 15.

⁴⁰⁾ CGC 42122, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 71ff, Taf. 22.

⁴¹⁾ *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* I, 1961, 87.

⁴²⁾ *Manuel* III, 1958, 456⁹.

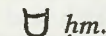
⁴³⁾ *PM* II², 229.

⁴⁴⁾ Wilson, *Culture of Ancient Egypt*¹⁰ (Paperback von *Burden of Egypt*, 1951), 1965, Fig. 18b und Wolf, *Kunst Ägyptens*, 1957, 422/23 mit Abb. 340.





Stele aus der Sammlung des Lord Dufferin erwähnt ⁴⁵⁾. (Nachzutragen als No 100 der Stelenliste S. 49).



S. 23, 74/75 und 78


Der schwarze Anstrich vieler Statuetten und Reliefbilder der A-N wird von Hermann, *RAC* 7,365 als „Erlesenheitsfarbe“ bezeichnet.

S. 23 Schreibungen des Zeichens  *hm*.


Auf Grund der Schreibvarianten des Zeichens *hm* im Titel *Hmt-ntr* der A-N teilt Gitton die Masse ihrer Skarabäen in zwei Emissionen: eine zeitgenössische und eine „Neuaufgabe“ zu Beginn der 19. Dyn. (Siehe S. 63/64). Letztere scheint wegen der besonderen Wiedergabe des

 plausibel, jedoch ist die Argumentation für die Skarabäen aus der 18. Dyn. nicht genügend abgesichert, d.h., ich glaube nicht, dass man mit Hinweis auf epigraphische Details wahrscheinlich machen kann, der Rest der Skarabäen der A-N sei zeitgenössisch. Bei einem Blick in Legrain, *CGC Stèles du Nouvel Empire* zeigt sich sofort, dass , ,  nebeneinander

vorkommen, und zwar schon in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dyn.:  CG 34001 (Ahmose, Taf. 1); 

CG 34002 (Ahmose, Taf. 2);  CG 34003 (Amen-

ophis I, Taf. 3);  und  CG 34008 (Amen-

ophis I, Taf. 6);  CG 34013 (Thutmosis III, Taf. 9).

S. 34 ³⁹⁾

Dass Tiaa, Frau Amenophis II, Mutter Thutmosis IV, auf dem Modellkörbchen Brooklyn No 59.33.2 ⁴⁶⁾ den Titel *Hmt-ntr* führe, stimmt nicht. Man liest ganz klar: *Hmt-njswt-wrt Tj-3*. Allerdings möchte Hayes ⁴⁷⁾ das Bruchstück eines Uschebtisarges (MMA No 26.7.931 aus der Sammlung Carnarvon) einer *Tj-3* mit dem Titel *Hmt-ntr* der Frau Amenophis II zuschreiben und es wird von Winlock in der gleichen Meinung zitiert ⁴⁸⁾. Mit Aldred ⁴⁹⁾ gehört es aber viel eher wegen der Fundsituation der gleichnamigen Königin aus der Zeit des Siptah. — Einen einwandfreien Beleg für den Titel *Hmt-ntr* bei der älteren *Tj-3* findet man allerdings nach einem nachträglichen Hinweis von Gitton (brieflich) bei Hassan, *Giza* 8, 78/79.

S. 49 No 96

Inzwischen ist in der Stelenliste dieser No die Publikation nachzutragen: Corteggiani, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, 152/54, Taf. 25.

⁴⁵⁾ *JE* 51, 1965, 25.

⁴⁶⁾ Riefstahl, *Anc. Egyptian Glass and Glazes*, 1968, 19 No 15.

⁴⁷⁾ *Scepter of Egypt* II, 1959, 146.

⁴⁸⁾ Winlock, *Exc. at Deir el Bahri (1911-1931)*, 1942, 185²³.

⁴⁹⁾ *JE* 49, 1963, 42² und zu ihrer Einordnung gegen Aldred Vandier, *RdE* 23, 1971, 184.


²⁸⁾ *MÄS* 33, 1976, 149/50 und Taf. 4.1.

²⁹⁾ *CdE* 98, 1974, 271.

³⁰⁾ *PN* I, 170, 10 (fem.).

³¹⁾ briefliche Mitteilung.

³²⁾ *PN* I, 312, 9. Allerdings hat Ranke den Namen in *PN* I,

310, 10 unter  mit „*sn3t-n3j*“ als Variante zitiert. Eine Haupteintragung unter *Sn3t-n3j* statt *Sn3j* wäre wohl sinnvoller gewesen.

³³⁾ *PN* I, 311, 12.

³⁴⁾ Zuletzt Redford, *JARCE* 12, 1975, 14²⁴.

³⁵⁾ S. 69 nach Bruyère, *MIFAO* 86, 8 = Turin Sup. No 7883 = *PM* I², 746.

S. 49

Als No 101 wäre hinzufügen die Stele Aberdeen No 1576 (Reid, *Ill. Cat. Anthropol. Mus. Aberdeen*, 1912, 1977); 19. Dyn., aus der Grant Bey Collection. Sie wird dort Nefertari, der Frau Ramses II zugeschrieben. Doch wird man wegen der Volkstümlichkeit des Heiligenkultes der A-N Beischriften auf Grabstelen des NR, die sich auf „Hmt-ntr Nfrt-jrj“ beschränken, bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils der A-N zurechnen.

Nun hat Goedicke, *Das Grab der Nofretari*, 1971, 33/34 behauptet, auch die Frau Ramses II sei in ihrem Grab zweimal als *Hmt-ntr* belegt und nimmt das zum Anlass, ihr zwei Skarabäen zuzuschreiben (Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 1917, Taf. 52, Nos 146/47; vgl. Gitton S. 64, No 6). Leider stimmen seine Referenzen nicht und auch bei einer vollständigen Durchsicht von Goedicke's Buch habe ich den Titel *Hmt-ntr* nirgends finden können.

S. 58

A-N erscheint auch anonym unter dem Titel *Hmt-ntr Hmt-njswt* auf einem Sarg der 21. Dyn. in Cleveland (Ohio) No 353.14⁵⁰).

S. 61 No 15

Die Statuette Turin Sup. No 6128 ist abgebildet bei Scamuzzi, *Mus. Egizio di Torino* 3, 1965, Taf. 21.

S. 80

Dhwtj, Erster Prophet der A-N, erwähnt in TT No 255 gehört mit dem Grab nicht mehr in die Zeit des Haremhab (so mit Fragezeichen PM I², 339), sondern schon in die 19. Dyn. (Baud-Drioton, MIFAO 57, 8). *Dhwtj* besitzt übrigens auch ein Statuettenfragment, gefunden in dem Tempel von Mn-st (PM II², 422).

Sennefer, Vorsteher der Propheten der A-N, gehört in die Zeit Amenophis II und nicht in die von Amenophis III (Helck, *Verwaltung*, 1958, 423/24).

In der Wiedergabe des Titels des *Mh-jmn-h3t* fehlt das Zeichen *hm* in *hm-ntr* (tpj?). Gitton lässt die Datierung offen, sie kann aber präzisiert werden. Dieser (Erste?) Prophet der A-N wird erwähnt auf einem von zwei Särgen seines Sohnes *nh-f-n-jmn* (Var. *nh-jmn*). Dessen Frau hiess *Nb(t?)-3ht*, sein Grossvater *Dd-Mntw-jw-f-nh*. Die Beschreibung der Särge in LD Text I, 18/19 ist für eine Datierung nicht ausreichend, aber die Namen datieren die Personen frühestens in die 21. Dyn., vermutlich sogar in die Spätzeit.

In der Liste der Priester der A-N wird als letzter Amenophis, genannt Hapu, aus Elkab, erwähnt. Seine Datierung ist von Thutmosis III in Thutmosis IV zu verbessern, denn er war Totenpriester Amenophis II und das Grab, in dem er zitiert wird, gehört am ehesten in die Zeit Thutmosis IV⁵¹). In der zugehörigen Anmerkung 131 (S. 95) behauptet Gitton zu Unrecht, Lepsius habe in LD III, 43b den Titel *Hmt-ntr* mit *Hmt-njswt* wiedergegeben.

S. 80/81

Leider sind nicht alle inschriftlichen Quellen epigra-

phisch genau nachprüfbar, weil sie z.B. nur in Drucktypen oder Abschriften publiziert sind. Gitton hat sich anscheinend bemüht, das Zeichen *hm* nach Möglichkeit genau zu reproduzieren, indessen ist es zweimal zu verbessern, bei *bw-m-wsht* S. 80 und *jmn-m-h3t* S. 81.

Das Faksimile bzw. Photo geben beide , nicht



. Die Statue des letzteren, Kopenhagen Ny Carlsberg AEIN No 663, hat Koefoed-Petersen in die Zeit Ramses II datiert⁵²), mir scheint, lediglich, weil er hier *Nfrt-jrj* für die Frau Ramses II hielt. Gitton hat das übernommen. Aber stilistisch gesehen gehört die Figur in die 18. Dyn., man braucht nur die Gesichtsbildung mit der der Statuette des Senmut in Brooklyn No 67.68 zu vergleichen⁵³). Vandier hat unterstrichen, dass stelo-phore Statuen wie der von AEIN No 663 vertretene Typ in die Zeit vor Amenophis III gehören⁵⁴). Das führt zu der Beobachtung, dass die meisten Priester und Funktionäre der A-N der 18. Dyn. angehören bzw. sichere Belege aus der 19. Dyn. fast völlig fehlen⁵⁵). Diese auffällige Tatsache wird von meinem Material der Funktionäre des *pr Hmt-ntr* gestützt.

S. 85

Gitton meint, die Gottesgemahlin sei bei Abwesenheit (oder in Zeiten, in denen es keine königliche Gottesgemahlin gegeben habe)⁵⁶) von der *Wrt hnr nt jmn* vertreten worden. Er verweist darauf, dass der Titel *Hmt-ntr* durch ersteren ersetzt sei in der Beischrift zu einer Anbetungsszene der vergöttlichten A-N im thebanischen Grab No 106. Das ist allerdings ein Irrtum, denn sie führt dort u.a. die Titelfolge *Hmt-ntr Mwt-ntr Wrt hnr nt n(t) jmn*⁵⁷). Eine Begründung steht somit noch aus. Herr Gitton führt nun brieflich an, dass die Verbindung zwischen *Hmt-ntr* (oder *Dw3t-ntr*) und *Wrt hnr nt* auffallen müsse, da sie auch noch auf der Statuette der Huy BM No 1280⁵⁸) vorkomme⁵⁹) und nach einer vorläufigen Durchsicht des Materials *Wrt hnr nt n(t) jmn* vorzugsweise in Zeiten belegt sei, in denen eine Gottesgemahlin fehle. Er hofft, darauf noch einmal in einem Artikel zurückkommen zu können.

S. 95 121)

Bei dem „Lebensstrass“ aus dem Tempel der A-N handelt es sich ohne Zweifel um den in *Urk.* IV, 1935, 7 genannten. ((Schon erwähnt von Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* I, 1961, 87).

Freiburg, August 1976

ERHART GRAEFE

⁵²) Cat. statues et statuettes, 1950, 41 No 65 Taf. 80.

⁵³) Bothmer, *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 11, 1969/70, 124, Fig. 1.

⁵⁴) Manuel III, 1958, 471/2. Mogensen datierte die Statuette ebenfalls in die 18. Dyn.: *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. Den Aegyptiske Samling*, 1930, 67 A 71.

⁵⁵) Das war schon Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte* I, 1961, 118 No 7 in der Tendenz aufgefallen.

⁵⁶) brieflicher Zusatz.

⁵⁷) LD III, 132 o; LD Text III, 254; Champollion, *Monuments*, Taf. 170.1. Siehe PM I², 223.

⁵⁸) Siehe zuletzt Graefe, *SAK* 3, 1975, 75. Eine vollständige Publikation ist von Gitton zu erwarten.

⁵⁹) Man könnte hinzufügen, dass auch Tui, Mutter Sethos I, *Hmt-ntr* und *Wrt hnr nt n(t) jmn* war: LD Text III, 148.

⁵⁰) JEA 5, 1918, 177 und Taf. 31; dort in die 22. Dyn. datiert.

⁵¹) Vandersleyen, *Guerres d'Amosis*, 1971, 224, doc. 68.

Wolfgang HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, Register*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (1 vol. in-8°, 41 pp.) = Probleme der Ägyptologie, Band III A, Prix: f 28.—.

C'est une excellente idée qu'ont eue les collaborateurs du Séminaire d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Hambourg en offrant à leur maître, le professeur Wolfgang Helck, à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire, un recueil d'index relatifs à son magistral ouvrage *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (1958). Il complète le plus heureusement ce livre, devenu depuis sa parution un répertoire auquel se reportent constamment ceux qui s'occupent de l'administration de l'Égypte au Moyen et au Nouvel Empire.

Le recueil est divisé en trois parties: noms propres, titres et sujets traités. Bien que les auteurs ne le fassent pas remarquer dans la préface, c'est bien davantage qu'un simple index qu'ils nous offrent. Pour ajouter au mérite de leur travail, ils ont largement tenu compte de la littérature égyptologique des dernières années. C'est ainsi que, chaque fois qu'un auteur a traité d'un personnage qui apparaît dans la prosopographie de W. Helck, ils n'ont pas omis de le signaler. Remercions donc les jeunes égyptologues de Hambourg de nous avoir doté de cette façon d'un instrument de travail vraiment indispensable.

Bruxelles, août 1976

HERMAN DE MEULENAERE

* *

Wolfgang HELCK, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* Munich and Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1974 (vi + 161 pages) = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 31.

Its economy is the practical basis of any culture, and thus documents relating to this area are of special importance. Prior to our Demotic documentation, however — that is to say, from the classical period of Egyptian history — the surviving corpus of texts dealing in one way or another with economic matters is relatively small. Thus, scholarly attention has been drawn to other matters (e.g., speculative thought, history), and even with regard to the texts in question, attention has been focussed on aspects of them which are not economic, such as law and epistolography. Helck's valid insight is that such documents must have been formulated in standard ways, both to simplify procedures and to lend them an official character. The purpose of the present study is to review the surviving documents in order to determine the standard forms employed by the scribes in composing them.

The result is a handbook of considerable value, ranging from such topics as the direction of the writing and the use of red ink to the indication of calculation processes and the structure, terminology and phraseology of the documents. In some cases the conclusions of earlier research have been incorporated, in others the assemblage of all pertinent material has facilitated new conclusions (thus, e.g., pp. 10-14, where consideration of one of the Abusir documents leads to a new understanding of the

dating formulae of Old Kingdom royal decrees, improving upon the suggestion made by Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente* 13f.), while in still others the relative paucity of preserved material makes possible only a setting forth of the data.

This is a book which it is worthwhile to read through once, and then return to as a reference tool. Its value in the latter respect is assured by indices of subjects discussed, Egyptian words, and text passages cited.

Uppsala, July 1976

DAVID LORTON

* *

E. EDEL, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof*. Göttingen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 145 p., 4 Tafeln) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 205. DM 38.—. ISBN 3 531 07205 6.

Cette nouvelle et excellente étude du Professeur E. Edel assortie d'un index analytique, de quatre planches et d'une table des matières, vient enrichir nos connaissances concernant les relations égypto-hittites sous le règne de Ramsès II et, plus particulièrement, la présence de médecins égyptiens auprès du roi et de dignitaires de l'Empire hittite. Ce fait ressort de l'examen de sept lettres de datation différente provenant de la correspondance échangée entre le pharaon et le roi hittite, témoin des bonnes relations existant entre les deux familles royales au lendemain des affres de la bataille de Kadesh. La plus ancienne lettre, NBC 3934, remonte à la 12ème année du règne de Ramsès II; la rédaction des trois autres, soit KUB III 66, 67, 68, se situerait entre la 42ème et la 56ème année de règne; la maladie dont les tablettes traitent, n'est pas précisée. Les lettres KUB III 51 et 401/c + concernent une maladie des yeux dont souffre Hattusili III tandis que la tablette 652/f + concerne la stérilité d'une femme appartenant à la famille royale hittite.

Après s'être ainsi attaché à situer sa documentation dans le cadre des échanges épistolaires égypto-hittites (rappelons au passage que les lettres trouvées jusqu'à présent émanent toutes de Ramsès II et que les destinataires connus sont soit Hattusili III, soit Puduhepa), l'auteur entre dans le vif du sujet dès la page 31 avec l'analyse de la tablette inédite 127/r trouvée à Boğazköy en 1959; il y est notamment question de la réponse de Ramsès II à une demande d'envoi d'un médecin pour une dame noble, Matanazi, connue du pharaon, âgée de soixante ans environ et atteinte, semble-t-il, de stérilité. E. Edel reconnaît dans Matanazi le nom de règne de la sœur de Hattusili III connue dans la documentation hittite sous la forme *fDINGIRmeš-IR-i-* à lire probablement **fMaššana-IR-i*¹); le texte hittite KUB XXI 33 IV 12-13 nous apprend que la sœur de Hattusili III épousa un prince d'Arzawa et KUB XXIII 1 II 18 nous signale son mariage avec Mašturi, roi du pays Šeḫa, une région inté-

¹) Cf. E. Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, p. 115 n° 775; pour Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXX n° 3/4, p. 225, toutes les mentions de **fMaššana-IR-i* ne concernent que la fille de Mursili II.

grée à l'Arzawa; se basant sur l'habitude qu'ont les princes du Proche-Orient de se choisir un nom de règne au moment de leur accession au trône²⁾, l'auteur estime que Matazani serait à identifier avec la soeur de Hattusili III; l'hypothèse est séduisante. E. Edel s'attache encore à souligner que les rois hittites ont souvent choisi comme vassaux des membres de la famille royale afin de s'assurer plus facilement leur loyauté; l'on comprend mieux, dès lors, que la stérilité de Matazani inquiétait Hattusili et qu'il désira tout mettre en oeuvre pour que sa soeur puisse avoir une descendance. Devant la probable incapacité des "médecins" hittites, Hattusili n'hésita pas à avoir recours aux médecins du pharaon dont le prestige était immense.

Comme le démontre E. Edel à partir de la page 53, ce fragment 127/r constitue un "join" des fragments 652/f + 28/n; la jonction des trois documents a été vérifiée récemment à Ankara par le Professeur H. Otten et les quatre planches à la fin du livre en constituent une parfaite illustration. Nous obtenons ainsi une reconstitution assez satisfaisante d'une lettre envoyée par Ramsès II à Hattusili III probablement au sujet de la soeur de ce dernier restée stérile; deux médecins du pharaon furent envoyés auprès de la patiente mais ne purent obtenir de guérison vu son âge déjà avancé; dans le chef de ces deux praticiens, il faut, croit l'auteur, reconnaître le personnage dénommé en akkadien *asû* lequel s'occupe des médicaments à administrer et un prêtre exorciste = akkadien *āšipu* dont l'action consiste à écarter magiquement les forces surnaturelles susceptibles de provoquer des maladies; ces deux "thérapeutes" doivent agir de concert pour obtenir une efficacité optimale. L'auteur retrouve de manière péremptoire l'équivalent égyptien de ces deux "médecins": au *asû* correspond l'égyptien *šnw* et au *āšipu* correspondent l'égyptien *hrj-hb* et le hittite *āpiši-*³⁾. L'auteur relève que, dans le Proche et le Moyen-Orient, ont existé de manière générale plusieurs livres relatifs au traitement des femmes enceintes et que, au cas où un traitement contre la stérilité de la femme se révélerait inopérant, un miracle est toujours possible.

A la page 44, commence l'analyse d'autres lettres; il s'agit de KUB III 51 et de 401/c + 893/c + KBo VIII 13 + 415/n; il ressort de ces documents que Hattusili III fit appel à un ophtalmologue égyptien, spécialité dans laquelle brillaient les Egyptiens et dont Hérodote conserve le souvenir⁴⁾; en KBo XVI 99 I 22, il serait aussi

²⁾ Tel fut le cas par exemple d'Urhi-Tesub qui régna sous le nom de Mursili III, de Piyaššili, fils de Suppiluliuma I qui, comme roi de Kargamiš, prit le nom hourrite de Šarri-Kušuh ou de la fille de Hattusili III qui, comme épouse de Ramsès II, se dénomma Maatnofru-Hor-Ré.

L'on trouvera un bon état de la question dans E. Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, p. 358-362.

³⁾ On retiendra une bonne synthèse sur le rôle du *hrj-hb*, "le prêtre-lecteur", dans J. Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, (Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia III), Louvain, 1959, pp. 67-80; son rôle de magicien est particulièrement souligné pp. 70 et 71. Aux pp. 55-58, nous préférons la lecture *hrj-hb* à *hrj-h3b* adopté par Edel. Comme le remarque E. Edel p. 55 note 119, *āpiši-* est un emprunt hittite à l'akkadien *āšipu*; concernant la même note, à l'équivalence hittite du titre égyptien *hrj-hb hrj-tp* "prêtre lecteur/ magicien en chef" = GAL-iš (= *šalliš*) *āpišiš* (cf. H. M. Kummel, *StBot* 3, 1967, p. 67), nous ajoutons à propos de l'équivalent hébreu *ḥarṭummin*, cf. J. Vergote, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁾ Hérodote II 84 et III 1.

fait allusion aux troubles de la vue de Hattusili III. Toujours en rapport avec la santé de ce souverain, vient l'analyse de la tablette NBC 3934 déjà travaillée par A. Goetze⁵⁾, à propos de laquelle E. Edel nous livre de nouvelles réflexions. Il étudie notamment la personnalité d'un certain Lēja, prêtre exorciste de renom, qu'il convient sans doute de reconnaître dans le prêtre exorciste mentionné dans les fragments étudiés; le nom propre Lēja correspondrait à l'égyptien *rj*.

Hattusili III sollicita aussi l'aide de médecins égyptiens pour ses vassaux; c'est ce qui ressort des lettres KUB III 67, exemplaire destiné à Hattusili III, et KUB III 68, exemplaire duplicat de KUB III 67 envoyé à la reine Puduḥēpa; ces textes font état de l'envoi de Pariamaḥu, scribe et médecin égyptien auprès de Kuruntu, roi de Tarḥundašša que l'on ne parvenait pas à soulager de son mal.

Aux pages 51 à 53, E. Edel étudie les textes KBo I 10 et EA 49; c'est l'occasion de rappeler que les médecins babyloniens étaient également en honneur à Hattusa comme il ressort de KBo I 10⁶⁾ et d'insister sur les conditions de vie particulièrement agréables réservées aux thérapeutes; la tablette EA 49 nous relate que le roi Niqmad d'Ugarit fit aussi appel aux bons soins des médecins égyptiens.

La première partie de l'ouvrage se termine par une réflexion à propos de la célèbre stèle de Bentrech du Louvre⁷⁾; ce texte rédigé à l'époque ptolémaïque se réfère à des situations contemporaines de Ramsès II et de Maatnofru-Hor-Ré, son épouse, la fille de Hattusili III, qui, abstraction faite de quelques déformations bien compréhensibles, offrent un parallèle saisissant avec le groupe de lettres 652/f + 28/n + 127/r; l'interprétation donnée par Edel est originale et doit retenir toute notre attention. En effet, le toponyme *bḥtn* serait à ses yeux un substitut pour l'ancien Hatti dont le souvenir concret avait totalement disparu des esprits à l'époque ptolémaïque; le prince de *bḥtn* serait ainsi le roi hittite, identifiable à Hattusili III, qui envoya un messenger auprès de Ramsès II et de la reine d'Egypte, sa fille, pour obtenir de ces derniers un médecin du palais susceptible de venir au Hatti = *bḥtn* pour soigner sa fille Bentrech gravement malade que les médecins du *bḥtn* ne parvenaient pas à guérir; ainsi, au fil des siècles, une confusion se serait établie en ce sens que la soeur de Hattusili III = Matanazi serait devenue sa fille dans le récit ptolémaïque.

A partir de la page 66 commence la seconde partie du livre, à savoir l'analyse philologique des documents qui ont servi de base à l'élaboration de la synthèse contenue dans la première partie. On ne peut que louer l'auteur pour la qualité de ses transcriptions et traductions, pour la subtilité et la justesse des reconstitutions survenant dans les différentes lacunes, enfin pour la pertinence et la documentation du commentaire grammatical utile pour

⁵⁾ A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 241 sqq.

⁶⁾ KBo I 10 = lettre de Hattusili III au roi babylonien Kadašman-Elil II. A la suite de Edel rappelons la récente synthèse des documents médicaux hittites dans C. Burde, *Hethitische medizinische Texte*, *StBot* 19, 1974.

⁷⁾ Musée du Louvre C 284; la liste des études de ce texte est utilement donnée p. 60 note 133.

l'akkadologue, l'égyptologue et le hittitologue. Nous nous bornerons à glacer ça et là quelques observations.

De la p. 67 à 75 se trouve étudiée la lettre 652/f + 28/n + 127/n; mentionnons à la p. 72 l'interprétation de l'akkadien *šipru* = "arrangement, disposition" et aux pp. 72 et 73 l'analyse de la forme *ittenpuš* = "(la disposition) sera exécutée continuellement". La note 147 à la p. 73 nous donne la transcription et la traduction des inédits 645/c + 1157/c Ro 13'-15', lettre où il est question de Maniya et de Ramsès.

Aux pp. 74 et 75, E. Edel nous procure fort à propos l'équivalent hittite de la formule de salutation akkadienne trouvée dans les lettres égyptiennes de Boğazköy; celui-ci se lit en VBoT 1 28, 29: "*nutta kašma pippeššar uppaḥḥun aššul[i] kiššarišši* = *Iršappa lūḫalu[gatal-lašmaš]*: vois, en guise de salutation, je t'ai envoyé un présent par la main d'Iršappa, mon messenger"; le sens de *pippeššar* = akkadien *šubelta* "cadeau, présent" se trouve confirmé⁸⁾; il s'agit donc de l'abstrait formé à partir du verbe **pippai-* "donner", forme à redoublement de *pāi-*.

De la p. 76 à 80, la lettre KUB III 51 fait l'objet d'une analyse fouillée; l'on relèvera particulièrement aux pp. 78 et 79 l'étude du terme akkadien *lūsakrumaš*: "officier d'un char de combat", qui pourrait avoir plusieurs équivalents égyptiens dont le titre de *hrj-jḫw*. Pour ce qui concerne la lettre KUB III 67 étudiée des pp. 82 à 91, relevons deux minimes erreurs typographiques dans la transcription du texte p. 83: il convient de lire au Ro 4' *i-din a-na* et au Vo 1 *a-na a-la-ki-šu*. Au commentaire, p. 85, l'auteur souligne la place tenue par une main-d'oeuvre originaire de Hubešna = antique Kybistra = actuelle Ereğli, ville relativement proche de Tarḥundašša, dans la construction de bâtiments égyptiens bien déterminés; peut-être est-ce à interpréter comme un échange de bons procédés, le pharaon envoyant deux praticiens à Kuruntu, roi de Tarḥundašša, et ce dernier lui fournissant une main-d'oeuvre qualifiée? A remarquer aussi que E. Edel signale que le messenger hittite Kula-ziti (Ro 9'), au nom typiquement louvite, est aussi nommé dans le fragment inédit 66/r⁹⁾.

Aux pp. 86 et 87, E. Edel se livre à une intéressante analyse des emplois de l'akkadien *šarāḫu*: "envoyer" et des expressions où ce verbe intervient en coordination avec la structure *nadānu ana alāki*: "consentir à aller"; cette construction exceptionnelle du verbe *nadānu*: "donner" suivi de la préposition *ana*: "vers, pour" + infinitif constituerait l'équivalent de l'emploi égyptien de *rdj*: "donner" suivi d'une forme *šdm.f* prospective.

Aux pp. 88 et 89 relevons l'identification de Kurunta, roi de Tarḥundašša, avec **KAL-a-* (nous préférons la transcription **KAL* à **LAMA*), le neveu de Hattusili III; E. Edel suit ainsi la suggestion de Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 130 note 3, ce qui implique que la lecture hittite impériale du sumérogramme **KAL* en tant que dieu-cerf serait **Kurunta* = néo-hittite *Ru(n)da, Ruwada, Ruwa*¹⁰⁾.

⁸⁾ Cf. J. Friedrich, *HWb*, p. 169.

⁹⁾ Dans les textes édités, Kula-ziti est aussi mentionné en KUB III 34 Vo 1, 4 = lettre de Ramsès II à un destinataire inconnu.

¹⁰⁾ **KAL* est bien entendu un sumérogramme désignant un dieu protecteur dont le nom tout comme le sexe peut varier; une des

Enfin, en ce qui concerne le commentaire de la lettre KBo I 10 Vo 38, nous noterons à la p. 117 l'interprétation judicieuse de la forme *uḫtalliqu* comme étant un parfait de forme radicale D plutôt qu'un prétérit de forme radicale Dt.

Ainsi, le livre du professeur Edel se révèle du plus grand intérêt pour l'égyptologue et le hittitologue en projetant un jour nouveau sur l'état des relations existant entre la Cour de Ramsès II et celle de Hattusili III; l'examen du rôle tenu par les médecins égyptiens dans l'Empire hittite nous permet de mieux connaître la vie non officielle des dignitaires hittites et de mieux cerner leurs problèmes intimes, ces problèmes qui les rendent plus proches de l'homme du XX^e siècle. Plus particulièrement, la famille royale nous apparaît dans sa confrontation avec les difficultés que peut endurer toute famille; nous savons ainsi que Hattusili III dont l'état de santé laissait à désirer depuis la tendre enfance d'après une abondante documentation hittite sur ce sujet¹¹⁾, souffrait notamment des yeux; d'autre part, sa soeur restait sans descendance tandis que son neveu était atteint d'une maladie grave. L'akkadologue trouvera aussi son compte dans quelques remarquables interprétations philologiques. Bref, il s'agit d'un ouvrage utile à l'historien de l'antiquité, dont la rigueur scientifique et les observations nuancées alliées aux préoccupations humanistes font tout le mérite.

Wezembeek-Oppen, octobre 1976
Belgique

R. LEBRUN

* *

A. J. ARKELL, *The prehistory of the Nile Valley*. Leiden, Köln, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, VI + 55 pp., map, 25 figures). *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Siebente Abteilung, Kunst und Archäologie, Erster Band, Zweiter Abschnitt A, Lieferung 1, 1975. BBN 90 04 04 397 7.

This publication is a fascicle in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Kunst und Archäologie*. The prehistory of the Nile Valley, thus, was not intended to be a complete, comprehensive summary of the archaeology of the Nile Valley before the Pharaohs, yet it provides the non-prehistorian with an awareness of the cultural achievements in the grey past preceding the rise of the monumental civilization of Egypt. The Neolithic and Predynastic achievements are dealt with in more detail than the earlier Palaeolithic developments, undoubtedly reflecting Arkell's longstanding interest in the later cultures of the Nile Valley. This is rather disappointing, since the Palaeolithic of the Nile Valley, almost totally

lectures fréquentes est la déesse hattie Inara; pour le sumérogramme **KAL* et les divinités qu'il recouvre, l'on consultera utilement E. Laroche, *RHA* 46, p. 100 sq; A. Kammenhuber, *MSS* 3 (1958), p. 27 sq.; Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 128 et E. Laroche, *Noms des Hittites*, pp. 289-290.

¹¹⁾ Le grand texte de l'Autobiographie de Hattusili III et les textes parallèles insistent sur le fait que Hattusili, enfant, fut atteint d'une maladie grave, confié aux bons soins du chef des scribes Mittannamuwa et placé sous la protection spéciale d'Ištar de Samuha; de nombreuses prières et textes votifs de Puduḥēpa font clairement allusion à l'état de santé déficient du roi.

neglected since WWII, has come under a new light as a result of recent systematic surveys in Nubia and Upper Egypt. In contrast, it is saddening to note that our knowledge of the Predynastic cultures has not improved much since the excellent summaries by Elise J. Baumgartel (*Predynastic Egypt*, The Cambridge Ancient Prehistory, 1965) and A. J. Arkell and Peter J. Ucko (Review of Predynastic developments in the Nile Valley, *Current Anthropology*, 1965). Lack of well excavated sites, as Arkell rightly remarks, still plagues our understanding of this key period in Egyptian prehistory. It is hoped that the current excavations in the Khattara-Nagada region by T. R. Hays and the anticipated excavations by Walter A. Fairervis at Hierakonpolis will salvage some of the much needed information before the sites are totally dug for *Sebakh*.

Arkell divides the Palaeolithic of the Nile Valley into Early, Middle, Upper, and Final Stone ages, keeping up with the classification system used for Sub-Saharan Africa, but which is not commonly used in Egypt. The Early Stone Age (pp. 1-4) is discussed in the light of the earlier work by Bovier-Lapierre in Abbasiyeh and the recent work in Nubia. De Heinzelin's suggestion that the Nile then was not connected with its Ethiopian tributaries is mentioned. However, recent finds in Upper Egypt (Said, Wendorf, and Schild, *Archaeologia Polona*, 1970) indicate that the Nile had captured the Ethiopian tributaries by the end of the Acheulian. Butzer and Hansen (*Desert and River in Nubia*, 1968) also noted that the present Nile regime is much older than 25,000 years, an age suggested by De Heinzelin. Arkell also describes the climatic conditions in terms of "Pluvials", a concept no longer of much value in Africa.

The Middle Stone Age (pp. 4-5) is a brief account of A. E. Marks's work on the Mousterian industries in Nubia. The Guichards' "Nubian Middle Palaeolithic" is parenthetically identified as "Sangoan/Lupemban". However, the only element in the Nubian Middle Palaeolithic which suggests to Marks (not the Guichards) the possibility of a mixing with the Sangoan Lupemban tradition is the bifacial foliates. The Guichards maintain that Nubia seems to have been a distinct province during the Middle Palaeolithic.

The Upper Stone Age (pp. 5-6) provides short notes on the Khormusan, Gemaian, and Sebilian industries. It is interesting that the Gemaian and the Sebilian are contemporaneous with other industries grouped as Final Stone Age industries (pp. 6-29). These include the Ballanan, the Qadan, and the Silsilian. The Fakhurian, Isnan, and two Final Palaeolithic sites from Idfu, the subject of monographs published by the Geological Survey of Egypt are not discussed. Nevertheless, the vigour and hustle of cultural activity along the Nile Valley at the close of the Pleistocene is conveyed well by Arkell. It is during this period that definite strides toward domestication were undertaken. Arkell's recognition that the Early Khartoum small grinders were most probably used for wild grain, on the strength of recent finds from Upper Egypt and Nubia, is significant.

The Predynastic Cultures of Egypt (pp. 30-52) present some interesting insights into the developments of the latest prehistoric period in the Nile Valley. Some

of the chronological problems of radiocarbon and thermoluminescence dating, as well as, sequence dating are discussed. The discussion underlines the need for better chronometric controls and the importance of these controls for a better understanding of the cultural developments during Predynastic times. In fact, the lack of adequate chronological framework undermines any attempt to construct viable models of cultural change during this crucial episode in the making of Egypt.

Arkell's treatment of the Predynastic should dispel any illusions about the role of "invading hordes" and "cultural transplants". The matrix from which civilization emerged, as Arkell argues, reflects the vitality and distinctiveness of the cultures of the Nile Valley, despite frequent contacts with neighbouring cultures. In many instances, these contacts had served to quicken the pace of change and bring about a different pattern. But no change could have taken place that defies the unique ecology of the Nile Valley.

Pullman, Washington, July 1976 FEKRI A. HASSAN

* *

W. K. SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, 1974 (folio, VIII + 30 pp., 84 pls.) = Publications of the Pennsylvania - Yale Expedition to Egypt, No. 5), New Haven and Philadelphia, The Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

The book under discussion is a welcome contribution to that particular branch of Egyptology which is concerned with the study of the Middle Kingdom Egypt, for uniquely, exceptionally important is Abydos for the history of that period and very limited, to put it mildly, is our knowledge of this richest archaeological site. Too severely handicapped is the student of Abydos by insufficiency of the information now at hand, archaeological and topographical before all, which was caused by the earlier excavators who in quest of stelae and the like had managed to completely ransack the core of the complex of cemeteries, having left but comparatively little to archaeologists in the true sense of the word. The loss is certainly irretrievable, but an attempt at a systematic reconstruction of what is lost seems, nevertheless, worth making and Simpson will hold the indisputable merit to be the first in this field, whereas his outline of the problem of Abydos will be the starting point of all the researches to be made in the future.

This outline has, unexpectedly, I must confess, but by no means unreasonably, the form of a questionnaire addressed to the reader, inasmuch as the author has very little positive evidence to argue from, and this peculiar way of outlining a problem has not prevented him from presenting, very accurately and clearly, all the main aspects of this intricate question. Among these a certain prominence is given to the aspect of the Abydene topography (see pp. 6-13 of the book) and to that of the offering chapel at Abydos, the latter being central for

the book intended and executed as a kind of *corpus* of objects attributable to these chapels as their decoration outfit.

Groups of objects thus established are treated along the lines of the ANOC (stands for *Abydos North Offering Chapel*) programme which, all the reservations and ramifications apart, amounts to this — objects such as stelae, statues, and offering-stones (the provenance: either Abydos or not recorded) belonging to a person known to have left at least one stela, etc., at Abydos are likely to have formed part of the decoration outfit of this person's offering chapel, whether a tomb chapel or a cenotaph.

Simpson has succeeded in establishing 78 such groups which it has taken 84 plates to reproduce (all, with but a few exceptions). There is but little material there altogether new (see pl. 42, 60, 1 and 81, 59, 1), but quite a number of things, mostly stelae, previously known from inadequate descriptions or inaccurate drawings, are for the first time published in this book in photographic reproductions. Unfortunately, the colouring of these stelae which is of vital importance from more viewpoints than one is still as much of a *terra incognita* as it has always been before.

Simpson's list of such groups is far from complete, but my additions and suggestions here will be restricted only to the groups established by him, since absolute completeness was not intended by the author.

ANOC 1. Several chapels, as is recognized by Simpson, are involved here. But if it is justifiable to regard this group of stelae as a unit, one may as well add to them CM 20065 which belongs to an official known from CM 20140 (ANOC 1, 3). On the other hand, ANOC 1, 11 = CM 20435 is to be excluded, this stela dating from Dyn. XIII (cf. the spelling of the word *jdwn* with the sign V 37 of Gardiner's sign-list). The owner of this stela is probably identical with that of a fragment of the tomb wall now at Uppsala (Lugn, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler*, p. 23, pl. XVII, no. 23). In both cases the provenance is not known.

ANOC 2. Nos. 1-3 belong to the first part of Dyn. XII, since processions of menials are not found on the stelae later than Sesostri II. No. 4, on the other hand, cannot be earlier than Amenemes III, for lotus-flowers in the lunette of a stela are characteristic of his reign.

ANOC 10. The statue *Abydos* II, 29 alleged to be missing is CM 520.

ANOC 19. Add *Br.m.* 210.

ANOC 22. See *JEA* 60, 110, 18.

ANOC 24. These stelae do not belong together.

ANOC 26. Add *Guimet* C 5.

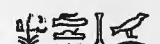
ANOC 27. Note CM 20292 = *Mar. Cat. Abyd.* 985.

ANOC 28. Different families.

ANOC 36. The owner's title is *jmj-r3 jkdw*, not *smntjw*.

ANOC 50. Add Louvre C 199 and *Walters* 52. *Br.m.* 249 hardly belongs here.

ANOC 57. The reference to Flittner is wrong and repeated from book to book. The correct reference is as follows: M. E. Matie, *Iskusstvo Srednego Tsarstva*, Leningrad, 1941, pl. XX (in *Istoriya iskusstva drevnego Vostoka* edited by Professor N. D. Flittner, vol. I, *Drevniy Egipet*, part 1).

ANOC 59. Established by Fischer. No. 1 published for the first time is important. No. 3 does not belong here. The reading of the title *wr 10 šm'w* as *wr 30 šm'w* here (cf. p. 30) and elsewhere is definitely rejected by the spelling  (*Br. Mus. Quart.* 4, pl. III, a).

ANOC 64. Add *Hermitage* 1062.

ANOC 65. Nos. 1-2 do not belong here.

I do not want, as I said above, to discuss other ANOC groups, certain, probable or just possible. One exception, however, seems desirable as it concerns exceedingly interesting monuments. I mean the stelae and statues belonging to the overseer of treasure Mentuhotep. This group is as follows:

1. CM 20539.

2. fragments of another stela LD II, 150, e; LD Text II, 176.

3. possibly *Calvet* 42.

4. possibly still another stela with the text of the political treaty known as *L'Enseignement loyaliste*.

5. CM 42037.

6. CM 42044.

7. CM 42045.

8. Buffalo statue (Roeder, *Ann. philol. et hist. or.* 3, 398-402, pl. VIII).

Only our no. 4 requires some comment. It is a well-known fact that the owner of CM 20538 copied most of his texts from CM 20539. Moreover, his instruction to his children has long been recognised as a piece of plagiarism, if we may say so, from that *Enseignement*. Then there are grounds to believe that the author of the treaty whose name is missing in P. Rifeh is the same Mentuhotep, and the text of the treaty might have been perpetuated on a stela conveniently placed in the vicinity of CM 20539 to allow the owner of CM 20538 to copy his texts from both; cf. Posener, *Annuaire Coll. de France* 67, 350.

Another case seems to me noteworthy and probably of some consequence for the ANOC programme: old stelae from decayed or abandoned chapels might subsequently be reused. Thus a separate ANOC group is formed by two stelae, CM 20090 and *Berlin* 1200, originally belonging to different persons, but later reused by several officials responsible for the offerings to be brought before Osiris in Year 24 of an unnamed king. On the Cairo stela the old inscriptions are in part erased. The new ones are in hieratic.

A note concerning the topography of Abydos. Simpson has shown that *w'rw*-designations are anything but place-names (toponyms) in the true sense of the word.

Then the only place-name known for the Middle Kingdom Abydene region is *pkr/w-pkr*, the modern Umm el-Qa'ab. I think that there is at least one place-name more. This is *h̄tm t̄3w* on the boundary stela of Nephōtēs I (Neferhotep).

This designation may pertain to the south-western part of what is marked on the plan PM V, 38 as the Northern Section of the Abydos necropolis complex, but it might just as well be the name of the whole Northern Section. The choice between these possibilities is by no means an easy one, but if *h̄tm t̄3w* means 'destroying breath' in the sense of 'suppressing breath', i.e. making one suppress, hold his breath out of deepest veneration for the sacrosanct place one stepped into, the second alternative seems preferable. Indeed the south-western part of the Section has no claims to a particular holiness, whereas the Section as a whole was most sacred in the eyes of the Egyptians as the only necropolis adjacent directly to the temple of Osiris.

It is curious how seldom Abydos is referred to in the texts as an actual settlement and not as the city of the temple of Osiris. The extant examples are so few in number that a new one will by no means be superfluous.

On a stela found at Er-Reqâqna there is a very strange title *mw̄t.f n̄jt 3bdw* 'his mother of Abydos', 'his Abydene mother' (Dakin, *JEA* 24, pl. XII-XIII). Dakin explained it away as 'his mother Nit-abdjw', taking *n̄jt 3bdw* for a proper name, 'she of Abydos'. This title belongs to a woman called *Z3t-Wp̄jw-w3wt*, so if *n̄jt 3bdw* is a name, it must be her second, but although double names are very common, on this stela this would have been the only one. Moreover, 'she of Abydos' would be in Middle Egyptian *Tj-n̄jt-3bdw*. All these difficulties, however, disappear if we read this short explanatory inscription just as it is written. Then, without any difficulties, we read 'his mother of Abydos, Zat-Upuaut'. This phrase is to be understood along the following lines. The specification 'of Abydos' is comprehensible only if this designation is opposed to that which requires no specification at all and if 'his mother of Abydos' is thus contrasted with 'his mother', that is the mother of the owner of the stela, the sculptor Si-Re'. In this case both women were his mothers, but if the first actually bore him, the other one (that of Abydos) can only be his step-mother. It should be borne in mind that Egyptian has no designation for 'step-mother' (cf. Matie, *Vestnik* 1964, no. 3, pp. 47-50) and one had to distinguish, one way or another, between the two mothers, the mother and the step-mother. Then if a step-mother was married into a family resident in another town, it would be most natural to call her as mother from this or that town or place, just as nowadays children distinguish between their grandparents, 'my grandmother of Moscow' and the like. The town of Er-Reqâqna, from whose necropolis this stela derives, lies only a few miles to the north of Abydos and the father of the owner of the stela may well have taken his second wife from the town of Abydos. It is very interesting to note that a large family of sculptors belonging, no doubt, to a community of artists was resident at such a small and seemingly insignificant settlement as Er-Reqâqna. It is possible that there, at least at the first part of Dyn. XII, there

lived sculptors¹⁾ who worked for the necropolis of Abydos?

Concluding I wish once more to say that this book is very inspiring and interesting and may it be followed by others dealing with the problem of Abydos, which will eventually solve all its puzzles, at present abandoned as 'non liquet'.

Leningrad, July 1976

OLEG BERLEV

* *

Ali HASSAN, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten*. München, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976 (80 pp. I-X et 233 p. + 8 pl.) = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 33 - ISBN 3 422 00826 8.

Ce trente-troisième cahier de la série munichoise est un sujet de "dissertation" destiné à la Faculté de philosophie de l'Université de Tubingue. C'est aussi par la même occasion, une de ces trop rares monographies qui, concernant un sujet, un événement, voire une série d'objets précis ou restreints, permettent d'en approfondir la connaissance et d'en préciser la nature.

A ce titre, la contribution d'Ali Hassan comble un vide: l'étude des cannes, bâtons et sceptres n'avait été, jusqu'à maintenant que fragmentaire, et attachée généralement à des fouilles particulières.

Le propos ne manque pas d'ambition: la canne (nous adopterons ce terme général pour la commodité du discours) est l'un des objets les plus fréquents de l'Égypte pharaonique, aussi bien dans les représentations murales que comme matériel funéraire: qu'on songe qu'il n'y en avait pas moins de 170 dans la tombe de Toutankhamon — et l'on aura touché rapidement les limites d'une étude qui ne saurait être un inventaire exhaustif, d'autant qu'elle couvre une période allant de la Ve Dynastie à la XIXe.

Avec un esprit de système qu'il convient de louer, l'auteur a choisi de combiner la chronologie et les emplois divers de ces objets qui peuvent se répartir, en dehors de l'emploi banal et quotidien, en trois catégories: récompense honorifique, matériel funéraire, signe distinctif de rang ou de fonction (ce qui explique, en particulier, que des femmes que l'on ne voit pratiquement jamais représentées avec une canne, en possèdent souvent un certain nombre dans leur tombe: l'auteur consacre d'ailleurs la fin de son ouvrage à cet aspect inattendu de la canne dans l'Ancienne Égypte — pp. 196-204).

Nous avons fait allusion à l'ambition du projet; il n'en demeure pas moins qu'Ali Hassan a réuni une masse importante d'informations tirée soit de la littérature (une compilation considérable, à en juger des notes en pied de pages), soit de la visite de collections et musées (en ce qui concerne le Nouvel-Empire: British Museum, Berlin,

¹⁾ In connexion with the sculptors of Abydos I should like to note that the name of the sculptor, who came, under Sesostri I, from Itju-Tawy to work at Abydos and there left his beautiful stela (*JEA* 38, pl. I), is not *šn*, but *šn-stj*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 328, 29-30 and 329, 1.

Brooklyn, Caire, Leyde, Louvre et Turin¹⁾. Un appel abondant est fait aux *représentations*, qui alimentent le propos de l'auteur dans les divers aspects qu'il envisage: les noms égyptiens donnés aux cannes (plus de 70 dans l'inventaire des pages 6 à 8; plus de 100 dans les indices finals); la fabrication des cannes (pp. 10 à 37); l'achat, l'échange, la donation; la canne comme matériel funéraire — avec les divers aspects de la question (pp. 55 à 97), et des chapitres particuliers consacrés au rôle et à la position des cannes dans les sarcophages; enfin, la canne comme signe de puissance, de fonction ou de rang (pp. 166 à 195).

Une part importante de l'ouvrage est consacrée aux inscriptions sur les cannes qui commencent à apparaître au Moyen-Empire, et qui se multiplient au Nouvel-Empire (particulièrement à la XVIIIe Dynastie); c'est d'ailleurs là — l'auteur n'y insiste peut-être pas assez — qu'on trouve l'explication proprement funéraire de ces cannes dans la tombe (indépendamment du rang de leur propriétaire qu'elles attestent parfois), puisqu'elles sont souvent liées, topographiquement, à la présence de sandales et qu'elles sont donc destinées au voyage dans l'au-delà (comme bâton de pèlerin, en quelque sorte). Une des cannes de Toutankhamon²⁾ est d'ailleurs explicite: *tryt n d̄m r šms it.k 'Imn: une canne "tryt" en or fin, pour accompagner ton père Amon*.

On a relevé plus haut le sérieux de la documentation de cette étude; d'autres mérites sont à souligner. On citera, par exemple, l'appel aux noms arabes des différents bâtons et cannes, avec leur description, qui sans recouvrir la définition des cannes de l'époque pharaonique, permet d'illustrer une variété qui peut surprendre l'Européen. Ou encore les nombreux indices (huit au total), tables de concordance, abréviations, etc., sans omettre les huit planches de photographie (le corps de l'ouvrage est en autographie IBM).

Ces mérites reconnus permettent peut-être un certain nombre de critiques.

Nous avons souligné l'impossibilité d'un inventaire, je ne dirai pas exhaustif, mais suffisamment complet dans un domaine aussi vaste. Mais l'ouvrage présente une certaine ambiguïté: s'agit-il, notamment pour l'Ancien et le Moyen-Empire, d'un inventaire aussi exhaustif qu'il se peut — et pour le Nouvel-Empire, ne s'agit-il que d'un choix de pièces déterminantes ou estimées telles? Auquel cas, on s'étonne que — pour ne prendre que cet exemple — deux cannes légendées seulement soient mentionnées pour Toutankhamon (dont une, p. 134, sans indication d'origine; elle fait partie pourtant de l'inventaire Carter). Certes, l'accès aux pièces inédites du trésor de Toutankhamon n'est pas facile; mais plusieurs cannes ont été publiées qui auraient mérité mention par leur originalité ou leurs inscriptions: la canne 577³⁾, publiée par Pene-

¹⁾ Cet examen permet à l'auteur de publier un certain nombre d'inédits.

²⁾ Donnée comme No de Musée 514 (p. 135), alors que les Urk. IV, 2060 citent une autre inscription sous ce numéro, inscription reprise par Hassan comme appartenant à un numéro 229, dont il donne le texte (relevé d'après les papiers de Carter) assez différent de celui établi par Helck! C'est peut-être l'occasion, une fois de plus, de regretter que les collections de la tombe de Toutankhamon soient si mal, et surtout si incomplètement publiées.

³⁾ Nous donnons les numéros d'exposition du Caire.

lope Fox⁴⁾ et qui comporte une double allusion à Aton et à Amon; la 235 A avec son étonnant pommeau représentant le roi enfant; les deux cannes d'apparat 48 C et 50 avec leurs têtes de captifs; enfin, le flabellum 242, célèbre par sa représentation de chasse aux autruches⁵⁾.

Du point de vue de l'économie générale de la publication, un certain nombre d'autres réserves peuvent être formulées. Par exemple, les *Indices* sont nombreux et détaillés. Mais l'absence de légende des planches (qui contraint à la référence aux dits indices) est fâcheuse pour le lecteur pressé. Dans le même ordre d'idées, pourquoi n'avoir pas utilisé l'une ou l'autre des planches pour *légender* les cannes représentées. Sans doute, comme le relève l'auteur, la distinction n'est pas toujours aisée (notamment au niveau de la désignation hiéroglyphique). Mais une planche présentant les cannes les moins sujettes à équivoque (*w3s*, *hk3*, *d'm*, *hrp*, *shm*) eût été utile. La

division en chapitre procède aussi d'un certain arbitraire; pourquoi, par exemple, inclure dans le chapitre VI les "Grabbeigaben" de l'Ancien et du Moyen-Empire (dans des sous-chapitres différents: les *formes* ne sont étudiées que pour le Moyen-Empire, et la *position* que pour le Nouvel-Empire!), mais faire un chapitre spécial pour le Nouvel-Empire?

Enfin — et le sérieux de l'ouvrage justifie ce regret — pourquoi autant d'approximations dans les citations, notamment d'ouvrages non-allemands, en particulier dans les notes: *heredetary* (p. 59, n. 18); catalogue (pp. 99, n. 7); cardinax (pour cardinaux) (p. 106, n. 40); Égyptien (p. 149, n. 5); Quandel (pour Qandil) p. 153, n. 6; ouvriés (pour ouvriers) p. 161, n. 8; etc. Le lecteur aura quelque peine à reconnaître "Les rites de la chasse au filet" dans "Les rites de la masse en files" (p. 143, n. 5)! De même qu'à moins d'avoir une bonne formation politique, il aura quelque peine à retrouver le Musée de l'Ermitage de Leningrad dans la mention du "Petrograd Museum" (p. 95, n. 73).

Cela étant, ces critiques, encore une fois, sont appelées par l'importance et la conscience de cette étude.

Genève, août 1976

ROBERT HARI

* *

P. P. RIESTERER - K. LAMBELET, *Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo*, Kümmerly & Frey Geographischer Verlag, Bern - BLV Verlagsgesellschaft München Bern Wien, [1975] (pp. 5-64, 93 planches en couleurs, hors texte; 27,5 x 22,5 cm). ISBN 3 405 II 48 3.

Le nom de K. Lambelet se rattache à plus d'un souvenir pour quiconque a vécu au Caire entre 1940 et 1950. C'est donc de bon gré que nous pouvons encore une fois constater comment, dans une ville en continuelle transformation, certaines "institutions" ne cessent de fonc-

⁴⁾ *Der Schatz des Tut-ench-amun*, fig. 75.

⁵⁾ *Toutankhamon et son époque*, Paris 1967, No 25. Ce *bht* que Mme Desroches-Noblecourt traduit "flagellum" n'est pas donné par Hassan dans sa liste, qui comporte d'autres flagellums. On a ici les limites d'un choix: le flagellum, voire l'éventail entrent-ils dans la catégorie des cannes?

tionner, voire de se développer. En ce sens, le volume dont nous avons à parler ici est bien significatif des destinées que le tourisme, à la suite de choix bien déterminés, se trouve à subir, entre autres pays, en Egypte.

Une simple description du volume et de son contenu sera plus que suffisante pour mieux expliquer notre pensée. Le texte de P. P. Riesterer (pp. 5-47) est divisé en deux chapitres. Le premier ("Kunstschätze aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo", pp. 5-26), après un court résumé sur le sort des antiquités égyptiennes au cours des siècles et sur la création du Musée du Caire, présente, suivant un ordre chronologique, certaines des pièces les plus intéressantes du Musée, reproduites sur les planches qui suivent. Le deuxième chapitre ("Der Grabschatz des Tut-ench-Amun", pp. 27-47) introduit le lecteur au trésor de Toutankhamon au moyen d'un exposé sur l'histoire du roi, sur les croyances funéraires des anciens Egyptiens, sur la découverte de la tombe (dont on donne le plan p. 40) et sur quelques objets du trésor, illustrés par les planches.

Suit la partie des illustrations, toutes en couleurs. Elles sont réparties en plusieurs sections: celles relatives au premier chapitre du texte (pls. 1-46) suivant un ordre chronologique (Ancien, Moyen et Nouvel Empire), les autres dans une section unique, dédiée au trésor de Toutankhamon (pls. 47-93).

Le volume se termine par une série de notes explicatives des planches (pp. 49-62) et par une bibliographie sommaire (pp. 63-64).

La fonction du volume se trouve de la sorte clairement indiquée par son contenu. Le texte est en effet parfaitement honnête, en ce sens que l'auteur a soigneusement évité toute affirmation qui ne soit étayée par les textes les plus classiques de l'égyptologie. Ceci a évidemment pour but de ne point offrir au lecteur une vision tant soit peu déroutante de l'état des questions mais de lui fournir des indications qui le rassurent en une certaine mesure. Autant dire que le volume est destiné non à celui qui désire être initié aux antiquités égyptiennes, mais plutôt à celui qui, ayant visité le Musée du Caire, cherche à organiser ses idées en une suite plus logique.

Le rôle que nous attribuons au volume peut être du reste encore mieux vérifié en examinant les planches du point de vue du choix des pièces présentées et de la manière dont elles le sont. La sélection est celle à laquelle on pouvait s'attendre: le scribe du Caire, Rahotep et Nofret, Khéphren, les triades de Mykérinos, les oies de Médoum, le Cheikh el Balad, la reine de Pount et Néfertiti. Ce sont les personnages les plus célèbres et les plus chers au cœur du touriste, pour ne point parler de Toutankhamon et de son trésor.

La même honnêteté se retrouve d'ailleurs dans l'impression des planches: les couleurs sont fortes mais à bien regarder elles sont le plus souvent mises en relief par un fond très caractérisé (cf. surtout pls. 1, 3, 4, 9, 12, 16, 19, 33, 41, 43, 46); la lumière s'impose, mais sans jamais arriver à altérer la forme ni à produire les effets "veloutés" qui se rencontrent parfois dans d'autres publications; la mise au point n'est jamais telle qu'elle attire l'attention sur une partie seulement de la pièce, mais met celle-ci d'emblée en valeur; les détails sont généralement évités.

Bref, le volume en question peut vraiment être considéré comme un symbole du tourisme moderne: un tourisme souvent pressé, peu attiré par les détails et par les situations dramatiques, par autant soulagé à l'idée de pouvoir revivre, une fois rentré à la maison, les moments les plus significatifs (diapositives, volumes d'art). Du reste nous avons pu constater nous-mêmes sur place le succès du volume, succès bien mérité et déjà signalé lors des précédentes éditions (cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 22-1965, p. 125; S. Ratié, *Chronique d'Egypte*, 42-1967, pp. 326-329; *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 24-1967, pp. 45-46).

Naples, mai 1976

CLAUDIO BAROCAS

* *

Günter GRIMM, Mohiy IBRAHİM, Mohammad MOHSEN, Dieter JOHANNES, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1975 (4to, 34 pp. + 118 pls., 1 map). Price (Subscription): 98.— DM.

Published under the aegis of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, and with the collaboration of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, this most appealing book combines the expected thoroughness of scholarship with photography which can make a rustic stele look breathtaking. Herr Franz Rutzen of Verlag Philipp von Zabern has devised a type-face, colour-processes, and textured treatment of the black-and-white plates which are characterised by honest dignity and, at the same time, a revelation because so much has never been shown so well heretofore. The juxtaposition of plates is provocative, as plates 36 to 41 where we have the Vespasian from Aphroditopolis and the Antoninus Pius from Hermopolis Magna staring first, side-by-side, at us and then in right and left profiles one after the other. All manner of the arts are included, from the post-Attic to East Greek stele of Niko about 250 B.C. in "Muschelkalkstein" from Alexandria to terracotta flasks of the fourth century A.D. with seasonal or vintage designs suggestive of metalwork.

The texts, following a general appreciation, are sensibly brief, the basic statistics, provenance, date, and a full bibliography. A few of the works of art are without records of excavation or of chance find from soil or sands, but, as in the instance of the Hadra vases from the P. Pugioli collection (Alexandria), the Egyptian origin or manufacture is secure enough to preclude any fear that a collector in Egypt might have bought the objects at Sotheby's or in the Covered Bazaar of Constantinople. Basically, the monuments can be divided between those which continue Egyptian traditional art, the examples of Macedonian (Ptolemaic) Hellenism, and the urban or rustic creations of the Roman imperial period. An unknown lady of 140 to 150 is as fine an Antonine bust in the spirit of Faustina the Elder as one could find anywhere else from Britain to Beirut (no. 24). She came from Terenuthis. The grave-relief of a family (no. 27), of unknown provenance and long in the Cairo Museum, lines up a family of an old man, his wife(?),

and three grown members of the next generation in white marble in such an iconographic way that earlier writers thought Antoninus Pius, the two Faustinas, Marcus Aurelius, and a high official or the "genius" of Aelius Caesar might have been involved. Like so much else from Roman Egypt, this relief has an indefinable quality about it, which speaks of the Nile, rather than Syria or Cyprus or farther afield.

Most cherished for its Romano-"Egyptianness" is perhaps the grave-stele of Isidoros about 120 to 140, also from Terenuthis (no. 18). With his Egyptian-Hermes- or Dionysos headdress and attributes (pinecone-staff and "panther" of the wine-god), his full cloak, and his "divus" boots, it seems hard to imagine Isidoros was possibly the prematurely-deceased older brother of the elegant lady mentioned above. The three statues or heads therefrom of Sarapis (nos. 30, 31, 32), all from sites in the area not far north or south of Cairo show how differently, from Flavian to high Antonine times, accomplished sculptors could interpret the Alexandrian cult-statue. Placing this book alongside G. Sokolov's *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (Aurora Art Publishers, Leningrad, 1974), a publication of comparable scope and quality, I am aware how easy it is to say Alexandrian influences were to be seen in the sculpture of the Graeco-Roman cities from Odessa or Olbia to Gorgippia. How far from the truth this now turns out to be. Middle Egypt had developed its own later Classical *ethos*, and the northern Euxine saw the same sources through the arts of Asia Minor, and occasionally Attica.

Boston, August 1976

CORNELIUS VERMEULE

ASSYRIOLOGIE

Dietlinde GOLTZ, *Studien zur Altorientalischen und Griechischen Heilkunde*. Therapie - Arzneibereitung - Rezeptstruktur. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974 (80, XIV + 352 S.) = Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 16. Preis: DM 80.—.

Die Assyriologie, immer in der Gefahr, für Nachbardisziplinen den Eindruck eines undurchsichtigen Dschungels von weltfremder philologischer Tüftelei und geheimniskrämerischen Spezialistentums zu erwecken, hat wohl auf wenigen Gebieten so wenig an bearbeitetem und von Nichtspezialisten weiterverarbeitbarem Material bereitgestellt wie im Bereich der medizinischen Texte. Der Medizinhistoriker steht vor einem immer weiter anwachsenden Korpus von Keilschrifttexten, von denen kaum einer in einer verlässlichen Bearbeitung aus neuerer Zeit vorliegt, von einer aussagekräftigen Sammlung solcher Texte in moderner Übersetzung ganz zu schweigen. In Anbetracht der Menge noch unveröffentlichter Texte, deren Herausgabe F. Köcher in seinem breit angelegten Werk „Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin“ (BAM) als ersten Teil mit grosser Akribie, aber dadurch bedingt auch relativ langwieriger Erscheinungsweise seit 1963 unermüdlich vorantreibt¹⁾, mag es verständlich erschei-

nen, dass für den Assyriologen der Versuch einer umfassenden Auswertung der bisher bekannten Stücke wenig Anreiz besitzt, da jeder neue Band BAM schwerwiegende Revisionen und Nachträge nach sich zu ziehen droht bzw. verspricht. Ausserdem hat Köcher schon sehr lange (BAM I S. VIII) eine Gesamtbearbeitung aus seiner eigenen Feder nach Vollendung der Textkopienbände in Aussicht gestellt, der nicht ohne weiteres vorzugreifen werden sollte.

Ich weiss nicht, ob es in dieser Situation einfach der Mut der Verzweiflung war, der die Medizinhistorikerin D. Goltz beflügelte, sich in mühevoller Arbeit selbst in die Keilschrift und die akkadische Sprache einzuarbeiten, um mit diesem Rüstzeug auch ohne vermittelnde Hilfe assyriologischer Übersetzungen Zugang wenigstens zu dem veröffentlichten Textmaterial zu gewinnen. Der Erfolg, bisher zu greifen in der vorliegenden Publikation über die akkadische und griechische Rezeptliteratur²⁾, rechtfertigt die zweifellos immense Mühe. Wenn nun hier das Buch vorwiegend von spezifisch assyriologischer, also keilschriftphilologischer Seite betrachtet und besprochen wird, so möge die Verfasserin dies verzeihen. Dieser Ansatz entspringt nicht einem Missverständnis der Intention des Werkes oder hässlichem Vergnügen an Detailkritik. Im Gegenteil: Fast nebenbei enthält das Buch so viele von den Assyriologen bisher nicht geleistete Untersuchungen und Zusammenstellungen zur medizinischen Terminologie, dass gerade auch der Philologe reichen Gewinn und vielerlei Anregungen aus der Lektüre ziehen wird. Dass die Ergebnisse hierbei an denselben Massstäben gemessen werden können und müssen, die auch sonst für assyriologische Spezialliteratur anzulegen sind, zeigt bereits das hohe Mass an sprachlichem Verständnis, zu dem die Verfasserin gelangt ist und dem Rez. im folgenden, gerade auch, wo er glaubt, das Verständnis noch durch eigene Bemerkungen fördern zu können, seine Achtung zollen möchte.

Es sei Rez. daher verstattet, von einer ausführlichen Würdigung des Gesamthabes des Werkes abzusehen, zumal die Verf. ihrem Buch dankenswerterweise eine knappe, aber sehr informative Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse beigefügt hat (S. 323-326)³⁾. Niemand, der sich ernsthaft mit antiker Medizingeschichte beschäftigen will, wird sowieso um die eigene Lektüre zumindest des zentralen dritten Teils des besprochenen Buches herumkommen können, in dem die Verf. in methodisch wohlfundierter Zerteilung Ähnlichkeiten und grundsätzliche Unterschiede zwischen der Behandlungsweise babylonischer und griechischer Heilkunst diskutiert. Dass dabei auf die Frage möglicher Beeinflussung der späteren griechischen durch die ältere babylonische Tradition keine definitiv positive oder negative Antwort gegeben werden konnte, mag zwar enttäuschend scheinen, ist jedoch nicht eigentlich unerwartet: Zerstossen von

²⁾ Eine frühere Arbeit der Verfasserin „Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus“, Wiesbaden 1972 (= Beihefte zu Sudhoffs Archiv 14), trägt, zumindest im keilschriftlichen Bereich, noch nicht die Züge selbständiger Textbeherrschung, wie sie das hier besprochene Werk aufweist (s. auch die Besprechung von W. Ullmann, *ZDMG* 125, 390 ff.).

³⁾ Vgl. auch die Besprechung von E. von Weiher, *ZA* 65, 155-157.

¹⁾ Bis heute sind von den derzeit geplanten etwa 7 Tafelbänden (vgl. Borger *HKL* II 133) 4 erschienen.

Drogen, Drehen von Pillen oder Einnehmen von Tränken auf nüchternen Magen wird wohl in jeder Sprache oder Kultur mit relativ ähnlichen Mitteln beschrieben werden, da der sachliche Vorgang wenig variabel ist. Die Annahme der Entlehnung einer Arzneiform dagegen lässt sich nur dann sicher verifizieren, wenn genügend diachrones Material einer Kultur vorhanden ist, um eine Aussage „Arzneiform x ist erst ab Zeitpunkt y als Neuerung belegt“ zu rechtfertigen, oder aber, wenn der Nachweis gelingt, dass eine Arzneiform, Rezepturangabe o.ä. systemfremd innerhalb eines gut bekannten Textkorpus steht. Nur letzterer Fall ist im Corpus Hippocraticum in einigen Belegen wahrscheinlich zu machen, und hier sind dann auch die Stellen, an denen babylonischer Einfluss am wahrscheinlichsten anzunehmen ist: Auffallenderweise betrifft dies fast nur den Bereich der Prognostik (s. op. rec. S. 324), während alle anderen, auf S. 240ff. zusammengestellten Berührungspunkte weder einzeln beweiskräftig sind, noch zu Gruppen zusammenordenbar sind, die auf ein bestimmtes übernommenes „Wissens-Fachgebiet“ beziehbar wären. Ich möchte daher in jedem Falle der Verf. zustimmen, dass in der Therapie bisher keine Entlehnung sicher nachweisbar sei; darüber hinaus scheint es mir gerade nach den von ihr erreichten Vergleichen und Ergebnissen sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass jemals eine Entlehnung stattgefunden habe oder nachweisbar werden könne.

Einige Einzelbemerkungen zu Teil 3: Nicht stichhaltig sind m.E. die Erwägungen der Verf. zum akkadischen Verbum *nadû* (S. 246 mit Anm. 32). Es scheint wenig sinnvoll, in Anbetracht vieler gut bezeugter Spezialbedeutungen des Verbums von „fallen lassen“ über „hinlegen“, „(Eier) legen“ u.v.a.m., wozu eben auch „(hinein-)schütten, zugeben“ kommt, gerade hier mit der allgemeinen Grundbedeutung „werfen“ argumentieren zu wollen. Die Parallele zu βαλλειν ist hübsch, aber sicher zufällig. — S. 275 oben ignoriert die häufige, ja fast regelmässige Verwendung der iterativen tan-Stämme gerade, wenn vom „Packen“ durch Dämonen etc. mit folgender Krankheit die Rede ist. — S. 290 Anm. 222: Zumindest in „magischem“ Kontext sind — wenn auch selten — auch babylonische Formulierungen belegt, die für den Fall der Unwirksamkeit einzelner Massnahmen andere fordern: Vgl. z.B. Biggs TCS 2,70,11. Vgl. auch den aB med. Text BAM 393 Vs. 17f.: *šumma lā ibluṭ* ... (folgt auf *ine*“aš in Z. 16)! — S. 302 Anm. 274: Hier (wie auch sonst öfters) verfälscht die Jahresangabe „1965“ bei den Zitaten auf Landsberger und von Soden etwas die Forschungsgeschichte: 1965 erschien der *Nachdruck* von Aufsätzen der Jahre 1926 (Landsberger) bzw. 1936 (von Soden) („1965“ als einzige Jahreszahlenangabe auch im Literaturverzeichnis S. 342 und 344).

Etwas unglücklich scheint der Anfang des an sich hochinteressanten kurzen Teils 4, der sich mit der literarischen Einordnung des Rezeptes befasst. Vor allem die S. 304 nahegelegte Rezitation von Rezepten scheint mir abwegig. Es gibt auch im magischen Bereich keine Hinweise auf eine solche; der Hinweis auf Übergänge zwischen Beschwörung und Rezept ist ohne Erklärung der Hintergründe (literarische Form der sumerischen Beschwörung, Anweisung im Rahmen des Ritualthemas

des Marduk-Ea-Typs, daraus verselbständigte Weihungsbeschwörungen etc.) etwas irreführend. Der Rückzug auf die „Sakralität“ des gesprochenen Wortes verwischt mehr als er verdeutlicht. Schliesslich beruht der Vergleich mit der Omenliteratur zumindest in der hier gewählten Formulierung auf einem Missverständnis: Mündliche Tradition vor schriftlicher Fixierung ist ein völlig eigenständiges Phänomen und hat nichts mit der „magischen Bedeutung des gesprochenen Wortes“, ja nicht einmal mit Rezitieren des betreffenden Textes zu tun. — Der weitere Verlauf des Kapitels hingegen enthält eine Fülle interessanter Vergleiche der Form des „Rezeptes“ wie auch den Versuch einer diachronisch differenzierenden Definition des Begriffes⁴⁾.

Die Grundlage für die bisher besprochenen, vergleichend resumierenden Teile des Werkes hat nun die Verf. in den ersten beiden Teilen des Werkes, die als „Materialsammlung“ den beiden letzten gegenübergestellt werden können, gelegt. Hier werden — im grossen ganzen parallel (Teil 1 behandelt den babylonischen, Teil 2 den griechischen Textbefund) die Ausdrucksweisen für pharmazeutische Tätigkeit, Arzneiformen und therapeutische Bemühungen des Arztes gesammelt und diskutiert. Ich folge im weiteren dem Aufbau von Teil 1 und beschränke mich im wesentlichen auf m.E. für das sachliche Verständnis wichtigere philologische Einzelbemerkungen⁵⁾:

I. Überblick über die babylonische Medizin:

Die Übersicht über vor-jB Texte ist nicht ganz vollständig und teilweise widersprüchlich (S. 2ff.)⁶⁾; leider ist auch vor allem bei BAM nicht angegeben, welche Texte von der Verf. tatsächlich benutzt worden sind. BAM IV jedenfalls ist offenbar nur noch teilweise berücksichtigt worden. Eine (oft mögliche) Trennung von mA und nA/jB Texten aus Assur ist offenbar nicht versucht. — S. 12: Die Angaben über die den *asû* betreffende Literatur sind in dieser Schärfe sicher nicht haltbar. Schon die Tatsache, dass Texte „für die Praxis“ exzerpiert(!) wurden, zeigt ja, dass eine exzerpierbare tradierte Literatur vorhanden war. Offenbar walteten allerdings andere Prinzipien bei der Zusammenstellung von Rezeptsammlungen als bei der übrigen „kanonisierten“ Literatur, so dass tatsächlich eine erstaunliche Seltenheit kanonischer medizinischer Tafelfolgen zu konstatieren ist. — Sehr wichtig sind die im ganzen Kapitel verstreuten Hinweise auf Zusammenwirken von Medizin und Magie sowie dem, was heute unter Psychologie bzw. Psychiatrie eingeordnet würde. Leider sind für die Angaben über Personengleichheit von *asû* und *āšipu* in 10⁴⁴ keine Belege genannt⁷⁾.

⁴⁾ Nicht ganz unwidersprochen darf allerdings die apodiktische Fussnote 18 auf S. 311 bleiben. Ein „primär temporaler“ Gebrauch von *šumma* ist weder nachweisbar noch wahrscheinlich.

⁵⁾ Unwesentlichere Flüchtigkeiten in Zitierweise, Umschrift und Detailverständnis bleiben hier unberücksichtigt.

⁶⁾ Vgl. jetzt die der Verf. natürlich noch nicht zugängliche Textzusammenstellung bei Borger HKL III S. 115 ff.

⁷⁾ S. 14 oben ist die Annahme von „Personengleichheit“ von Arzt und Psychiater wegen des Fehlens einer eigenen Person/Funktion „Psychiater“ höchstens cum grano salis zu verstehen und auch dann noch wenig sinnvoll.

II. Die Rezeptstruktur:

S. 15: Die (seltenen) *enûma*-Sätze in med. Texten (vgl. Anm. 57) sind immer als nachzeitig zu vorhergehendem konditionalem *šumma* aufzupassen (vgl. auch CAD I/J 161 a, nicht ganz glücklich). — S. 18: Übersetzungen manchmal ungenau. BAM 190 (Anm. 74) lies ... *kišpi ikul u išti* „er hat Magisches (wörtl. Zauberei) gegessen und getrunken“; in BAM 191 (Anm. 75) übersetze „hört nicht auf“ statt „bemerkt es nicht“. BAM 105 (Anm. 80) heisst: „Ritual dafür: Über Zäpfchen, Salbe (und) Trank gegen die (Gen.) Afterkrankheit rezitierst du (es = die vorhergenannte Beschwörung)“, der Text entspricht also durchaus der Norm. — S. 19, Anm. 84: GEŠTIN.KA in BAM 126 (mit Köcher BAM II, S. XI) Fehler für GEŠTIN.KA₅.A = *karān šēlibi*, kaum „dein Wein“⁸⁾. — Anm. 86: Hinweise auf Realisierung von Kasusendungen sind auch in jüngeren Texten dann zu sehen, wenn die syllabischen Schreibungen langvokalischen Auslaut wiedergeben wie bei dem zitierten *gišnu-ur-ma-a*; nur die Schreibungen des kurzvokalischen Auslauts sind dagegen wirklich irrelevant. Die hier geäusserte Vermutung zum älteren Sprachbefund ist durch den aB Text BAM 393 bestätigt! — Anm. 88: Zu *kisal* als Gewichtseinheit, das nach CAD K 416 zu streichen wäre, vgl. jetzt von Soden OLZ 1975 Sp. 461 und beachte besonders BKBM Taf. 1, 28, wo **kisal* und GIN nebeneinander stehen — S. 22: Das Fehlen des Imperativs bzw. fientischen Prekativs ist nicht total: Vgl. die — allerdings ganz ungewöhnliche — Anweisung an den Zahnarzt *sikkata ritēma šēpa šabat* „befestige den Pflock (?) und fass den 'Fuss' (des Zahnwurms?)“; zum Prekativ notiere ich (aus mag.-med. Kontext) Rez., BID 244, 82' (Patient) *riksa* ... *lirkus* „möge ... eine Opferzurüstung herrichten“. Der Imperativ ist überdies die gängige Formulierung des in zweisprachigen Beschwörungen integrierten „Rezeptes“ des Marduk-Ea-Typs (sumerisch entspricht dort u-Prospektiv)⁹⁾. — S. 24 Anm. 118: *ina* UD.IV.KAM „am vierten Tag“.

III. Die pharmazeutische Tätigkeit:

S. 26 u.ö.: Eine Mengenangabe *ta-ām* gibt es nicht. X-TA.ĀM ist die dem Sumerischen entstammende logographische Schreibung der Distributivzahlen („je x“), für welche bisher keine gesicherten akkadischen Lesungen bekannt sind. Anm. 124: *tesekkerer* auch hier „schliesst du ein“. — S. 35: statt *ḏakāku* D lies wohl — mit CAD D 34 a und 190 b — *duququ* „ganz klein machen“ (zu *daqu* „winzig“). — S. 36: *kāru* hier zu unrecht gebucht. Die Stelle bezieht sich genau genommen auf die therapeutische Anwendung, nicht auf die pharmazeutische Vorbereitung der genannten Droge. — S. 41, Anm. 224: Lies UDIL.BAD (= *ūina-ūš* = *maštaka*) *ūtarmuš* (etc.). — S. 42, Anm. 231: Übersetze „nachdem du untergetaucht hast“¹⁰⁾;

⁸⁾ Die Stelle im folgenden noch des öfteren mit derselben Lesung zitiert.

⁹⁾ Vgl. dazu z.B. op. rec. S. 26 u.ö.

¹⁰⁾ *turtabbi*(!); vorhergeht *turabba* „du tauchst (eine Droge) unter“.

das in diesem Textzitat noch zweimal und auch sonst mehrfach postulierte „Fischwasser“ (**mē nūni* = *A ḪA.MEŠ) ist verlesen statt *a-ḫa-meš* „miteinander“. — S. 43, Anm. 240: Übersetze „... du nimmst je 1/3 Qa, ...“. — S. 44f.: Ist *maḫāšu* nicht einfach als „schlagen“ mit einem Instrument, ähnlich dem „schaumigschlagen“ von Sahne etc. aufzufassen? — S. 45, Anm. 255 (u.ö.): Auch wenn sich Rez. hier dem Vorwurf laxen Sprachgebrauchs aussetzen sollte: Er wirft auch durchaus Petersilie in die Suppe, Eiswürfel in ein Mixgetränk etc. Vgl. allerdings auch schon oben S. 330 — S. 48: Zu *ma-rāsu* vgl. demnächst Rez. in AfO. — S. 50: Die unter „4. *ina tinūri sekēru*“ zitierte Lexikonstelle AHw. 1035 zitiert auch Belege für *ina atūgi / utūni / tamgussi sekēru*; die Angabe, die Formel werde nur in dieser Form (sc. mit *tinūru*) gebraucht, ist entsprechend zu modifizieren. — S. 51: Statt *ina kakkabi* (Sing.) *tušbāt* findet sich pass. auch der Plural *ina kakkabi* (s. z.B. Anm. 302). — S. 52 s.v. *šaḫālu*: Es trifft nicht zu, dass š. nur von Drogenaufgüssen gesagt werde. In BAM 42, 5f. z.B. werden Drogen zerschnitten, im Mörser zerstoßen, ein zweites Mal in einer Mühle aus Basalt (?) gemahlen (?)¹¹⁾; darauf folgt unmittelbar die Anweisung *ina kitē raqqi* (?) *ta-šā-ḫal* „in/mit feinem Leinen ...-st du“. Die Anweisung bezieht sich offenbar auf sehr fein gemahlene trockene Drogen, so dass doch wieder an eine Bedeutung „sieben“ zu denken sein könnte. Auch der S. 53, Anm. 310 zitierte Text BAM 222 (sol), der wie BAM 42 Tücher verwenden lässt, handelt, nachdem das „Fischwasser“ eliminiert ist, von trockenen Drogen. — S. 54, Anm. 316: Der Beleg BAM 237 ist sehr fraglich; lies eher *ana imitti*(XV)-*šu piššata* (I.BA) *ina lubār* (TUG.ĪIA) *ḫalli tu[rak]kaš*?¹²⁾.

S. 54f.: Der hier ohne Diskussion übernommene Bedeutungsansatz „aufstreichen“ für *terū* ist nicht unproblematisch. Die anderen Verben des Salbens, Einreibens, Bestreichens etc. werden im Akkadischen in der Regel mit doppeltem Akkusativ des Aufzutragenden und des Gesalbten konstruiert, nie jedoch wird letzteres durch *ina* bezeichnet, was auch sprachlogisch widersinnig schiene (allenfalls *ana* könnte bei rein räumlicher Auffassung des Vorgangs erwartet werden). *ina* dagegen legt eine Handlung nahe, die mittels eines dadurch bezeichneten Gegenstandes, oder aber in einem solchen stattfindet, d.h. hier: *terū* könnte nach der sprachlichen Formulierung „mit Leder/Stoff o.ä.“¹³⁾, oder aber „in einem Leder-/Stoff(säckchen)“ gemacht werden. Ausgehend von der Grundbedeutung des als Wortzeichen verwendeten SUR, „to perform an action from which a liquid product results“ (Civil, Fs. Oppenheim 81) oder vielleicht noch

¹¹⁾ *šadādu*; AHw. 1121b „aus der Mühle nehmen“ passt nicht recht; vgl. CAD E 324a oben. Das Verbum ist von der Verf. nicht behandelt worden.

¹²⁾ So offenbar in AHw. 869 verstanden.

¹³⁾ An Varietäten des üblicherweise genannten *mašku* (KUŠ) und *šubātu* (TUG) notiere ich noch — ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit — KUŠ.EDIN (Lesung unklar; die Diskussion op.rec. 55 ist z.T. abwegig: EDIN kann hier doch wohl nur = *šēru* „Steppe“, kaum = *šēru* „Rücken“ und zweifellos nie = *še(r)ru* „Schlange“ sein) pass.; KUŠ.EDIN.A BAM 158 IV 33; KUŠ.DÜ₈.A AMT 8 1/2, 10; KUŠ *šipki* BAM 92 II 27; BE 31, 48; 56 Rs. 35; AMT 1/4, 21; etc.; KUŠ MAS.DĀ (*mašak šabiti*) BAM 41,8'; *lubāru* (TUG.ĪIA) pass., vgl. CAD L 230b.

konkreter „mit schraubender Bewegung auspressen, auswringen“ (D. O. Edzard), könnte für die medizinischen Belege durchaus an eine Bedeutung „in/mit (einem Stück) Leder/Stoff quetscht du aus“ gedacht werden, wobei die Tatsache, dass meist eine Drogenbrühe verwendet wird, es auch sachlich nahelegt, dass ein gewisser Entwässerungseffekt vor dem „Verbinden“ (*šamādu*) angestrebt wird¹⁴). Wir dürften dann wohl ohne weiteres annehmen, dass das auf diese Weise besonders intensiv mit den ausgepressten Wirkstoffen durchtränkte Stück Stoff oder Leder dann, wie bisher auch vermutet, als Verbandmittel verwendet wird. Mir ist bisher nur eine Textstelle bekannt geworden, an der zwischen *terū* und *šamādu* weitere Anweisungen stehen, BAM 92 I' 28'-30' // AMT 14/9, [7'-]8'¹⁵): (Drogen) *ina šikari talāš tarabbak ina KUŠ.EDIN teferri* [...] *tazāk ana IGI SUR-ti* (Var. SUR; **tiriti* „Ausgepresstes“?) *tuš-ta-na-aS* [...] *tašammissu iballuṭ*.

Wohl dasselbe Verbum ist auch ausserhalb der medizinischen Texte belegbar, wo an einer Reihe von Stellen *terū* offenbar einen Akt der primär körperlichen Gewaltanwendung bezeichnet. W. von Soden macht mich brieflich darauf aufmerksam, dass *terū* in spB Zeit das Verbum *maḥāšu* im Sinne von „schlagen, verprügeln“ abzulösen scheint. Diese Bedeutung, die zuerst von Ebeling aus YOS 7, 18, 6; 184, 1ff.; 189, 6; BIN 1, 54, 9; 94, 26; YOS 3, 123, 12.25; Pinches Peek 22, 27 abgeleitet wurde (vgl. GIBN 90f. und id. bei Meissner BAW 1, 49), lässt sich dabei gut von einer Grundbedeutung „pressen, massiven Druck ausüben“ ableiten; darüber hinaus werden m.E. einige der eben zitierten Belege (z.B. Peek 22) ebenso oder gar noch besser verständlich, wenn wir nicht konkret „prügeln“, sondern eher „in (körperliche) Bedrängnis bringen, unter Druck setzen“ übersetzen und so noch näher an der postulierten Grundbedeutung bleiben. Für die Zugehörigkeit von *terū* zum selben Wortfeld wie *maḥāšu*, aber gleichzeitig gegen direkte Synonymität, lässt sich weiterhin Lambert, BWL 42, 62 aufführen: [*irti*] *imḥašū tulī ittirū*. Auch KAR 71 Rs. 4 *a-tē-ru-u lēssu* ist hier (mit Lambert BWL 292) anzuführen. Unter — meist im D-Stamm verbuchten — Verben für Gewaltanwendung (*maḥāšu*, *suḥḥulu*, *dukkumu*, *suḥḥumu*, *dukkūšu* etc.) findet sich *DU-ru-ū* in MSL IX 94, 128, was ich mit Landsberger, op. cit. 101, aber gegen AHw. als *turrū* auffassen und zu *terū* stellen möchte (D sonst nicht belegt). Die Gleichung *tē. tē = terū* weckt dabei die Assoziation an die in med. Texten nicht ganz ungeläufige Schreibung *TE* für *terū* (s. neben Goltz op. rec. 54 mit Anm. 318 z.B. AMT 73/1, 17.19; etc.), die bisher als stenographisches Kürzel für *te-(ter-ri)* gilt. Ich möchte dabei nicht ganz ausschliessen, dass der Eintrag der Liste einem antiken Missverständnis einer solchen Kurzschreibung entspringt.

Ausser einer ganz unsicheren Stelle (Th. Bauer JNES

¹⁴) Nicht uninteressant scheint mir auch, dass in der grossen Mehrzahl der Fälle, in denen die Drogensubstanz nicht flüssig, sondern nur zerkleinert oder fett angerührt ist, *ina KUŠ(x) teferri* und nicht *ina TUG(x) teferri* steht, was vielleicht in der grösseren Strapazierfähigkeit von Leder gegenüber Stoffen und damit seiner besseren Eignung in diesem Kontext seine Erklärung finden kann.

¹⁵) Dieser Text, K 6869, ist jointly an Küchler BKBM Taf. V (K 191 +, Kol. IV): K 6869, 10 = BKBM Taf. V Z. 50.

16, 254ff., 19; cf. von Soden ZA 52, 219) sind darüber hinaus bisher m.W. drei weitere Gebrauchsweisen des Verbuns bekannt, die allerdings wegen des jeweils sachlich etwas schwer verständlichen Kontextes nicht mit völliger Sicherheit interpretiert werden können; immerhin ergibt auch hier die oben angesetzte Grundbedeutung einen einigermaßen vernünftigen Sinn, so dass wohl weiterhin mit nur einem einzigen Verbum *terū* gerechnet werden darf: a) (Mondhorn) *šamē terāt* (bzw. Dual *terā*), Bel. s. BAW I 49. Ich möchte mit allem Vorbehalt übersetzen: „(Mondhorn) drückt den Himmel beiseite“, wofür die Kommentarerklärung Thompson RMA 43 Rs. 1: „schlüpft in den Himmel und wird unsichtbar“ immerhin verständlich wäre¹⁶). b) BAM 248 III 56: (Kuh spricht:) *ina qarnūa qaqqaru terāku* „Mit meinem Horn drücke ich den Erdboden weg“. c) KAR 57 I 9 u. Dupl. (s. Rez. BID Text A IIa) *akukūtu ša qablāt šamē u eršeti terāt* „Feuerbrand, der das Innerste von Himmel und Erde unter Druck setzt/wegdrückt“ (d.h. bis dorthin vordringt)¹⁷)¹⁸).

IV. Die pharmazeutischen Arzneiformen:

S. 56f., Anm. 329: *maššitu* steht im zitierten Text noch öfter: Z. 20 (syll.) 13 (Wz. *ḥi-tu*). — S. 57: Die Umschrift der Arzneiformen aus KADP 36 ist flüchtig. Auch Anm. 331 erklärt z.B. nicht, dass **marḥāšu* mit den Zeichen *mar.ḥaš.MEŠ* geschrieben ist; **šindi ša qaqqadi* ist LAL-di ša SAG.KI geschrieben und daher sicher falsch gelesen: SAG.KI = *pūtu/nakkaptu* „Stirn/Schlafe“. — S. 61: Vgl. noch etwa *tašaqqišu* „du tränkst ihn“ BAM 393, 7 (aB). — S. 64: Die Zahl 7 + 7 = 14 ist natürlich magisch bedingt. Anm. 374: Die zwei angegebenen „Belegstellen“ beziehen sich auf denselben Text, s. jetzt Biggs TCS 2, 55 II 11! — S. 65: Kontext und Schreibung (*šēš-su* etc.) zeigen doch deutlich, dass die Aufforderung, zu salben, an den Arzt und an niemanden sonst gerichtet ist. — S. 66, Anm. 383: Nicht „mit Wasser“, sondern „mit (ihrem, d.h. der Drogen) Saft“! — S. 67: *eqū* ist offenbar eigentlich mehr Terminus der Kosmetik als der Medizin; das meist an der Augenpartie durchgeführte *eqū* ist wohl vor allem sanfter als *pašāšu*. — Anm. 389: AMT 78, 2, 7 (auch 6) steht (*ina šamni*) *ina SĠG SĠD*; Lesung mir unklar. — S. 68: Statt „mindupflanze“ lies *su'ādu* (MIN.DA). — S. 72 (und 76ff.): Lies mit Landsberger JCS 21, 147, Anm. 40: *lappu* für **lippu*. — S. 76, Anm. 457: In BAM 152 III 6 wird nicht mit Talg, sondern mit *ī.NUN* „Butterfett“ besprenget. — S. 79: Der letzte Radikal von **špk*, **tbk* und **srq* ist nur in der Schrift nicht unterscheidbar, in der Sprache natürlich dagegen nicht „der gleiche“. — S. 81: Was hat man

¹⁶) Denkbar wäre auch die umgekehrte Konstruktion: „(Horn) ist vom Himmel weggedrückt“, die dem passiven Charakter des Stativs näherstünde (zur Konstruktion vgl. etwa *kalbam našik* „ist vom Hund gebissen“ BAM 393 Rs. 5); dagegen scheinen allerdings die beiden noch folgenden Belege derselben Konstruktion zu sprechen.

¹⁷) In b) und c) ist eine passivische Konstruktion, wie in Anm. 16 vorgeschlagen, offenbar nicht möglich.

¹⁸) Die anderen früher für *terū* in Anspruch genommenen Stellen sind sämtlich anders aufzufassen. — Zu *terū / tiri/ūtu* „Schlamm“ vgl. zuletzt ausführlich von Soden Fs. A. Salonen (St. Or. 46) S. 332; die Drogennamen *firū* und *firitu* gehören ebenfalls kaum hierher.

sich unter einem „Klistier für Hüfte und Füsse“ vorzustellen? — S. 83, Anm. 496: Die Übersetzung „Vagina“ statt „Leib“ für *pagru* ist ohne nähere Begründung unzulässig und doch wohl falsch. — S. 85: Hier stiftet die stereotype Übersetzung von *ina* durch „in“ erhebliche Verwirrung: Der Kranke wird mit Feuer beräuchert, Ohren summen infolge des Zupackens des Totengeistes, und auch die Ohren werden mit verschiedenen Drogen mittels Feuer beräuchert (vgl. immerhin S. 86). Anm. 510: Wir haben bei diesen Drogen sicherlich nicht nur mit Phantasienamen, sondern mit realen Menschenknochen etc. zu rechnen.

V. Die ärztliche Tätigkeit:

S. 88, Anm. 522: Umschrift und Übersetzung bieten nicht denselben Ausschnitt des Textes. — S. 89 mit Anm. 530: Die Bedeutung „abreiben“ für *kāšu* ist ganz unsicher (cf. CAD K 271a). — S. 90 oben: „bis Blut herauskommt, reibst du; wie [...]“; Anm. 531: Das Zitat aus AMT 25, 6 II 5ff! ist recht ungenau. *ubān-ka* ist in Z. 5 nur ergänzt, Z. 7 (*pa'-šū-ti lu-ba-re-e qa-tu-nu-ti x* [...]) fehlt, wodurch der Kontext beträchtlich verändert wird. — S. 91, Anm. 544: Lies wohl *ina šināti emmi* (KUM-mi) „in heissem Urin“. — S. 93f.: Ich kann den Pessimismus der Verf. nicht ganz teilen. Einmal sind Textinterpretationen, soweit sie nicht spekulativen Charakters sind, zweifellos zulässig und auch hier sicher weiterführend, zum zweiten ist — im Gegensatz zur Chirurgie — Material über ärztliche Pflegepraktiken doch, wie gerade die vorliegende Untersuchung zeigt, in nicht ganz geringem Masse vorhanden. Was weitgehend fehlt, sind objektive Berichte über diese Tätigkeit, obwohl auch hier z.B. an das mB „Krankenhausarchiv“ Waschow MAOG 10/1, 25ff. erinnert sei.

Der Teil I ist der Verf. unter der Hand zu etwas wie einem kurzen „Handbuch der medizinischen Terminologie des Akkadischen“ geworden, wenn er auch einem solchen (von der Verf. nie gestellten und im Rahmen des behandelten Gesamtthemas auch kaum zu verwirklichenden) Anspruch noch nicht ganz gerecht werden kann. Was hierzu fehlt, ist allerdings auf weite Strecken nur die Vollständigkeit, sowohl der Stichwörter¹⁹) als auch der zitierten Verwendungsweisen der Termini. Eine solche Arbeit böte sich für das Verständnis der medizinischen Keilschrifttexte als ein hervorragendes Hilfsmittel an, das sicherlich neben den allgemeinen Wörterbüchern CAD und AHw. nicht unnütz wäre²⁰), da diese niemals den Raum für die im rezensierten Werk so breit und erfolgreich vorgenommene eingehende Diskussion ganz spezifischer Verwendungsweisen bieten können. Wenn wir hier mit dem hochverdienten herzlichen Dank

¹⁹) Hier fehlen z.B. *ḥāfu* „wägen“ o.ä. (cf. neben den Wbb. vor allem BAM 159 II 48); *ṭepū* G/D „auftragen“ (cf. allerdings S. 69 f. zu *ṭipu*); *šapārum* (BAM 393, 23); u.v.a.m. Nicht ganz zuverlässig ist leider auch der Index S. 351 f., wo z.B. *šibit šāri* unter *š* oder *ṭipu* unter *T* eingeordnet sind. Andere Lemmata sind separat als Sing. und Pl. (*mašqitu/mašqāte*) bzw. G- und D-Stamm verbucht (z.B. *abālu/ubbulu*, *ḥesū/ḥussū* u.ä.).

²⁰) Vgl. zur Situation etwa die Ägyptologie, wo sich das „Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte“ von H. v. Deines u. W. Westendorf (Berlin 1961-62) ebenfalls als Standardwerk neben den allgemeinen Wbb. bestens bewährt hat.

an die Verfasserin abschliessen wollen, ist es dann unbillig, sie um Fortsetzung des Begonnenen zu bitten? Dabei schiene dem Rez. allerdings wünschenswert, dass auf vollverantwortliche Mitwirkung eines Assyriologen an Stelle nur beratender Hilfe dann nicht verzichtet werden sollte. Die Zusammenarbeit der assyriologisch wohlgeschulten Medizin(historik)erin und eines mit medizinischen und anderen Texten vertrauten Keilschriftspezialisten verspräche nach der Meinung des Rez. beträchtliche weitere Fortschritte im Verständnis der oft so stiefmütterlich behandelten Textgruppe, zu deren Erklärung und vor allem über den engsten Fachkreis hinausgehendem Verständnis das vorliegende Buch bereits einen wichtigen Beitrag geliefert hat.

München, Juni 1976

WALTER FARBER

* * *

P. GARELLI - D. COLLON, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part VI. London, British Museum, 1975 (Pp. 34 + Pl. 58).

Zu den von S. Smith und J. Wiseman in den Jahren 1921-1956 herausgegebenen fünf Bänden der kappadokischen Texte in British Museum ist jetzt der sechste zugekommen. Er bringt Autographien aller kappadokischen Tafeln und Bruchstücke, die seit der Veröffentlichung der CCT V in den Sammlungen des Museum aufgetaucht sind, von Prof. Paul Garelli (Pl. 1-47), und Zeichnungen der 84 Siegelabdrücke von Miss D. Collon (Pl. 48-58). Vorausgeschickt den Autographien ist der Katalog der Texte, das Verzeichnis der Personennamen sowie geographischen Namen und die Bibliographie zu den fünf vorhergehenden Bänden mit Verweisen auf Bearbeitungen von ganzen Tafeln oder einzelnen Stellen, die mindestens fünf Zeilen enthalten. Es ist schade, dass Veenhofs grundlegendes Werk *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology* (erschieden 1972) wegen der Verspätung von 4 Jahren, die von der Ablieferung des Manuskripts bis zur Herausgabe der Publikation verflossen, nicht mehr berücksichtigt sein konnte. Die bezüglichen Stellen sind jedoch mit Hilfe des Indexes, l.c. S. 479-482 leicht zu ergänzen. Nicht unbegriffen sind Zitate aus dem CAD, obwohl sie öfters Übersetzungen von mehr als fünf Zeilen bringen, wie z.B. CCT I 38b, 7-16 in CAD I/J 84 oder CCT III 47b, 15-24 ib. 329 etc.; nicht angeführt sind auch die in Heckers GKT behandelten Stellen, wie z.B. CCT III 45b + 46a, 12-18, l.c. § 150c oder CCT IV 18b, 3-9, ib. § 137c.

Zur Bibliographie ist nachzutragen:

CCT II 19a = Lewy, Or. 29, 40 f.

CCT III 4, 5-13 = Kienast, ATHE S. 73.

6b, 24-29 = Lewy, Or. 29, 27 Anm. 3.

15 = Kienast, ZA 54, 92 f.

25, 27-32 = Lewy, HUCA 32, 49 Anm. 110.

26a, 3-12 = Lewy, RHA 36, 118 Anm. 7.

CCT IV 5b = van der Meer, CCC Nr. 20.

8a, 6-16 = Kienast, ZA 54, 99.

8b, 22-26 = Aro, SO XXIV 240.

27a = Garelli, AC 177 f.

31b, 3-8 = Rowton, JNES 21, 288.

33b, 23-27 = ib. 287.

CCT V 18d = Kienast, ZA 54, 242.

19c = Garelli, AC 166 Anm. 3.

20b = Deller, Or. 32, 287 f.

Im Verzeichnis der Personennamen ist zu ergänzen:

Ma-zu-e-im 8b, 11.

8b, 22-26 = Aro, SO XXIV 240.

Pā-na-kā (ohne Patronymikum) auch in 9 a 4.

Nach 47a, 1 (Hülle zu CCT I 6b = EL 45) ist der von Lewy, ZA 38, 252 Anm. 3 irrümlich Šu-Lā-ba gelesene PN in Ma-lā-ba zu berichtigen.

Im Verzeichnis der geographischen Namen fehlt Ha-na-ak-na-ak (45c, 9).

Inhaltlich bringen die in CCT IV publizierten Texte sehr wertvolles Material, das unsere bisherigen Kenntnisse über die Kolonien der assyrischen Kaufleute in mancher Hinsicht erweitert. Das betrifft vor allem die Geographie Anatoliens — neben den alten, bereits bekannten Ortsnamen, wie Waḥšušana, Buruḥatum, Durḥumit u.a. tauchen neue, bis jetzt unbekannte Ortschaften, über deren Lage jedoch die Texte nicht näheres aussagen, wie z.B. über Mardaman in 43b, 7 ff.: AN.N[A] i-na Ma-ar-da-ma-an i-na bit Šu-be-lim ḥa-la-aq „Zinn ist in Mardaman im Hause des Šu-be-lum verschwunden“. Aus dem Memorandum 8b, in dem verschiedene Holzarten wie *dulbatum* und *mulūḥum* (vgl. dazu AHw 671b) erwähnt sind, könnte man annehmen, dass die dort genannten Ortschaften Mu-uš-r[a], Galwanum und Atī-ma-la (Z. 15) nicht sehr weit voneinander entfernt waren. Für die Bestimmung der Lage von Hazu und Bit-alpi sind die Angaben des Itinerars 40b über Reisekosten auf dem Wege nach Kaniš wichtig. Die Reihenfolge Hazu - Timilkia - Hurama - Kaniš besagt, dass sich die Stationen auf dem Wege von Elbisten nach Kaniš befanden (zur Lage von Timilkia und Hurama vgl. ATHE 62, sowie Garelli, AC 113 und Veenhof, AOATT 333).

Neben dem Beitrag zur Topographie Anatoliens erweitern die neuen Texte unsere Kenntnisse über die Administrative in den assyrischen Kolonien. So vor allem über die Stellung des *ešartum* als politische Institution, die zwischen den lokalen Fürsten und den assyrischen Kaufleuten vermittelte, wie aus dem Briefe 15b des Elali an Inaa und dem dazu parallelen Schreiben CCT IV 30a hervorgeht. In dem von Garelli publizierten Briefe 15b, der später zu sein scheint als CCT IV 30a (vgl. dazu M. T. Larsen in seinem bereits erschienenen Buche *The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies* S. 272 Anm. 60a) wendet sich der Absender zuerst an die einheimischen Fürsten (*ru-ba-e*) und dann an das Zehn-Männer-Kollegium mit einem autoritativen Brief (*na-āš-
<pē>-er-tām ša-li-tām*, falls zu *šaltum* II in AHw 1131a) um Vermittlung in der schwierigen Situation.

Für die, unter den assyrischen Kaufleuten weit verbreitete und von K. R. Veenhof in AOATT ausführlich

behandelte Praxis des Warenschmuggels bringt der Brief des Buzazu 22a einen weiteren Beleg für den Ausdruck *ḥarran suqinim*. In unserem Schreiben, das an dieselben Empfänger wie BIN IV 48 (vgl. l.c. 324) adressiert ist, bittet Buzazu seine Adressaten, um ihren Gewinn zu erhöhen, das Zinn auf dem Schmuggelweg nach Kaniš zu bringen: AN.NA ⁶lu ḥa-ra-an sū-qī-nim šu-ma ⁷na-tū-ū lu-še-ri-bu-nim ⁸lu ri-ik-si lu-pi-šu-ma ⁹a-na Kā-ni-iš i-na sū-na-ti-šu-nu ¹⁰lu-uš-te-ri-bu-nim a-ša-me-ma ¹¹[m]a?-tum em-ša-at „man möge falls der Schmuggelweg geeignet ist, das Zinn bringen; man möge (daraus) Bündel machen und es in ihren Lendentüchern bringen! Ich höre, dass das Land? hungrig ist“. Der Absender verlangt, dass man Esel, die unterwegs gestorben sind (*emārī mala mētūni*) ersetzt (*lišumu*, d.h. kauft) und dass man schnellfüssige (*lasmētīm*) Reitesel zum Transport benutzt.

Der *terminus technicus* für „Drittenanteil an Geschäftsunternehmen“ *šālšātum*, der — wie Veenhof, l.c. 271 Anm. 395 bemerkt — sehr oft im Zusammenhang mit *ellatum* vorkommt, ist in der Sammelurkunde 9a, Rs. 4 in Verbindung mit *ellatāt En-na-m[a-nim]* belegt. In dem Briefe 47c meldet der Absender dem Pūšukēn, dass er wegen der Drittelanteile des Ikūnum einen Sachwalter nehmen wird (zu *rābišam aḥāzum* vgl. AHw 19a sub G 7; zur Funktion des *rābišum* s. Larsen, RAI XIX [1971], 289 f.), weil der Man *e-mu-qā-tām e-ta-wu* „sich frech benahm“ (zur Verbindung *e-mu-qā-tām ma-mi-tām e-ta-wu* „er spricht energisch den Eid vgl. den Brief 6b, 6). Beachte auch Z. 19 f.: *i sé-er AN.NA-ki-kā ri-bi-iš* „wegen deines Zinnes pass auf“!

Auch in lexikalischer Hinsicht bringen die Texte viel interessantes Material. Einen weiteren Beleg für das von L. Oppenheim in der Hans Gustav Güterbock-Festschrift behandelte Verbum *makārum* i.S.v. „Geschäfte treiben“ bietet der Brief 14, 50: *a-na-ku pi-ri-kā-ni a-ma-kar* „ich werde mit den *pirikānu*-Stoffen Geschäfte treiben“.

Das in der Bedeutung „junges Mädchen“ nur in literarischen Texten vom aB belegte *wardatum* (s. dazu CAD A₂ 342) kommt im Fragment des Briefes 15b, 14 wohl als Bezeichnung für „Sklavin“ vor: *wa-ar-da-tām 15lā ša-bi-tām Ḥa-na-na-ri-im 16ir-di-a-kum* „(für 10 Sekel Silber) hat dir H. eine (auf der Flucht) nicht gefangene (vgl. dazu CAD S 45a) Sklavin zugeführt“.

Eine neue, nicht näher bestimmbare Stoffart *panarum* wird in den Briefen 3a und 3b erwähnt: in 3a, 16 zusammen mit *musarum* „Leder Gürtel“ (dazu AOATT 177 Anm. 290), in 3b 22 in Verbindung mit *šitrum* (ib. 174 ff.) im Du. mit assyr. Vokalharmonie 2 *pā-ni-ri-
<en>* belegt auch im zerbrochenen Kontext auf einer unpubl. aA Tafel). Nach 3a handelt es sich um eine erstklassige Stoffart (TÜGḪIA SIG-tim), die der Absender des Briefes zu bringen verspricht, sobald die Wege wieder „geöffnet“, d.h. nach dem Winter gangbar werden (*i-na-ap-tū ḥa-ra-nim*, dazu CAD H 107).

In dem Memorandum 46b, 23 wird ein sonst nicht näher bestimmter Equide *perdum* (vgl. AHw 855a) erwähnt. Nach der ziemlich hohen Summe von 5 Minen Silber, die der Preis für 3 *perdū* betrug, ging es um ein kostbares Tier, wahrscheinlich eine Art Pferd, das man zum Reiten benutzte.

Zum Kupfer, das wie in ICK II 54 nach der Stadt Ti-

ritar in dem Briefe 19b, 18 qualifiziert ist, vgl. K. Balkan, OLZ 1965 Sp. 149.

Unter den zahlreichen in CCT VI publizierten Briefen findet sich auch die Korrespondenz des Pūšukēn mit seiner Frau Lamasi (11a), ihres Sohnes Buzazu mit seiner Schwester Aḥaḥa (44 f.) und mit seinem Bruder Ikup-pāša (22a) u.ä. Öfters wird in den Texten der *rubā'um* erwähnt, einmal in Verbindung mit dem bekannten Palastbeamten Asqudum (dazu vgl. Larsen, op. cit. 132-139), der nach dem Transportvertrag 27b das *nēpešum* von 15 Minen Silber an den Fürsten siegelt (*ku-nu-uk As-qū-dim a-ru-ba-im*).

Diese kurze Übersicht der ausgewählten Beispiele möge für die Feststellung genügen, dass die Nachlese der von Garelli in CCT VI publizierten kappadokischen Texte aus dem British Museum trotz ihres fragmentarischen Zustandes einen weiteren Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der Organisation der ältesten Handelskolonien auf dem Boden Anatoliens bringen. Die Autographien der Tafeln und die Nachzeichnung der Siegelabdrücke sind mit grosser Sorgfalt gemacht, wofür wir den beiden Verfassern für ihr ausgezeichnetes Werk mit grossem Dank verpflichtet sind.

Praha, Mai 1976 .

L. MATOUS

* *

Heinrich OTTEN und Christel RÜSTER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Heft 22. (Aus dem Bezirk des Grossen Tempels). Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1974 (4to, XIV + 50 S. Autographien) = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. 90. Preis: DM 42.—.

Volume 22 of the series *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* contains copies by Heinrich Otten and Christel Rüster of texts and fragments mostly recovered during the seasons 1968-71. The tablets were found in the area of the Big Temple in the Lower City. Thus KBo 22 continues directly the publication of the Big Temple tablets begun by KBo 19. Since the goal of the copyists was to publish copies of as many texts and fragments as possible from the last years' excavations at Boghazköi, it was impossible to confine the contents of individual volumes to one particular kind of text. KBo 22, therefore, contains fragments of texts of widely diverse types: annals, treaties, instructions, laws, prayers, myths, rituals, Gerichtsprotokolle, and festival descriptions.

All students of Hittite language and literature are placed in debt to Otten and Rüster for the present volume, and indeed previous ones from their hands. As in others of the more recent volumes in the series, there appear here indices of proper names, a very useful feature. We owe these indices to Mrs. Rüster. Only the first two tablets copied for the volume (numbers 1 and 2) show the Old Hittite handwriting.

1 Why is this text placed in the category of "Texte vorwiegend historischen Inhalts"? It belongs with the other "Instruktionen". Inscribed in the Old Ductus, it shows Old Hittite orthography and grammar. Cf. na-at-ta (5, 17, 2, 26), A-WA-A-AT (4, 6, 31), ma-a-an-ha-

an-da (22), e-ez-ši and e-uk-ši (28), har-te-ni-i (31), i-iš-te-ni-i (36). The personal names also fit the Old Kingdom: mNunnu, mZuru are known from other Old Kingdom texts. On the names cf. E. Neu, StBoT 18 53f. Lexically of interest is the rare word *gul-la-ak-ku-wa-an* (17), discussed most recently by E. Laroche, *Festschrift H. Otten* 186, although the occurrence here was not yet noticed. The word *ka-a-ša-at-ta-wa* is interesting, since it cannot be *kaša* + *-tta* + *-wa* by virtue both of morpheme order (*kašawatta* is expected) and concurrence of number (*-šmaš* is expected, not *-tta*).

2 Edited in StBoT 17. Also in Old Ductus.

3 Joins KUB 36 103 (= CTH 14.2). Not Old Ductus, but orthography and language is Old Hittite. Historical fragment dealing with Syrian wars.

5 A very interesting fragment, which preserves a wording of the same events mentioned in KBo 3 22 obv 1-9 (cf. StBoT 18 7f). Neu's reading (StBoT 18 7 note 7) of line 9' as [..h]u?-u-e-nu-un is improbable, since one requires *huenunun* for such a form.

6 Some passages from this new text discussed by H. Hoffner in *Alimenta Hethaeorum* 20 note 81, 113 note 126a, 119 note 162. Historical evaluation most recently by H. Lewy, CAH 2nd ed., vol. 2, chap. xxiv, sec. vii.

7 CTH 10. Discussion and transliteration by Hoffner in H. Goedicke & J. M. Roberts, *Unity and Diversity* (Baltimore, 1975), 56f., 62.

8 Perhaps belongs to Deeds of Šuppilulima. Compare fragment no. 27.

10 Historical text dealing with activities of the reigning king's grandfather (iii 2', 10'). Probably the grandfather is Šuppilulima I, which would make the author Hattušili III, although possible is the authorship of Mursili II, with grandfather being Šupp.'s father. Compare Deeds of Šupp., fragments 14 and 15.

11 This and the preceding fragment may belong to CTH 83. The literary style of these Hattušili III historical reviews of the reigns of his predecessors imitates in part CTH 10 and 11. Cf. naš šarkuš LUGAL-uš ešta (obv i 3').

12 Deeds of Šupp.; joins Güterbock's exemplar D of frag. 13 and gives minor variants to E text: ḥa-at-tu-l[i-iš-ta] (17) for E's -ad-du-li-., [(a-pē-e-)]da-ni (20) for E's a-pē-e-da-aš, wa-al-ḫu-wa-a[(n-zi)] (20) for E's wa-al-aḫ-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi.

13 Belongs to CTH 211.6 (KUB 23 16).

16 Treaty fragment.

25 Either a portion from the historical prologue to a treaty or from a royal letter. There is a single addressee (man-ma-aš-ta-kkan in line 10') and conspicuous references (11', 13') to "this tablet".

29 Fragment from an inquest document (Gerichtsprotokoll)?

36 Some similarities to KBo 22 11 obv i, but not identical. Principally in spelling of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni. Note LÚMEšpār-wa-la-aš-ša[...].

37 Fragment of an instructions text, similar in content to §§ 20-21 of KUB 26 1 and dupl. (von Schuler,

Dienstanw., p. 13). Line 8' also recalls KBo 16 46 obv 5' and KBo 19 58 and 59.

41 Otten indicates CTH 69. Specifically, this is part of § 10** in Friedrich, *Staatsv.* Note the absence of the § line between lines 5' and 6' of this new fragment.

42 An intriguing text. One sees why Otten classified it under treaties and the like, since the reverse(?) has references to the Kaška lands and several prohibitions with *le*. Yet the obverse(?) has a section badly broken with UG.TUR-tar-š[e-et] (6') and apparently other animals names followed by -tar-še-et (5'-7'). 20'-21' have quoted material (with -wa).

48 Historical fragment, perhaps letter. In line 4' restore [ha]-aš-pu-un, in 6' kar-d[i-mi-ia-ta-at]. The place name URUA-ab-ša makes one think of URUApaša, of the far west and of the Tawagalawa letter (KUB 14 3). Could this be a fragment of the missing parts of that letter?

49 The LÚzuzapinu seems to serve in the function of washing the hands and feet and sleeping under(?) the bed! *arha zapnu-* is attested only here to my knowledge (3'). Another rather rare word which occurs in iii 4' is *anku*.

51 Not treaty or instructions, as classified here. Rather mythological. Possibly a third exemplar of Siegelova's (*StBoT* 14 52-55) "Nr. 11" fragment, duplicating or running parallel to lines 12-16. If so, the columns in KBo 22 51 were much more narrow than either 11a or 11b.

52 Similar in part to KBo 1 645 (CTH 832). The sequence of sentences containing the verbal construction -za . . . iyanun (ii 8'-12') is striking and ought to provide a clue to locate the related fragments eventually.

54 The spelling of the Kaska name (URUQa-aš-qa, obv 6'; URUGa-aš-[ga], rev. 2') lacks the uniformity which it acquired after Mursili II's reign. Cf. E. von Schuler, *Die Kaskäer* 84f., and H. Hoffner, *JNES* 31 30. This fragment describes military activity in the Kaska lands involving an enemy named mPi-ḫar-ša-ia? (rev. 3', 9') and a city URUZi-mu-ri-ia. Compare KBo 3 4 iii 57, 65 and context (Murs. Annals), where the city URUZi-ḫar-ri-ia in the Kaska lands fought against Mursili's grandfather (father of Suppiluliuma I). In the fragment here under consideration a[mTu-u]d-ḫa-li-i[a] (rev. 7') appears in a context which could make him the Hittite king. Restore lines rev. 6'ff: menaḫḫanda[uer].... [le ḫarn]ikti našza iR-anni [daš]...[KUR.UGUT]IM šara daš [... URUHattuši] arha? udaš? The narrative at this point is couched in third person verb forms, so it is retrospective. This might be a portion of the Deeds of Supp.

73 A royal prayer of Hattusili III (cf. i 1, rev. 15') which contains historical reminiscences in col. I.

75 Dupl. of KUB 36 75 ii 1-8 (CTH 374).

78 Dupl. of second plague prayer of Mursili II?

82 Dupl. of KUB 17 4 obv 3-12 (CTH 364).

83 Cf. KUB 36 2c iii 13-16 (CTH 343).

96 CTH 362 (Gurparanzahu; cf. 6' [mGur-pa-ra-an-z]i-ḫu-un).

104 Cf. KBo 21 74 iii 5'ff.

107 Cf. *StBoT* 19, text M.

114 Cf. KUB 30 26 i 1f.

131 Not an incantation ritual as classified, but *Gerichtsprötokoll*; cf. UMMA's, quoted discourse, first person verb forms.

143 Cf. KUB 35 30 + II? 8ff. (Luwian in 5'ff.).

145 Dupl. of KUB 7 1 (CTH 390). Obv duplicates ii 9-19; rev. duplicates iii 38-42. ii 8' restores ii 16 in main text and gives logographic equivalent ŠA GIŠTUG for ḫu-i-ša-aš-wa in KUB 7 1 ii 32. For discussion of ḫuiša- "distaff (made from boxwood)" cf. H. Hoffner in *Memorial Volume for J. J. Finkelstein*, forthcoming.

147 Cf. KUB 30 36 (CTH 401).

161 Similar to KUB 29 7 obv 48-58.

186 For the many bread names cf. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum*. *daraur* in v 2 brings certain medical texts to mind, cf. Burde, *StBoT* 19 (1974), and especially KUB 10 52 vi 10 (CTH 670).

189 For ii 4-5 cf. KBo 9 136 i 6-7; for ii 9-10 cf. KBo 21 93 i 5ff.; and for ii 12-13 cf. KUB 11 35 i 24f. For iv 7'-12' cf. KBo 4 9 i 5ff.

190 Cf. KBo 20 21.

192 Belongs to CTH 626.V.2, although duplicates no known portion to my knowledge.

193 Large fragment of a *tarnaz* list (CTH 677).

196 Aspects of this fragment find parallels in many texts. Rev 8'ff calls to mind IBoT 1 29 obv 35f, rev 46ff. Rev 14ff reminds of KUB 10 48 ii 4-6 and KBo 21 90 obv 22'ff. In general cf. also KBo 10 27 iii 31ff (CTH 649.1) and KBo 22 26 18'f.

197 Read the divine name in lines 3' and 13' as Dše(-e)-pi-it-ta, and cf. IBoT I 10 iii 13 and 17. For the expression appa tepu tiezzi (5') cf. KUB 24 9 ii 34 and KUB 43 62 ii 3.

199 Inventory text (CTH 241-250). In line 5' read: [h]a!-at-ti-li-aš 1-NU-TUM KUŠMAR.ŠUM.

202 The occurrence of DUTU-šum[-ma-an] (4') should be added to Neu, *StBoT* 18 (1974) 128f. The verb forms are all 1st pers. sing. pres., and the sentiment is that of KUB 43 53 i 16 (CTH 412.8).

203 The word in line 6' is [k]u-e-lu-wa-ni, for which see KUB 31 100 rev 11.

205 The word LÚḫarwant- (5') is new, although a SALḫarwant- is listed in HWb Erg. 1, p. 5, where E. Laroche, *OLZ* 1956 421 is cited. Laroche found this word in KUB 33 63 rev 7' (SALḫar-wa-an-da[-aš]), which in the duplicate or parallel passage KUB 36 51 rev 10 was written ŠA SALUMMEDA. In KBo 22 205 the LÚḫarwant- occurs with the LÚḫamena-, the LÚSA-GI, the LÚGUDŪ, and the LÚMEŠ ŠU.GI, all of which reminds one of KUB 10 78 ii 2'-9', where along with the LÚḫamena-, the LÚGUDŪ, and the LÚMEŠ ŠU.GI there occurs the LÚUMMEDA (line 6')! The phraseology of KUB 10 78 (especially in columns ii and v) resembles KBo 22 205. I would be inclined to see the

two either as parts of the same tablet (indirect join) or of the same composition ("duplicates" in the broad sense). Other occurrences of LÚ(MEŠ)UMMEDA can be found in KUB 42 87 iv 18', KUB 10 59 2, KBo 5 7 obv 27, rev 13 and 42, KUB 19 5 + KBo 19 79 obv 12, and KUB 13 4 ii 26 (plural). I would regard LÚḫar-wa-an-ta-aš-ša UŠ-KE-EN in KBo 22 205 as the dative-locative plural ("he bows also to the ḫ-men").

207 In line 6' the end of a Sumerogram denoting a profession appears to contain the reduplicated verb DÍM.DÍM. Cf. LÚMEŠ NINDA.DŪ.DŪ for such reduplicated verbs in Bogazkoy Sumerograms.

209 A fragment of an unusual type. The frequent repetition of the verb artari "he/it stands" (obv 5', 7', rev. 3', 5', 8') seems to indicate the locations of cult objects such as idols (cf. obv 5': [DKA]L? GIŠLAM.GAL! ar-ta-ri).

215 The word ḫu-u-ma-an-ni (rev 5') occurs elsewhere to my knowledge only in KUB 7 57 i 8 (CTH 412), which, however, does not seem to be the same text.

219 Cf. CTH 592.

222 The checking of a perplexing sign (the first one in iii 10') on a photograph supplied through the courtesy of H. G. Güterbock led me to the discovery of several copyist errors. The trace on the photo is much better for -A[G-] in UZUḫA-A[G-GUR-RA-TEMEŠ] (iii 5') than in the copy. The two visible horizontal wedges are in allignment, just as in the AG sign form in the bottom righthand side of the box in E. Forrer's *BoTU* I, p. 25. In iii 6' the unusual ZAG.[GAR.]RA-i of the copy is the expected ZAG.[GAR.]RA-ni in the photo. In iii 11' the photo has URUA-ri-ḫa-zi-i-ia (copy omits -i). In iii 14' the trace of the first visible sign lacks one of the wedges necessary for ḪI in ḪI.A. The direction of the wedges which show suggest rather an awkward -RU, according to which I would suggest [BI-I]B-RU?-kân (cf. iii 7': BI-IB-RI-kân). There is no wedge head visible at the column divider for the uppermost of the two "paragraph divider" lines after iii 8'. Instead, the line continues to the left over the column divider into the break.

235 This large fragment may not be a festival description proper, but part of a tablet of instructions dealing somewhat incidentally with affairs of the cult. But regardless of whether or not the text is a set of instructions, the lines rev 3'f recall KUB 26 17 ii 8'ff (CTH 261.5). Note the new word [LŪ?]MEŠ ši-wa-an-za-ḫi-e-eš-ša (rev 6').

237 Cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 18 115f.

241 The spelling lu-kat-ma (1'), not common at all, may be found elsewhere in KUB 11 27 vi 7'; lu-kat in KUB 25 27 iii 17.

242 Outline of peregrinations of persons and/or cult objects during course of festival.

249 This fragment shows enough similarity to KBo 17 90 ii 7ff to raise the possibility of its belonging to the same text, if not the same tablet (cf. CTH 470). Also relevant is KBo 4 1 i 1ff.

254 A great deal of the Luwian passages can be restored on the basis of parallels in CTH 760 (cited by Otten). On the obverse the following can be recovered: (6) ... ma-am-ma-lu-wa-i[a a]d-du-wa-li-in i[š?]-ša-ri-in] (7) [ad-du-w]a-li-in EME-en ta-pa-ru-wa-aš-ši-in (8) [ta-a-ta-ri]a-am-na-aš-ši-en ḫi-ru-ta-aš-ši-i[n] (9) [iš-ša-ri-i]n EME-en ta-pa-a-ru-ḫi-i[-ru-u-un]. On the reverse the greatest interest is in lines 9'-12': [ḫi-i-r]u-t[a-mi]-ia-at-ta ku-iš ti-wa-ta-ni[-ia-at-ta] (10) [ma-a-na-aš] LŪ-i[š ma-]a-na-aš SAL-iš tap-pa-ša-aš-ši-in-[zi] (11) [ti-ia-am-m]a-aš-ši-[in-z]i ku-in-zi DINGIR. MEŠ-in-z[i] (12)¹ [tu?]-u-ma-an-ti-in-ta -[ru] "He who took an oath and violated(?) (it), whether he be a man or a woman, let the gods who are celestial and terrestrial hear (it)!" No evidence yet known indicates whether the verb tumanti- "listen, hear" declines according to the active or medio-passive manner. If my restoration is correct, it is here a deponent medio-passive. The overall sentiment is the same as is found in the DINGIR.MEŠ ... ištamaškandu clauses in treaties.

257 Cf. KUB 10 89 v 11 (CTH 591) for obv 1'. Also similar is KBo 10 28 + iii 7'f (CTH 627.14). The accus. sg. form tar-na-at-ta-an-ma-an (obv 5') is new.

"Text number 118 contains a part of the ritual of Zuwi (CTH 412.3) and is a duplicate of KUB 12 63 + 36 70, obv 9'-16'. Combining the two duplicates yields several interesting items. KUB 12 63 + obv 9' gives: ku-u-un GU₄.MAḫ-an tar-ia-an-da-an wa-a[(r-kân-ta-an) e-ep-pir]. taryant- is accordingly not "tired" or "weak", but something like "healthy, robust, sleek". The end of line 10': a-ap-pa [me-ma-an-zi ... (ha-aš-ki-u-wa-ni-wa) ...]. The duplicate gives the end of a 1st plural pres. verb, perhaps *lahhaški/a- from lahhiya- (attested already as lahhiyaški/a- and lahheški/a-, HW¹ 124) "we are on an expedition".

CTH 412.3 Ritual of Zuwi

KUB 12 63 + 36 70 obverse

9 nu-za-pa KASKAL-ši ku-u-un GU₄.MAḫ-an tar-ia-an-da-an wa-a[(r-kân-ta-an) e-ep-pir nu-u(š-ša-an)]

10 pu-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi ku-it-mu e-ep-ten nu-uš-še LŪMEŠ²) a-ap-pa³) [me-ma-an-zi la?-ah?-(ha-aš-ki-u-wa-ni-wa) ...]

11 n[u-z]a KASKAL-ši tu-uk ha-an-da-a-u-en UM-MA GU₄.MAḫ ma⁴)-u-wa-m[(u e)-ep-te-ni ...]

12 [o o -r]a-at šu-ma⁴)-aš a-aš-ma-u-wa-aš-ma-aš-ša-an aš-šu-wa-an-da-an [(hi-ik-mi nu a)]n-ni-iš[-ki-mi ku-in]

13 [LŪ-an] ŠUM-ŠU hal-zi-ih-hi nu-za mi-ia-hu-an-da-na-aš-ša-aš x[-o-x]ri har-zi [(nu-za an-ni-i)š-ki-iz-zi]

14 [(nu-za LŪ)]MEŠSIPA.GUDḪIA ...

Chicago, February 1976

H. A. HOFFNER JR.

¹) The single wedge immediately before this verb indicates the line has been indented to this point.

²) KBo 22 118 4': DINGIR.LŪMEŠ.

³) KBo 22 118 4': EGIR-pa.

⁴) KBo 22 118 7'-8': + -a-.

OUDE TESTAMENT - QUMRAM - JUDAICA

VRUCHTEN VAN DE UITHOF: Studies opgedragen aan dr. H. A. Brongers ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid 16 Mei 1974. 170 pp. Utrecht: Theologisch Instituut, Heidelberglaan 2. f 7.50.

During the academic year of 1973-74 Dr. Brongers attained the age of involuntary retirement, and his colleagues prepared a small volume of papers to commemorate the occasion and to honor their emeritus colleague. Most of Brongers' writing has been in Dutch and thus limited to a smaller audience. He has written books on Prophetic Creation Traditions (his Leiden dissertation in 1945), on Hammurabi (1949), on Babylonian and Assyrian Literature (1951), The Manual of Discipline in the Qumran Community (1958), The War Scroll (1960), Oriental and Biblical Law (1960), The Joseph Story among Jews, Christians and Muslims (1962), and a Commentary on 1 and 2 Kings (1967; 1970). He is also known for a number of articles written in German mainly on Hebrew lexicography and grammar for a number of international journals.

The volume honoring Brongers contains a number of studies mainly but not exclusively dealing with OT topics. I can only indicate briefly what each contribution is about. J. W. Doeve once again (cf. also *NTT* 17, 32ff.) deals with the Ten-Week Apocalypse of 1 Enoch, which he believes to be part of Qumran literature and to have been written in the summer of 168 B.C. The Community was founded, he maintains, in 198 B.C., and Jason is identified as the Evil Priest who persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness (who first appeared in 178 B.C.).

R. Frankena discusses the notion of "sign", in particular describing the usage of Akk. *ittum* for the elucidation of the Hebrew notion of 'ōt. A. R. Hulst also contributes a word study to the volume; his study of the Hebrew *sōd* leads him to prefer "circle" to "council" as the basic underlying semantic notion of the word. A. van der Kooij's word study concerns David as the *nir* of Israel, which he maintains should be rendered by "light" rather than by "lamp"; the term is specifically used in 1 Kgs 15:4, 11:36 and 2 Kgs 8:19 to designate succession in the Davidic dynasty.

The essay by K. W. H. Kunne concerns recent developments in Eastern Orthodox theology on the role of tradition as over against Scripture. C. Van Leeuwen pleads for the authenticity of the "weal" materials of the book of Amos, including the much-discussed 9:11 — fin. passage on the basis both of the positive command oracles found throughout the book and of Amos' notion of "remnant". B. Maarsingh discusses the principle of *lex talionis* in connection with the role of Ahab in the Naboth story of 1 Kgs Ch. 21.

The contribution of G. Mussies is an attempt to prove that the Latin of 4 Esdras is based on a Greek original as demonstrable through errors in the Latin on the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels of language. G. te Stroete discusses Ben Sirach's "Praise of the Fathers" in contrast with other OT summaries of history; this contrastive study shows the Ben Sirach summary to be anthropocentric rather than theocentric,

and to center on the priesthood climaxing in Simon. Th. C. Vriezen reviews what ancient, medieval and even modern Jewish commentaries have to say about the verb *n̄s l* (Pi'el stem) particularly in Exodus 3:22, and concludes that it basically means to take (away) what one can get. The final essay by J. Zandee is a discussion of a number of parallels between Hebrew and Egyptian usage from the point of view of an Egyptologist.

Toronto, Can.

JOHN WM WEVERS

* * *

M. S. H. G. HEERMA VAN VOSS, Ph. H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, and N. A. VAN UCHELEN, eds., *Travels in the World of the Old Testament, Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Assen, van Gorcum, 1974 (8vo. Pp. xviii + 281) = *Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, 16. f 70.—.

This congratulatory collection of essays appropriately symbolizes Martinus A. Beek's great interest and competence in three special areas: biblical interpretation, ancient Near-Eastern studies, and Judaism. Introduced by a biographical sketch written by a loving daughter, L. W. van Reyendam-Beek, it includes a comprehensive bibliography for the years 1935-1973.

As with *Festschriften* generally, the title is a meaningless catch-all. The reader "travels" in the world of the Old Testament only in the sense that he ruminates first on one topic, then on another, that somehow has a bearing on Old Testament studies. Though the technical production of this volume presents a format appropriate to the purpose of showing honor to a distinguished scholar, it seems apparent that the editorial committee has been more than casual in the task of imposing uniformity on the volume as a whole, apparently leaving the responsibility of copy-editing to the individual contributors. Since ten articles are in English, fourteen in German, one in French, and four in Dutch, it is understandable that no one person would command complete familiarity with the stylistic canons of each respective language. Most essayists employing a language other than their own may have arranged to have a native speaker check their compositions before submission to the editors, but in a few instances the lack of this is regrettably noticeable. Sometimes awkward diction is introduced, as "impossibly both of them can be right" (205), "penned down" (246), "immanent" (252), and "violence" (258); in addition there are typographical errors that should have been eliminated: „dass ist wichtig ist" (211), "unshoken" (241), "Pilo" (244), "description" (245), "desastrous" (248), "furnished" (249), "ordained" (251), "condemm ... tresspassers ... transgeression" (253), "impostor" (255), and the like.

The essayists contributing to this volume include three Czechs, one Swede, one Frenchman, one Swiss, and twenty three Hollanders. For technical reasons the articles of certain unnamed Israeli scholars could not be included. The responsibility of the present review can best be met by listing the various essays according to

categories, identifying for the reader the basic argument of each.

1. *Assyriology*. In "Die juristischen Gegebenheiten in den Prologen und Epilogen der mesopotamischen Gesetzeswerke" (146-69), J. Klíma shows that the ancient lawcodes included a political, historical, and theological framework from Sumerian times, eventually influencing the juridical tradition of the medieval and modern world. In "Der Aššur-Tempel nach altassyrischen Urkunden aus Kültepe" (181-89), L. Matouš interprets I-145 and I-765 respecting the function of the sword of Aššur and the *šugarri'aum* emblem in cultic oaths. Two articles relate Assyriology to Old Testament problems: in "The *našū-nadānu* Formula" (176-80), C. J. Labuschagne claims a functional parallel to Hebrew *lqh-ntn*; A. van Selms shows in "The Name Nebuchadnezzar" (223-29) that late Old Testament preference for the n-form reflects a neo-Babylonian polemic against Evil-Merodach, in which the element *kudurru*, "crown prince", is altered to *kudannu*, "mule" — a symbol of this king's childlessness and presumed impotence.

2. *Egyptology*. In "Einige Bemerkungen zur religiösen Terminologie der alten Ägypter" (12-26), C. J. Bleeker expands the discussion carried on by Brugsch and Morenz, drawing forth the religious implications of characteristic Egyptian expressions respecting the gods, mankind, and the cult; resisting the tendency to draw parallels to biblical religion, Bleeker rightly emphasizes the distinctive contributions of Egyptian belief within its own cultural context. In "De Gerichtsscene in het Egyptische Poortenboek" (80-89), M. Heerma van Voss employs the portrayal on the sarcophagus of Ramesses VI as the most complete and representative example of the stereotyped judgment scene; it may be doubted whether the three-line English summary will suffice to clue non-Dutch readers to the writer's unique translations. In "Egyptological Commentary on the Old Testament" (269-81), J. Zandee expands earlier studies with comments on Egyptian parallels to Gen. 1:2, 4:25, 22:17, 31:19, 30:34, Exod. 14:21f., 15:26, 20:12, 35:10, Num. 14:9, Deut. 10:17-19, 24:8, I Sam. 2:1, 16:12, 28:6, 15, II Sam. 1:2, 12:1-14, II Kings 4:23, Job 10:15, Ps. 45:9, 61:4, 139:2, Eccl. 9:7f., Isa. 3:16, 29:16, 63:3, Lam. 4:20, Amos 7:8f.

3. *The history of Semitic studies and Old Testament interpretation*. L. Fuks recites the fascinating history of the Hebrew professorship at the Franeker academy from Drusius to Greve (1585-1811) in his article, "Hebreeuws en Hebraïsten in Franeker in de 17e en 18e eeuw" (50-74), showing how comparative Semitics, especially Arabic studies, gradually changed the original focus on anti-Jewish polemics (cf. Jansma's note on pp. 129-31). In "L'exégèse biblique juive face à Copernic" (190-96), A. Neher shows that the lack of juridical authority freed Jewish astronomers influenced by Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo to develop a theory of scientific independence from the realm of faith.

4. *Pedagogical methodology*. In "The Teaching of Old Testament Hebrew and Applied Linguistics" (94-101), J. H. Hospers argues, with A. Zaborski, for

the combination of deductive and inductive methods in the learning of a dead language such as Biblical Hebrew.

5. *Problems of Hebrew linguistics*. In "Das Zeitwort 'ālā und seine Derivate" (30-40), H. A. Brongers catalogues the meanings and functions of this Hebrew root. R. Frankena's study, "Some Remarks on a New Approach to Hebrew" (41-49), argues for comparisons with Akkadian in a way that raises the question whether the writer has ever heard of the plan-Babylonian school. "Rest und Überschuss, eine terminologische Studie", by G. Gerleman (71-74), is a comparison between the Hebrew roots *š'r* and *ytr*. The most valuable essay in this category is J. J. Stamm's "Eine Gruppe hebräischer Personennamen" (230-40), in which it is argued that three imperative forms in the Old Testament, with six from Elephantine, reflect late Assyrian influence in a cultic context.

6. *Old Testament form criticism*. W. H. Gispen's "What is Wisdom in the Old Testament?" (75-79) is a well-taken warning against identifying too much as "wisdom"; it cannot be said, however, that he succeeds in putting his finger on its essential identifying characteristic.

7. *Exegesis of Old Testament texts*. W. H. Ph. Römer explains Deut. 22:5 as a polemic against the Inanna/Ishtar cult ("Randbemerkungen zur Travestie von Deut. 22,5", pp. 217-22). In "I Samuel 8, Verse 16b" (27-29), P. A. H. de Boer identifies *m'lk* as the "royal property". According to J. Hoftijzer, "Een opmerking bij II Sam. 15:24" (91-93), the root *yšq* has the meaning "carry", "bring", "put". In "Zu Jesaja 45, 9ff." (170-75), J. L. Koole identifies a citation repudiated by Yahweh. Similarly, B. J. Oosterhoff identifies an ancient "catechism" in Jer. 9:11-13 ("Ein Detail aus der Weisheitslehre", pp. 197-203). A. S. van der Woude's treatment of Zech. 4:14 ("Die beiden Söhne des Öls: messianische Gestalten?", pp. 262-68) identifies *heilgeschichtliche* rather than formally "messianic" imagery, consistent with vs. 12's use of mythic mountains drawn from the Sumerian literature. A. R. Hulst's essay, "Ansatz einer Meditation über Psalm 8" (102-7), offers nothing that this reviewer can identify as new. Though J. P. M. van der Ploeg's treatment, "Psalm 74 and its Structure" (204-10), analyzes this psalm's structure on careful methodological considerations, much the same is true of it.

8. *Biblical history*. M. Bič offers intriguing suggestions in his article, "Davids Kriegsführung und Salomos Bautätigkeit" (1-11), to the effect that David's wars and Solomon's shrine-building had a consistent religious-political purpose, viz., to put the deities of subordinate peoples under the protection and supervision of Yahweh.

9. *Postbiblical Judaism*. M. de Jonge's essay, "Notes on Testament of Levi ii-vii" (132-45), argues that "a man or group of people wanted to compose testaments of twelve patriarchs" and so looked "for all relevant materials ... in order to put this together within a certain framework with a definite, primarily ethical purpose."

This material was not only brought together, it was rewritten" (137). In his essay, "Josephus' Account of the Story of Israel's Sin with Alien Women in the Country of Midian (Num. 25: 1ff.)" (241-61), W. C. van Unnik draws upon his vast erudition in the field of hellenistic Judaism to show how Josephus's speeches articulate the challenge to Jewish laws respecting diet, marriage, and polytheism at the beginning of the Christian era.

To these tributes in honor of a distinguished scholar, M. A. Beek, the present reviewer adds his own sincere words of congratulation.

Delaware, Ohio, February 1976 SIMON J. DE VRIES

* *

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*. The Richards Lectures delivered at the University of Virginia (1931). Reprint of the 1935³ edition by the American Schools of Oriental Research, Cambridge, Mass. 1974 (8vo, 250 pp.).

In this book the long established leading figure in Palestinian Archaeology addressed for the first time the wide audience of all people interested in the Bible and the Ancient Near East. The book consists of the elaborated texts of three separate lectures. Chapter I contains a very fine, clear and critical survey of the development of Palestinian Archaeology up until 1935. At that time Albright had finished his work at *Tell Beit Mirsim*, where he succeeded in reconstructing a pottery typology that was to become the key to Palestinian chronology for nearly half a century. Even today Tell Beit Mirsim remains a true type-site, thanks to meticulous publication. By virtue of this achievement Albright could indeed speak with authority to his American audience. How apt is his warning against the undertaking of large excavations, with many archaeologists and labourers and a lot of technical equipment. Albright himself always avoided such big undertakings as the pre-war excavations of Beth-Shean, Megiddo or Lachish. On page 39 he cites with full approval the statement by Bruno Meissner "that no amount of technical organization can replace an intelligent mind". As it happened, the excavators of Megiddo were more and more compelled to rely on the Tell Beit Mirsim ceramic chronology, as published by Albright! And even now, so many years later, we regularly see publications appear which compare results of recent excavations with those of Tell Beit Mirsim (e.g. BASOR 208, 212).

All the more important therefore is Chapter II of this book, which contains the only popularized account of the Tell Beit Mirsim excavations. The reader will often be surprised by the lucidity and modernity of Albright's observations. As a case in point, on page 115 we find the first description and recognition of the now so well-known Iron Age four-roomed house. Though this book contains no illustrations, the reader can of course always easily refer to the plans and illustrations of the definitive

publication in AASOR XII, XIII, XVII, XXI-XXII.

In Chapter III Albright enters into a discussion concerning the Old Testament scholarship of his days. And here he develops for the first time his understanding of what Biblical Archaeology should be for a wider audience: a synthesis of "dirt archaeology", linguistics, biblical studies and Near Eastern studies in the broadest sense, in order to be able to see and study the Bible in its Near Eastern and contemporaneous context. In this chapter he concentrates on three historic topics: the Age of the Patriarchs, the Mosaic Law and the period of Exile and Restoration. Here we find already the Albright we know so well: always attaching more importance to concrete archaeological "facts" than to the theories of the world of learning. "One manuscript, one papyrus, he regarded as worth a thousand theories. And finding a new bit of archaeological evidence immediately altered his own theories". (F. Moore Cross in BA XXXVI, p. 4). This remarkable flexibility, and his trust in his own indeed often remarkable intuition, is often considered by outsiders as subjectivity and contrary to his own call for objectivity and methodological reflection. But for those who had the privilege to work with him, this versatile attitude must have been very stimulating. This third chapter is distinguished from Albright's later publications by the absence of the bitter polemic with Alt and Noth, which actually began in 1937 with the appearance of Noth's Joshua commentary. It is in fact remarkable how positive Albright's opinion of German scholarship was in 1935: especially Ed. Meyer is several times mentioned in very positive terms. The enemy is Wellhausen and his school. But we should bear in mind that the Wellhausen school had a much longer lease of life in the USA than in Germany. Wellhausen's refusal to accept new facts (for instance that the cuneiform texts could be read and that the Amarna letters or the codex Hammurapi could have any bearing upon Old Testament scholarship) was in Albright's eyes utterly insupportable and might now seem to us unbelievable. Does this old animosity towards the Wellhausen approach explain that Albright, who, in his conception of Biblical Archaeology, tried to bring together almost every discipline, conducive to understanding the Bible, failed to do so with the developing social sciences?

This absence of the dispute with Noth — who is here cited in connection with his amphictyony hypothesis, which was in fact accepted by Albright right from the start with only some minor nuances — accounts also for the absence of the often irritatingly apologetic tone of some of his publications in later years.

It is indeed most fortunate that the ASOR decided to make this book available once more as a reprint. No one interested in Palestinian archaeology can henceforth afford to ignore this remarkable book, of this remarkable man.

Groningen, February, 1976

C. H. J. DE GEUS

* *

Jitschak DASBERG, *De Pentateuch met Haftaroht*. Deel I, *Bereschiet-Shemot*. Amsterdam, Uitgeverij en Boekhandel Van Gennepe, N.V., 1970 (8vo, pp.).

Jitschak DASBERG, *De Pentateuch met Haftaroht*. Deel II, *Vajikrah, Bemidbar, Dewariem*. Amsterdam, Uitgeverij en Boekhandel Van Gennepe, N.V., 1971 (8vo, 293 pp.).

Vorliegende Arbeit ist eine niederländische Übersetzung der Tora, welche aus dem Kreis der jüdischen Kirche in den Niederlanden stammt. Hinsichtlich solcher Übersetzungen steht diese Kirche in einer alten und wertvollen Tradition. Man braucht nur den Namen von Rabbiner A. S. Onderwijzer zu nennen, der um die Jahrhundertwende eine Übersetzung des Pentateuch samt einer niederländischen Übersetzung des Raschischen Kommentars veröffentlichte (im Jahre 1975 erschien von diesem Werk erfreulicherweise ein reprografischer Nachdruck in Amsterdam), um diese Tatsache zu belegen.

Sehr praktisch in der Ausgabe Onderwijzers war, dass der Toraübersetzung und der Übersetzung des Raschischen Kommentars der hebräische Text beigegeben war. Auch in der Ausgabe des Arztes Dasberg findet sich, und zwar in schönem Drucktyp (das Buch wurde durch Monoline Press, Ramat-Gan, Israel, gedruckt), der masoretische Text, es fehlen aber leider Text und Übersetzung von Raschis Kommentar zu der Tora.

Dem Buch gehen ein Vorwort des Oberrabbiners A. Schuster und eine kurze Einleitung des Verfassers selbst voran. Erstgenannter hat dem Übersetzer beim Übersetzen wirksame Hilfe geleistet. Der Grund dieser jüdischen Übersetzung liegt in dem Wunsch der jüdischen Gemeinde in den Niederlanden, eine moderne und gemeinverständliche jüdische Übersetzung der Tora zu besitzen, welche vor allem der Jugend dienen soll. Diese Übersetzung ist also nicht wissenschaftlich, sondern verfolgt einen praktischen Zweck. In diesem Buch finden sich auch die sogenannten Haftaroht zu den Pentateuchbüchern. Der Übersetzer hat sich bemüht, sich in seiner genauen Arbeit der jüdischen Tradition und Theologie so weit wie möglich anzuschließen. So hat er z.B. das Tetragrammaton mit den Worten „Der Ewige“ übersetzt (vgl. M. Buber-F. Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung*, 1936, S. 338 ff. und dazu G. Beer, OLZ 40 (1937), Sp. 742), und in der Übersetzung der Eigennamen ist er der spezifisch jüdischen Tradition gefolgt. Auch findet man Übersetzungen, die bestimmt von z.B. reformatorisch-christlichen abweichen, z.B. in Gen. 15: 6, wo *šēdāqā* mit „Tugend“ übersetzt ist. Alles in allem kann man diese Übersetzung jedoch auch bei wissenschaftlicher Arbeit zu Rate ziehen.

Badhoevedorp, Februar 1976

M. J. MULDER

* *

J. P. FOKKELMAN, *Narrative Art in Genesis. Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis*. Assen/Amsterdam, Van Gorcum, 1975 (16 x 24,5. VIII + 244 pp.) = Studia Semitica Neerlandica 17 ISBN 90 232 1326 2. Price: cloth Dfl. 79,50.

This study is the English translation of an (unpublished) Dutch thesis on the basis of which the author was granted a Doctorate of Literature at the State University of Leyden in 1973. This and other information, initially kept from the reader by the absence of a preface, is certainly not entirely without interest for a proper assessment of this study. It is not until the end of the book, however, under the heading "Concluding Words" (p. 244), that we are informed, e.g., that the interpretation of texts dealt with in the book had been completed as early as 1971 and that the manuscript was finished in 1972. Its publication was delayed mainly by problems of financing.

As clearly indicated by the title, and especially the sub-title, this study represents a discussion of parts of Genesis inspired by modern theories of literature analysis. In the writer's view the stories of Genesis can be reduced to the genre of "literary art". In the introduction (pp. 1-8) the writer provides information regarding the presuppositions and the methodology of the approach he follows. Here, as elsewhere in the book, he demonstrates his appreciation for the work of authors such as M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, L. Alonso Schökel and M. Weiss. In this connection it is striking that F. fails to mention a group of his countrymen, the so-called "Amsterdamse school", a circle of Old Testament scholars at the Municipal University of Amsterdam (who, notwithstanding the term "school", it might be added, do not form an entirely homogeneous group). I have reference here to M. A. Beek (cf., e.g., his "Verzadigingspunten en onvoltooide lijnen in het onderzoek van de Oudtestamentische literatuur", *VoxTh* XXXVIII 1968, pp. 2-14) and to students of his such as A. G. van Daalen (cf. O. Eissfeldt's review of her book *Simson. Een onderzoek naar de plaats, de opbouw en de functie van het Simsonverhaal in het kader van de Oudtestamentische geschiedschrijving* [Assen, 1966] in *BiOr* XXV 1968, pp. 65-66), K. A. Deurloo (who in his *Kain en Abel, Onderzoek naar exegetische methode inzake een "kleine literaire eenheid" in de Tenakh* [Amsterdam, 1967] discussed the small literary unit Gen. 4:1-16) and further to F. Breukelman who has expressed his opinion on the structure of Genesis in various publications. F's silence on these scholars is to be regretted. In my opinion a debate between F. and this school could contribute to a clearer picture of the several views and their presuppositions. It would be interesting, for instance, to have F.'s opinion on Deurloo's conception of a midrash genre in the Tenakh (op. cit. pp. 15, 69ff., 74f., 82ff.) and on his (and others') late dating of the narrative material (op. cit. pp. 73f., 82). Also, one finds no reference in the introduction to the theories of modern linguistics developed by Ferdinand de Saussure nor to what seems to me to be the very important question of their relation to and their significance for the modern literary analysis. More-

over it is a pity that F. did not use the opportunity created by the delay in the publication of his study (see above) to incorporate recent literature on its topic. In the years since 1971 several studies on the style and structure of various parts of Genesis have appeared. To cite but one example: in the symposium volume: R. Barthes and others, *Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique* [Neuchâtel, 1971], R. Barthes, "La lutte avec l'ange: Analyse textuelle de Genèse 32.23-33" (pp. 27-39) presents a structural examination of Gen. 32:23-33, a unit discussed extensively by F. (pp. 208-223).

The book divides into two parts. Part I contains a stylistic and structural analysis of two small literary units, viz., Gen. 11:1-9 (pp. 11-45) and Gen. 28:10-22 (pp. 46-81). Part II contains a stylistic and structural analysis of an extended complex of stories: the cycle dealing with Jacob. Here the author discusses in succession Gen. 25:19-34; 27 and 28 (pp. 86-122); Gen. 29-31 (pp. 123-196); Gen. 32; 33 and 35 (pp. 197-236) and closes the study with a conclusion (pp. 238-241). He does not explicitly justify the choice of pericopes dealt with. A concise bibliography is found on pp. 242-244.

Many positive remarks can be made on F.'s handling of the materials. Though he is sometimes inclined to prolixity — undoubtedly because of the desire to do full justice to all details — the study is on the whole pleasant and now and then even fascinating to read. F. makes more than a few surprising, striking and valuable remarks. F.'s in-depth study of the texts produces optimum results in a literary as well as theological sense. With regard to latter, the reviewer at times might well imagine he is reading an (older) orthodox commentary. Actually, however, for more than one reason F.'s approach cannot be called one of orthodoxy. One need only mention in this connection his view on the historicity of the text (cf. pp. 6ff, 44f., 238f.). A few lines above I used the term "optimum results". This, of course, does not necessarily imply that F.'s conclusions are always equally convincing and satisfying.

It can be said at the outset that the interpretation of texts in this book takes its point of departure from what in my opinion is a sound hermeneutical principle, viz., that the text is to be interpreted as it lies before us. The supposition that Genesis is intended to be a well-ordered and meaningful whole is justified. It is possible to go even further. In the conclusion F. rightly draws attention to the interwovenness of the stories having to do with Jacob with the larger whole of the Hexateuch. I think one could even maintain that the Tenakh as context can contribute to the understanding of Genesis (see below). F. does not exegete from supposed sources but from the text as a whole, and rightly so. It is at this point, however, that criticism of F.'s approach is in order. No approach should be used to the exclusion of the other methods in use within Old Testament scholarship. An exclusive use of any of these methods bears genuine risks; this also applies to the study under discussion. Admittedly, F. is, at least in theory, not dogmatic. In the collection of essays *Verkenningen in een Stroomgebied* [Amsterdam, 1974] on p. 39 n. 2 A. G. van Daalen (using the Dutch typewritten version of the thesis) even

reproaches him for evidently not fully realizing the possible consequences of a consistent literary approach, because, in her view, F. proceeds from the presupposed principle of the historical stratification of the text. In this connection one could also mention that in discussing Gen. 11 F. gives some attention to the question as to the setting in which the narrator is to be sought (pp. 12f., 18 n. 12), which one would not expect from an author following a consistent ergocentric working-method. In practice, however, F. uses the method advocated by him all too absolutely.

I would like to make a few more general critical remarks on the method followed in this study. On p. 2 F. writes: "Not until the interpreter's structural means have been exhausted does the method of genetic explanation seem to me indispensable to an interpretation of texts". A reaction against excessive forms of literary criticism and tradition criticism is well taken, but these and other methods should not, in my opinion, be too easily or too quickly disqualified. When are the structural means of the interpreter exhausted? Reading F.'s book, one is inclined to conclude: not very quickly! If one might be permitted a bit of exaggeration and playful teasing: all sorts of defects in the texts become for him all too easily artistically-minded expressions having a profound significance. Many times the interpretation is too good to be true, and often too subtle, too subjective to be convincing. It is not my intention to assert that subjectivity plays no role in other approaches. In my opinion, however, only an interplay of approaches is capable of containing subjectivity as much as possible and the only means whereby acceptable results can be reached. The diverse and lively character of the literature of the O.T. resists the exclusive use of one method. Only by means of an interplay of different methods is it possible to escape a knee-jacking, almost mechanical use of the principle that form and content are wholly coherent. Allowance must be made for the possibility that a new structure with a textual tendency of its own may have come into being by means of a certain combination and arrangement of the handed-down traditions. In such a case it is generally not possible to posit, for instance, that each particle within the new structure exactly has the same qualitative function that it had in an earlier phase of the process of tradition. In this connection it is possible to cite an example from F. himself: on pp. 209f. in his description of the structure of the scene of Gen. 32:23-33 he leaves out of consideration the "aetiological side-note" Gen. 32:33; on p. 235 he remarks in relation to Gen. 35:8 and 22a: "Two short notes have been inserted which we might just take for granted". Moreover, a tracing of the genesis of the texts makes it possible to see connections which would escape one's observation if he were to employ only stylistic and structural analysis. Attention given to the genesis of the texts does not necessarily imply a breaking up of them but instead can contribute positively to an understanding of the texts as a whole. Making use of the marginal notes which I made going through the book, I should like to illustrate the remarks made above.

In part I one is struck by the fact that while F. discusses Gen. 28:10-22 in connection with the stories

dealing with Jacob (cf. also pp. 121f.), he considers Gen. 11:1-9 completely separately. On p. 122 he remarks in relation to Gen. 28:10-22: "In fact it is an optical illusion to interpret this so-called 'smallest literary unit' entirely within itself". One wonders whether this remark does not also apply to Gen. 11:1-9. In addition, F.'s discussion of this pericope is not consistently ergocentric in my opinion. It appears to me that F. interprets this passage in terms of the Tenakh as context. Though not explicitly mentioned, Ps. 115:16 influences his exegesis on pp. 16f. On p. 19 (and in n. 15) F. makes use of data from elsewhere in the O.T. to support his view that the tower is an emblem of hubris. According to F. this story is one of crime and punishment (p. 20). In my opinion the story itself does not support this conclusion. In and of itself the narrative does not indicate that the building of the tower represents a rupture of "the god-given order" (p. 17). It is clear, it seems to me, that one can speak of "sin" in terms of this narrative only if it is taken with Gen. 9:1. F. alludes to this text on p. 8 n. 12 but does not mention it explicitly. In my view it must receive a place of central importance in the interpretation of the tower narrative. The same thing can be said of the reference to 10:5, 11, 18, 20, 30-32 in the same note; cf. also p. 41 n. 53. And one could point out other connections between Gen. 11:1-9 and its context. Such connections can be made via means other than those of "Leitwörter", style and structure. In my opinion the example mentioned here illustrates how textual elements of diverse origin can be connected in a meaningful way. The writer of Genesis demonstrates his creativity by combining the parts. F. speaks in detail (pp. 20ff.) of a double symmetry which he thinks governs the story of Gen. 11:1-9. As he does with other narrative units, F. defines the structure of Gen. 11:1-9 by means of schematic outlines. In this connection he speaks of "an objectivity preceding all interpretation" (p. 23). I find this problematical. Schematic outlines consist of fragments of the sentences which make the story. Outlines may veil instead of reveal. They may, e.g., hide the unevenness or irregularities in the text of a story. They may cause the interpreter to lose sight of words which occur only one time, even though it may be of significance that they are not reiterated. In Gen. 11, for instance, it is possible that the words *w'rō'sō baššamayim* of v. 4 are not repeated in v. 6 because the intention of man to build a tower reaching within heaven could never be anything more than a delusion on account of the intervention of YHWH. More illustrations could be given. Perhaps it ought to be argued that because literature is dynamic all claims to objectivity bear genuine danger.

With respect to F.'s discussion of Gen. 28:10-22 I would like to make only a few marginal remarks. Twice in this pericope mention is made of a *maššēbā* (v.v. 18, 22). The term *maššēbā* is a derivative of the root *nšb*, of which the participle *hoš'al* is used in connection with the "ladder" of v. 12 and the participle *nif'al* with YHWH in v. 13. F. assumes that there is a connection of the *maššēbā* both with the "ladder" and with YHWH (pp. 54, 66f., 69f., 79). In view of religious-historical data, however, such an assumption is not

plausible. In fact, F. acknowledges this and remarks on p. 70: "that this *massebe* here leads its own life, absolutely defined by the story". In my opinion it is certainly permissible to state that "the narrator relies on the wise" (p. 192), but the possibility of "the wise" actually coming to understanding is frustrated, if that, which is being narrated is not grounded in the conceptual world of those who are expected to "understand". In the interest of avoiding subjective textual interpretations, it seems to me, one must take into account, in addition to stylistic and structural givens, the data of religious-historical investigation. On p. 68 F. writes, regarding the reference to Luz in v. 19b (often considered to be a gloss): "By postponing mention of the name the narrator completely establishes the relativity of the importance and identity of Luz, indeed he ridicules the place ...". Also in view of the words used in the pericope (*'ir*, 1 x and only in v. 19b; the "anonymus" *māqōm*, 6 x) and the chiasm, F. concludes that the verse contains an anti-Canaanite tendency. Such an assertion on the basis of this kind of argumentation can be made, however, at best only if it has been demonstrated that Genesis is dominated by such a tendency.

In part II F. deals with that part of Genesis which begins with the words *w'ēlleh tōl'dōt yišhāq* (25:19) and runs up to 36:1 (before that, in 35:28f. the narrator reports Isaac's death) and 37:2, where the *tōl'dōt* of respectively Esau and Jacob are mentioned. F. translates *tōl'dōt* with "begettings" (p. 87). On p. 92 he writes in relation to 25:26b: "at last the '*tōl'dōt* *Yiṣhāq*' can be rounded off". Such a remark can be made, in my view, only at a later point in the text, viz., 35:28f. On p. 239 he refers to *tōl'dōt* again briefly, but on the whole his discussion of this term is rather too succinct. It is to be regretted that F. has not gone more deeply into this term, bearing as it does such importance for the structure of Genesis. In my own understanding its use in Genesis demonstrates that 25:19 is the title of the section which runs up to 36:1 and that it, as heading, relates this section to the preceding one (cf. S. R. Külling, *Zur Datierung der "Genesis-P-Stücke"* [Kampen, 1964], pp. 223ff.). In defining his "field of research" F. could better have pointed to the limits the book of Genesis itself sets in its use of the term *tōl'dōt* than to have worked with the unsatisfactory and subjective criterion expressed in the question: "In which story is Jacob the central character?" (p. 238). For even at some points subsequent to Gen. 35 Jacob continues to play a not unimportant role. Further, the heading which the writer of Genesis uses in 25:19 includes more than "the cycle of Jacob". It is surely significant that Isaac's name occurs both in the title and in the concluding verses of the section (cf. in this connection the following remark of F. himself in relation to Gen. 27-28:5: "it is about the whole family. How indispensable Isaac is, needs no argument ..." (p. 100)). This brings me to the following remarks. The thread of the story is cut somewhat radically two times in the part of Genesis under consideration, namely in Gen. 26 and in Gen. 34; on account of their themes these two chapters seem out of place in a cycle of stories having to do with Jacob. F. gives attention to this question on pp. 113ff. and in the con-

clusion. On pp. 113ff. he maintains that "the stories about the blessing in Gen. 26 serve as a foil to the next chapter in which the father solemnly transmits the blessing" (p. 115); he remarks further: "What Isaac is going to transmit in Gen. 27 is, as it were, a life saturated with blessing" (p. 115). In the conclusion F. points out that if the cycle is set in the wider framework of the context of the Hexateuch, it becomes clear that both the fifteen stories of the cycle regarding Jacob and Gen. 26 and 34 fit in the same frames of reference. Moreover, he points out that both Gen. 26 and Gen. 34 received a place exactly two scenes away from respectively the anterior and posterior boundaries of the cycle and that both chapters also have much in common in terms of content. All this is not so convincing in my opinion. The solution is simpler. One can demonstrate the legitimacy of the position of Genesis 26 and 34 by having simple recourse to the heading "tōl'dōt of Isaac". Moreover, it is especially important to note that the occurrence of Gen. 26 and 34 makes it clear that Genesis is a literary work of art only to a lesser degree than such works in the corpus of European literature — or perhaps better: it is a different kind of literary work of art than we know in European literature. Thus, generally speaking, it is not acceptable to state "that the stories from Genesis have the ontological status of the literary work of art. That is why these stories can be readily analyzed as works of fiction, so like the novel or the lyric in European literature" (pp. 6f.). From Genesis it becomes clear again and again that parts and pieces of diverse origin are fitted together to form a whole. Undoubtedly this was not done in an arbitrary way but rather with a definite purpose in mind. By arranging and combining the various traditions the writer demonstrates his creativity. That does not alter but rather implies the fact that seams and welds will be visible at many points and that we will stumble over what appear to us at least to be irregularities in the flow of the text. Also, the significance of certain insertions and arrangements is not always unambiguously clear. With respect to Gen. 34, this chapter probably owes its insertion simply to the fact that it could be joined meaningfully to Gen. 33: 18-20 (Shechem). As for Gen. 26, the particular significance of its insertion is less clear. It is possible that F.'s assumption on this score contains an element of truth.

What is valid for these more extended sections within the tōl'dōt of Isaac holds for many small units as well. If the complexity of the genesis of the texts is not taken into account, and if the results of literary criticism, tradition criticism etc., are ignored, the exegete quickly falls prey to an "überhöhende" interpretation which is rather less than credible. I mention just one or two things more. On pp. 230f. F. asserts in connection with Gen. 33: 16-20: "However much the conclusion, 33. 16-20, may integrate the return to Canaan into the whole of the Story of Jacob, it consists of three or four rather stray travel-notes. Now that the tensions have disappeared and the conflict in Jacob's life has come to an end, the narrator loosens his grip; the story loses the almost hermetic perfection which has struck us up till now". Here F. indeed stretches credibility, to my mind.

On pp. 231ff. he discusses Gen. 35, a chapter which gives the impression of being not so much a story "aus einem Gusse", but instead one which is composed of diverse elements. Except for vv. 16-20 F.'s appreciation of this section is not particularly great. Among other things he remarks: "The Story of Jacob shows a somewhat fragmented ending" (p. 235). This surely is a clear indication that stylistic and structural analysis do not always provide a satisfactory answer to the questions the text presents.

In closing, it is often said that the good sides of a book are often treated in rather a miserly fashion in reviews. Rereading the remarks above, I must acknowledge that that complaint is also applicable to this review. And thus, I would like, at this point, to express my genuine appreciation — notwithstanding the objections I have raised — for F.'s study. I consider it to be an inspiring book, containing many valuable insights and representing an invitation to an independent and constructive reading of the narrative parts of the O.T.

Amsterdam, May 1976

C. HOUTMAN

* *

Othmar KEEL, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament. Ikonographische Studien zu Jos 8,18-26; Ex 17,8-13; 2 Kön 13,14-19 und 1 Kön 22,11*. Freiburg/Schweiz, Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974 (232 S.) = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 5. Preis: S.Fr. 32.—.

Othmar Keel ist durch seine Bücher *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen* (1969); *Die Weisheit spielt vor Gott. Ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Deutung des m'sahāqāt in Spr 8,30 f.* (1974); *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament. Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (1972) bekannt geworden. Über den zuletzt genannten Prachtband schreibt E. Gerstenberger: „Von diesem Band darf man schwärmen! Seine Zeichnungen und Tafeln sind ein Augenschmaus; der Textteil ist auf weite Strecken ein Genuss. Endlich wieder ein Buch, das nicht nur von „Vorstellungen“ redet, sondern sie auch in der exegetischen Zuspitzung auf bestimmte Bibeltex-te, die Psalmen, visuell vorführt ... Ich bin fasziniert von Sprache, Darstellungsweise, Sachgehalt. Keel leitet zum neuen Sehen an ...“ Keel erschliesst der alttestamentlichen Exegese in der Tat eine neue Quelle — die Ikonographie. Gewiss hat die ikonographische Forschung auch im Bereich der atl. Wissenschaft ihre insbesondere mit der Palästina-Archäologie verbundene Tradition. So weit ich sehe, ist die Ikonographie jedoch noch nicht als ein für die Textinterpretation relativ eigenwichtiger Quellenbereich systematisch erschlossen worden. Keel hat mit seinen Arbeiten einen wichtigen Schritt in diese Richtung getan.

Die zu besprechende Arbeit knüpft an den Psalmenband an, der, wie Keel zutreffend bemerkt, „bewusst bei der schlichten Konfrontation alte Vorstellungen und Bilder mit ähnlichen altorientalischen“ stehen bleibt. (7). Unbeantwortet blieb die Frage, wie sich die Abhängigkeit atl. Motive von Motiven der altorientalischen oder

altägyptischen Bildkunst im einzelnen nachweisen lässt. Welche Medien spielten bei der Verarbeitung altorientalischer ikonographischer Motive in der altisraelitischen Literatur eine Rolle? Wie wurde das Material gedeutet?

Keel interpretiert die vier im Titel genannten singulären Stellen, die wie erratische Blöcke in den Kontexten stehen und schon dadurch fremde Herkunft suggerieren, mit Hilfe ikonographischer Forschung. Hier zunächst die Ergebnisse.

Jos 8, 26 und Ex 17, 12 enthalten der ägyptischen Ikonographie entstammende Vorstellungen, die nicht über das Medium mündlicher oder literarischer Überlieferung nach Israel gelangt sind, sondern auf ikonographischem Weg. In Jos 8, 26 geht das Ausstrecken des Sichelschwerts (kîdôn) auf ikonographische Kompositionen aus Niederschlagen und Überreichen des Sichelschwertes zurück, die während der zweiten Eisenzeit durch das phönizische Kunsthandwerk weite Verbreitung fanden. Josua übernimmt die Rolle, die in Ägypten die Gottheit innehat, das Volk tritt an die Stelle des Königs.

Das Vorbild für die beiden erhobenen Hände des Mose Ex 17, 12 kann eine zur Zeit der 19. Dyn. häufiger belegte Komposition gewesen sein. Ein Verehrer mit erhobenen Händen kniet vor dem in der Geste des Niederschlagens dargestellten Pharao. Auf dem Tell Masos bei Beerscheba ist neuerdings ein Skarabäus mit diesem Motiv gefunden worden. Neben Erinnerungen an Kämpfe mit Amaleqitern am Fuss eines Berges und einen Stein auf diesem Berge dürfte bei der literarischen Gestaltung von Ex 17, 8-13 eine ägyptische Komposition aus dem Pharao beim Niederschlagen und dem Beter mit erhobenen Händen eine Rolle gespielt haben. Funde aus der Gegend von Timna belegen, dass Ägypten bis tief ins 12. Jh. im südlichen Negev aktiv war. Die Komposition konnte israelitischen Stämmen bekannt geworden sein. „Die des Lesens unkundigen Israeliten haben die ägyptischen Protagonisten mit eigenen Helden identifiziert“ (140).

2 Kön 13, 14-19 hat seine nächsten Parallelen ebenfalls in ägyptischen Siegesriten. Die von H. Gunkel zur Erklärung von Ps 18, 35 bzw. 144, 1 herangezogene Szene Thutmosis III aus Karnak lässt sich zur Illustration von 2 Kön 13, 14 ff. verwenden. Es geht in dieser Szene nicht um Unterweisung im Bogenschiessen, sondern um Mithilfe der Götter bei einem Schiessen und Schlagen, das anlässlich des Sed-Festes Sieg und Herrschaft des Pharao über die vier Weltgegenden gewährleisten soll. Das Pfeilübergabe-Zeremoniell ist schon für das Alte Reich vorauszusetzen. Elisa ist in 2 Kön 13 dem israelitischen König beim Abschiessen des Siegespfeiles behilflich und übernimmt — ähnlich wie Josua in Jos 8, 26 — die Rolle, die in Ägypten eine Gottheit innehat. Sollte literarkritisch davon auszugehen sein, dass das Pfeilschiessen ursprünglich für sich stand, so finden sich dazu Parallelen in dem Bogenschiessen des Pharao auf Scheiben, die mit Feindsymbolen versehen sind.

In 1 Kön 22, 11 sichert Zedeqia ben Kenaana dem König von Israel zu, er der König werde wie ein Stier Aram niederstossen. Die Szene wird so vorzustellen sein, dass Zedeqia dem König eine Hörnerkappe über-

gibt. Der israelitische König soll sich, so besagt wohl die zugrunde liegende Vorstellung, im Kampf in einen siegreichen Stier verwandeln.

Keel gelangt zu diesen Ergebnissen durch umfassende ikonographische Forschungen, die reichhaltiges Material auswerten. Zu Jos 8, 18 ff.: Dass kîdôn nicht Speer oder Wurfspieß bedeutet, machen die Beschreibungen in 1 QM (V, 7.11.12.14; VI, 5) deutlich. Kuhn und Molin deuten den kîdôn auf das Sichelschwert. Diese Bedeutung passt zu den drei vorexilischen Stellen Jos 8, 18.26; 1 Sam 17, 6.45; Jer 6, 23 (Jer 6, 23 vorexilisch?), aus denen hervorgeht, dass es sich um eine im ersten Jahrtaus. nicht mehr zur Ausrüstung des gewöhnlichen Kriegers gehörende Waffe handelte, die nur noch als Ideogramm Bedeutung besass. Das Sichelschwert ist wohl im Zweistromland entstanden und eine Weiterentwicklung der Sichelaxt, die am Ende der Ur-I-Zeit (um 2400) durch das Sichelschwert ersetzt wurde. Es gelangte nach Syrien-Palästina und Ägypten. Als Ideogramm scheint es seit seiner Entstehung verwendet worden zu sein. Die ideogrammatistische Funktion blieb erhalten, nachdem die Waffe längst ausser Gebrauch gekommen war. Keel erörtert zahlreiche ikonographische Belege, die in einem Bildanhang beigelegt und von Frau Hildi Keel durch Strichzeichnungen erschlossen worden sind. Besonders die Glyptik bietet reichhaltige Darstellungen. Ideogrammatistisch signalisiert das Sichelschwert auch nach seinem Eindringen in den syrischen Raum unwiderstehliche göttliche Siegesmacht. Wie sich aus den beigelegten Inschriften ergibt, soll in der ägyptischen Ikonographie die Komposition aus dem Gott mit ausgestrecktem Sichelschwert und dem triumphierenden König die Überreichung des Sichelschwertes darstellen. Das Überreichen selbst wird ebenfalls ikonographisch gestaltet. Gegenüber der ideogrammatistischen Verwendung in der babylonischen und syrischen Ikonographie stellt die Überreichung ein ägyptisches Charakteristikum dar. Auch im ägyptischen Bereich symbolisiert das Sichelschwert „gottverliehene Siegesmacht“.

Das Motiv des seine Hand mit dem Sichelschwert ausstreckenden Josua (Jos 8, 26) weist im Zusammenhang mit der Bannung aller Bewohner von Ai offenkundige Beziehungen auf zu der ikonographisch belegten Komposition, die aus dem Motiv des ausgestreckten Sichelschwertes und des Niederschlagens besteht. Bannen heisst im AT konkret: mit dem Schwert niedermetzen. Jos 8, 26 ist zu interpretieren: Josua streckte auf Befehl Jahwes das Sichelschwert gegen Ai aus, bis der Kampf gegen Ai gewonnen war und die Bewohner vernichtet waren. Zwei Skarabäen Thutmosis III (Hall, Royal Scarabs 109, Nr. 1109 und 1110; Keel S. 171) veranschaulichen besonders deutlich das Jos 8, 18-26 zugrunde liegende ägyptische Motiv, das durch die phönizische Kleinkunst im 1. Jhtaus. weite Verbreitung fand.

Exegetisch geht Keel von der Annahme aus, die Überlieferung über die Zerstörung von Ai sei durch Übertragung der Gibeon-Tradition (Ri 19 f.; Hos 9, 9; 10, 9) zustande gekommen, wodurch die Tradition eine probenjaminitische Wendung erhielt (W.M.W. Roth). Die ausgestreckte Waffe deutet den profanen Kampf als Jahwekrieg. Dieses „Sakrament“ scheint jedoch

früh unverständlich geworden oder als anstössig empfunden zu sein. Daher wurde die ausgestreckte Hand als Signal gedeutet. Die ursprüngliche Gibeä-Version kannte das wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen der ausgestreckten Waffe nicht.

Keel äussert auf S. 82-88 die Vermutung, Jos 5, 13-15 könne das Fragment einer Überlieferung sein, die die Beauftragung Josuas zur Eroberung von Ai enthielt. Der Auftrag konnte durch die Überreichung eines Sichelschwertes bekräftigt worden sein. Es handelt sich, wie Keel unterstreicht, um „nichts als eine Vermutung“ (87).

Ex 30, 20-26 ist jedoch ein eindeutiger Beleg des Motivs. Die Wurzeln der hinter diesem Spruch stehenden Vorstellungen sind letztlich in Ägypten zu suchen, wenn auch die vorliegende Form eher als Bestandteil der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Koinè von Siegesriten und -symbolen betrachtet werden muss (88).

Ex 17, 8-13 gilt gewöhnlich als Parallele zu Jos 8, 18.26. Es bestehen jedoch wesentliche Unterschiede. Mose streckt eine Hand mit dem Stab aus, erhebt beide Hände ohne Stab, handelt im Unterschied zu Josua aus eigener Initiative. Keel hält die beiden erhobenen Hände und die Verbindung mit dem Stein (V. 12) für ursprünglich und konzentriert die Interpretation auf dieses Motiv. Es stammt aus Ägypten, wo die Hände mit nach vorn gekehrten Handflächen zu den verbreitetsten Gesten gehören. Sie bedeuten Verehrung, Lobpreis, Bitte, Segen, Schutz und Abwehr. Auch bei Göttern findet sich dieser Gestus. Von Ägypten her drang das Motiv der mit erhobener Hand bzw. erhobenen Händen Schutz verheissenden Göttin in die syrische Ikonographie ein. Der Gestus trägt zugleich apotropäischen Charakter und muss in seiner Doppelbedeutung als Segens- und Abwehrhandlung verstanden werden. Der aus der Zeit Seti's II stammende Skarabäus vom Tell Masos (Aharoni/Kempinski/Fritz, ZDPV 89 (1973) 203 und Taf. 23A; Keel 187) macht es wahrscheinlich, dass nicht nur die erhobenen Hände, sondern auch die Verbindung dieses Gestus mit dem Motiv des Niederschlagens israelitischen Stämmen des 12. Jh. auf ikonographischem Wege, der keine ägyptischen Sprachkenntnisse voraussetzt, zugänglich wurde. Die israelitische Überlieferung hat die ägyptische Komposition aus triumphierendem Pharao und betendem Stifter jedoch fälschlich historisierend gedeutet und in ihrer Funktion missverstanden. Der Stifter beschwört in der ägyptischen Vorlage die bereits gesicherte und gefestigte Siegesmacht für seine Zwecke. Keel nimmt an, die Überlieferung sei zur Zeit Sauls oder Davids ins Nordreich gelangt, wo schon früh der Name Josuas eingefügt wurde.

In der Erzählung 2 Kön 13, 14-19 lässt Elisa den israelitischen König einen aus zwei Vorgängen bestehenden Ritus ausführen: Schiessen und Schlagen. Beide Vorgänge sind magisch-symbolische Siegesriten in der Sed-Fest-Folge Thutmosis III in Karnak. Seth unterstützt den König beim Bogenschiessen, Horus verleiht ihm Kraft, wie er mit dem Stab in die Luft schlägt. Weitere Relief-Fragmente und Darstellungen beleuchten Symbolik und Sinn der Riten näher. Der König übernimmt die Weltherrschaft und macht alle Feinde der rechten Weltordnung unschädlich. Ursprünglich dürfte

das Pfeilschiessen ein Kriegszauber gewesen sein. Keel setzt sich mit den Argumenten gegen eine Einheitlichkeit von 2 Kön 13, 14 ff. auseinander. Er hält V. 18a,b für zusammengehörig mit V. 14-17. Zur Gottesmannbearbeitung seinen nur das „dreimal und er hielt inne“ in V. 18b und V. 19 zu rechnen. Ursprünglich könne nach V. 18a,b ein ähnliches Wort Elisas wie in V. 17b gestanden haben, etwa: „Ein Schlag des Sieges von Jahwe, ein Schlag des Sieges gegen Aram, du wirst Aram schlagen bis zur Vernichtung!“ Die Gottesmannbearbeitung könnte den ursprünglich strengen Parallelismus zwischen den beiden magisch-symbolischen Handlungen und deren Besprechung aufgehoben haben.

Die Übernahme der Riten des Pfeilschiessens und Schlagens aus Ägypten ist auch deshalb wahrscheinlich, weil 2 Kön 13, 14 ff. der einzige entsprechende atl. Beleg ist. Direkte Kontakte Israels mit Ägypten hat es zu allen Zeiten der israelitischen Geschichte gegeben. Da die ägyptischen Belege zeitlich auseinander liegen und durch ihre grosse Verschiedenheit das Fehlen einer festen ikonographischen Tradition für dieses Thema demonstrieren, nimmt Keel an, das Motiv sei nicht auf ikonographischem, sondern auf dem Wege des Berichtens und Erzählens nach Israel gelangt. Kunde von dem in Ägypten regelmässig ausgeführten Ritus könne durch Augenzeugen nach Israel gelangt sein.

Zu 1 Kön 22, 11 zieht Keel auch Darstellungen von Gottheiten heran, die hörnerbewehrte Helme oder Kronen tragen. Im Unterschied zu Mesopotamien ist die kanaanäische Götterkrone bzw. der Götterhelm nur mit einem Hörnerpaar versehen, das den Stierhörnern noch näher steht. Auch der kanaanäische König trägt eine Hörnerkappe (vgl. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* Taf. 22, Nr. 125; Keel S. 192). Diese Kopfbedeckung symbolisiert nicht Macht im allgemeinen, sondern weist auf latente Stierkräfte hin. Theriomorphe Darstellungen z.B. El's, Baals oder des Pharao sprechen in diesem Zusammenhang eine deutliche Sprache. Von Thutmoses III bis Ramses III findet sich in Ägypten die literarische Metapher vom König als Stier. Seit Salmanassar III wird auch in assyrischen Inschriften der kämpfende König mit dem Wildstier verglichen. Vor diesem Hintergrund deutet Keel 1 Kön 22, 11. Das „lō“ sei nicht reflexiv zu verstehen, sondern auf den König von Israel zu beziehen. Wie die Eisensymbolik im AT zeigt (etwa Hi 40, 18; Mi 4, 13; Jer 28, 10.12 ff. usw.), soll das Material der Hörner ihre überlegene Härte demonstrieren.

Ich konnte im Vorstehenden keinen zureichenden Eindruck von der Reichhaltigkeit der ikonographischen Arbeit vermitteln. Keel hat sich auch in diesem Werk als Kenner der altorientalischen Ikonographie ausgewiesen. Die Interpretation geht den symbolischen Gehalten des Materials sorgsam und behutsam nach. Bilder werden als Texte eigener Art ernst genommen und interpretiert. Für den Archäologen und Altorientalisten ist dieses Verfahren eine Selbstverständlichkeit. Der Interpret altorientalischer Texte wird lernen müssen, ikonographische Darstellungen als Texte besonderer Qualität methodisch ebenso differenziert zu bearbeiten wie literarische Texte. Der Textinterpretation wird auf diese Weise ein neuer Quellenbereich erschlossen.

Vielleicht wird sich Keel gelegentlich mit den methodischen Problemen umfassender Auseinandersetzen, die sich bei der Auswertung ikonographischen Materials für Textinterpretationen ergeben. Hier stellen sich ähnliche Fragen wie bei der Auswertung archäologischer Befunde. Die Grundsatzdiskussionen sind bekannt.

Das Buch ist für die atl. Wissenschaft m.E. von Bedeutung. Bei literaturwissenschaftlichen Motiv- und Vorstellungsanalysen wird man künftig umfassender und methodisch exakter als bisher ikonographische Forschungen heranziehen müssen. Das in der alttestamentlichen Forschungs- und Lehrpraxis letztlich eben doch nur als Illustration herangezogene Bildmaterial erhält eine grundsätzlich andere Funktion. Wir haben es eben nicht mit Illustrationen — etwa von Textaussagen — zu tun, sondern mit Aussagen eigener Art, die für wissenschaftliche Textinterpretationen herangezogen werden können, wenn sie ikonographisch hinreichend erschlossen sind. Die Ergebnisse Keels sind im ganzen so weit begründet, dass man an ihnen künftig nicht vorbeigehen kann.

Keel vernachlässigt text-, literar-, traditionskritische Gesichtspunkte im Rahmen der erforderlichen literaturwissenschaftlichen Grundlegungen nicht. In den literaturwissenschaftlichen Abschnitten sind die Akzente allerdings etwas ungleichmässig gesetzt. Die Bemerkungen zu Jos 8, 18 ff. knüpfen an die — durchaus plausible — Hypothese von W. M. W. Roth (ZAW 75 (1963) 296 ff.) an, ohne sie näher im Blick auf das „Ideogramm der ausgestreckten Waffe“ (18 f.) zu diskutieren. Bei der stammespolitisch motivierten Traditionsverschiebung dürfte das Ideogramm eine tragende Rolle kaum gespielt haben. Es scheint als Motiv eher in der literarischen Tradition des deuteronomistischen Kreises aufgegriffen worden zu sein. Die traditionsgeschichtlichen Probleme von Ex 17, 8 ff. kommen etwas zu kurz weg. In diesem Text bilden mehrere Motive, Vorstellungen und Akteure eine recht spannungsvolle Komposition. Das Urteil über die Ursprünglichkeit eines Motivs in dieser literarischen Komposition ist mit Schwierigkeiten belastet.

Ich möchte jedoch nachdrücklich betonen, dass abweichende literar- und traditionskritische Auffassungen die Relevanz der ikonographischen Studien Keels in keiner Weise beeinträchtigen. Ansatzpunkte für die Rezeption ikonographischer Motive boten sich den Israeliten von der Frühzeit bis in die Spätzeit ihrer Geschichte. Zumal die Vermutung einiges für sich hat, dass es eine vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Koinè nicht nur von Siegesriten und -symbolen (S. 88), sondern auch von weiteren Bildsymbolen gegeben hat.

Der dem Alttestamentler nachdrücklich empfohlene Band enthält ein Literaturverzeichnis von 346 Titeln, zwei Anhänge (I: Der König übergibt einer Gottheit Gefangene; II: Das Ausstrecken der Hand), 78 Abbildungen, von denen 42 durch Frau Hildi Keel vorzüglich gezeichnet worden sind, Stellen- und Sachregister. Die Graphiken erhöhen der Wert des Buches wesentlich.

Marburg, März 1976

HERMANN SCHULZ

* *

Hans WILDBERGER, *Jesaja. I. Teilband: Jesaja 1-12*. Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1972 (8vo, VIII + 495 pp.) = Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, Band X/1. Price: cloth DM 78.—; subscription price: DM 70.—.

This is the first modern extensive commentary published in German in decades. Considering the scope of the project with the vast and constantly increasing amount of secondary literature on the book of Isaiah, even almost 500 compact pages of interpretation written for twelve chapters of the most significant eighth century prophet are not at all successive. The hiatus of the commentary on Isa 1-39 (K. Elliger writes on Isa 40-66 in the same series) between chs. 12 and 13 is justified. A new section begins with ch. 13.

This commentary follows the well-established pattern of the BKAT series. The biblical text is divided on form-critical grounds into literary units (the shortest of which have one vs. [11: 1; 3: 12] and the longest in these twelve chapters has twenty-one vss. [5: 8-24; 10: 1-4]). Each successive unit is then treated usually in biblical order (except the units of 5: 8-24; 10: 1-4 and 9: 7-20; 5: 25-30) under six rubrics: (1) *Literatur* (bibliography), (2) *Text* (translation and text critical notes), (3) *Form* (literary *Gattung* and metrical pattern), (4) *Ort* (date, place, *Sitz im Leben*, authenticity), (5) *Wort* (a verse-by-verse, at times word-by-word, comprehensive examination of what the text meant to its original hearers/readers), and (6) *Ziel* (the goal or purpose of the original writer and the message's link to the NT where applicable). Contrary to other commentaries in the BKAT series, this one contains no designated „Exkurse“ on specialized problems as they are known to us from other volumes in BKAT. The entire volume is enriched by an index of biblical references, a name and subject index, and an index of Hebrew words, the latter providing ready access to the frequent word-studies of Hebrew key terms. One may suggest that future printings and the anticipated forthcoming volume(s) containing Isa 13-39 will also contain an index of modern authors. This would greatly enhance the overall usefulness of this commentary and, if adopted for the entire BKAT series, each of its volumes.

Is it too early, after a commentary of 500 pages and seven years of diligent work (the first fascicle was published in 1965), to provide a succinct treatment of the theology of Isaiah of Jerusalem? It is a regrettable shortcoming that this tome lacks just such a theological overview. It may be hoped that this will be included in the forthcoming volume(s). One may also expect that a detailed introduction („Einleitung“) will appear with the last *Teilband*.

The rubric *Literatur* (bibliography) provides rich entries of secondary scholarly literature. On the whole this is adequate, even if more emphasis is placed on materials in the German language as compared to Anglo-American ¹⁾ and French literature ²⁾. However,

¹⁾ Among the studies not included are: B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (SBT, II/3; London, 1967); N. K. Gottwald, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth* (New York, 1964); J. M. Ward, *Amos and Isaiah* (Nashville, 1969); E. J.

it happens not altogether rarely that important items in German are left out³). In only two instances some additional literature, which appeared after the manuscript had been finished and before the proofs were read, has been listed, apparently in order to indicate that it was not purposefully neglected (pp. 261, 300). Careful checking in the commentary reveals that around two to three years elapsed before each fascicle appeared in printed form once it was written. This means that virtually no literature published after 1969 received attention for the last fascicle and none published after 1964 for the first. This leads to the desirability to include a supplementary bibliography with each *Teilband*, if each volume is not already to be "dated" at the time it is bound in final form.

The translation seeks natural equivalency between Hebrew and German without loosing formal correspondence. On the whole it would seem to be fair to classify Wildberger's translation method as formal in contrast to the dynamic translation method employed in a great variety of modern versions. The author deserves special praise for his success to keep verbal consistency without the loss of contextual consistency.

On the whole this commentary follows the recent trend of great restraint in matters of textual criticism. Usually the discussion under the rubric *Text* is comprehensive and fairly conservative. The author shows great respect for the MT and only departs from it when no other recourse seems to be left. He refers extensively to proposals and emendations of other scholars, weighs them carefully and only occasionally adopts an alteration. He defends the existence of additions or glosses, bracketing them in his translation. Glosses are assumed for metrical reasons for single words or short phrases (see 1:4; 1:7; 1:21-22; 2:13; 3:7; etc.), even though at times the meter is incomplete without what Wildberger considers a gloss (1:11), or for stating what is assumed or implied (1:21-22; etc.) or claimed to be the result of alleged reinterpretations (1:27-28; 3:15c; etc.), and so on. Of special interest is the widely debated passage of Isa 6:13. Contrary to the fairly cautious approach of Wildberger, he not only brackets the words, "Holy seed are the shoots on it", but he treats them as a gloss to a gloss. The inaugural vision of Isaiah comes to an end already in vs. 11. Although only two Greek manuscripts have omitted these words, Wildberger acknowledges that this is no reason whatsoever to consider it a late gloss. The fact that 1QIs^a contains these words — they are also reflected in Aquila, Theodotion, and Origen with an asterisk — and that the omission in the Greek MSS is to be explained as a homoioteleuton (with Budde, Engnell, etc.), indicates that there is no cause to excise them on text-critical grounds. There is also no need to follow the

fanciful interpretations of Hvidberg, Iwry, Albright, Brownlee, G. R. Rirver, and J. Sawyer which are based on two variants in 1QIs^a and new emendations of a radical sort. There are ample textual⁴), stylistic, form-critical, and theological reasons⁵) for considering Isa 6:11-13, including vs. 13c, as a genuine Isaianic saying. This is also the majority opinion of commentators. Even Wildberger has to admit that all of Isa 6 is "a kerygmatic unit" which "arrives at its goal with vs. 13, the conclusion of which provides a short but highly meaningful view toward coming salvation" (p. 234). On what objective grounds are 6:12-13 to be denied to Isaiah of Jerusalem?

The rubric *Form* attempts to describe the variety of form critical *Gattungen* in the respective sections of Isa 1-12⁶). This is often followed by discussions concerning literary unity of the individual pericopes. Wildberger distinguishes a great many genres: "covenant lawsuit" or "rib-pattern" (1:2-3), trial speech (3:13-15), woe-oracles (1:4-9; 7:5:8-24; 10:1-4; 9:7-20; 5:25-30; 10:5-15)⁸), priestly torah (1:10-17), judgment speech (1:18-20), invective (1:21-28), threats (2:12-17; 2:19; 3:16-24; 8:5-8; 10:16-19), oracles of salvation (2:1-5; 7:4-9; 11:11-16), prophecy of disaster (3:1-11), lamentations (2:6; 3:12), prophetic confession (8:16-20), hymns of thanksgiving (8:23b-9:6; 12:1-6), etc. It is interesting that 5:1-7 is simply called "Weinberglied"⁹), that 6:1-13 is simply designated "Selbstbiographie" and not "call narrative"¹⁰), that 10:27b-34 is a "Schilderung eines Überraschungsangriffes", and the famous messianic pericope of 11:1-10 is called "Ankündigung eines zukünftigen Herrschers". Wildberger's discussions clearly reveal that form critical analysis of prophetic materials is far from complete and has led to contradictory results. Often there is a mixture of elements of forms so that the identification of major types is made very difficult if not impossible. This makes us again aware that the primary concern of the exegete is to discover the manner in which the prophet used a form and the way in which the prophet articulates his message. There seem to be

⁴) Worschech, "The Problem of Is 6:13", *AUSS* 12 (1974), 126-138.

⁵) See the detailed analysis by G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant. The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* ("Andrews University Monographs, V"; Berrien Springs, Mich., 1974²), pp. 226-250, 474f.

⁶) W. Eugene March, "Prophecy", in *Old Testament Form Criticism*, ed. by John H. Hayes (San Antonio, Texas, 1974), pp. 141-177, discusses form critical research in the prophets and indicates the unsettled nature of form critical analysis of the OT prophets.

⁷) Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, pp. 20-22, makes a strong case for considering 1:4-9 as an "invective-threat" (Scheltrede-Drohwort). On the whole issue of the woe-oracle, see W. Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle* (BZAW, 125; 1972).

⁸) The question of wisdom influence in Isaiah, which is claimed to be linked to the woe-oracle (so J. Fichtner, *TLZ* 74 [1949], 75-80; E. Gerstenberger, *JBL* 81 [1962], 249-263; H. W. Wolff, *Amos' Geistige Heimat* [WMANT, 18; 1964]), is treated in detail by J. W. Whedbee, *Isaiah and Wisdom* (Nashville, 1971).

⁹) W. Schottroff, *ZAW* 82 (1970), 68-91, suggests that the song of the vineyard is a "fable" instead of a "love song".

¹⁰) N. Habel's form critical essay on the call narratives (*ZAW* 77 [1965], 297-323) is listed in the bibliography but no consideration is given to his suggestion of the *Gattung*.

numerous examples where the prophet combines forms or altered them in a dramatic manner in order to elucidate the particular emphasis of his message.

Matters of date, place, life setting, and authenticity are the subjects discussed under the rubric *Ort*. There is some restraint in assigning passages to the later school of Isaiah. Such disputed pericopes as Isa 2:2-5; 11:1-10, "a pearl of Hebrew poetry" (p. 441), are quite correctly assigned to Isaiah of Jerusalem. Of 252 verses in Isa 1-12 Fohrer (1966²) denies 70 vss. to Isaiah, Kaiser (1963²) 56 vss., but Wildberger only 50 vss. This trend toward greater authenticity reveals the vast distance of this commentary to the one on the book of Amos by H. W. Wolff (1967-1969) in the same series. It reveals also the change that has taken place and is still going on in matters of literary criticism. What one scholar regards as early (and genuine), another scholar of equal erudition considers as late (and secondary). Scholars opting for the gradual growth of the book of Isaiah differ so strongly in their conclusions that no scholarly consensus can be found. In this situation, the validity of the criteria for considering a pericope late or early and the objectivity of the methods must be questioned. Even Wildberger argues at times on the basis of vocabulary for the genuineness of a passage (pp. 79f., 369f., 442f.) while at other times the reader is informed that the glossator employs "Isaianic expressions of 'idols'" (p. 113). He speaks of "silver and gold" because Isaiah does (p. 113). In Isa 7:23-25 the glossators add a word of judgment not as they usually do a word of salvation, but take up the vocabulary of the genuine song of the vineyard (p. 310). Whole expressions of typically Isaianic origin are borrowed and used the way Isaiah does (pp. 413f.). Some short glosses reflect the content of Isaiah's thought (p. 119). Isaiah uses the accumulation of terms as a rhetorical device (1:10-17; 3:1-11) but so does the glossator (p. 137). If the language, style, and thought content of the glossator(s) "is at home in the Isaianic tradition" (p. 419), then one wonders on methodological grounds why these criteria are at times considered decisive for defending Isaianic authorship and at other times not strong enough to do so. In view of the present status of research one wonders more and more what objective basis can be provided to decide what is Isaianic language, style, and thought content and what is not without moving in a vicious circle? The subjective application of ideological, historical, and linguistic criteria are too often applied according to a priori views of the scholars concerned. Once again we are stimulated to critical reflections on the purposes and adequacies of current methods of biblical exegesis and urged to continue rigorously in the continuing quest for objectivity¹¹).

The real depth of the commentary comes fully to expression in the section of *Wort*. It is a treasure house of valuable word studies. At times a report on the status of research is included (so on 7:14, pp. 289-291). Whenever a significant new word or expression appears in a given pericope such as "the Holy One of Israel" (pp.

23-25), "LORD of hosts" (pp. 28f.), "sacrifices" and "burnt offering" (pp. 39-41), "hate" (pp. 44f.), etc., it becomes the subject of an essay which gives the impression of a condensed entry in a Bible dictionary. Usually the frequency of the terms, expressions, or phrases both in Isa and the rest of the Bible are cited and themes to which they belong are discussed in both biblical and extrabiblical literature. Relevant scholarly literature is most often referred to. One need neither conclude, however, that Wildberger's interpretation is necessarily the only possible choice nor that it is invariably the correct one nor that it provides a cohesive picture of Isaiah's message. A review can in no way do justice to the importance of many Wildberger's observations and suggestions. It will, therefore, have to suffice that we pick out certain aspects that reveal special trends.

The subject of Isaiah's message of doom and salvation leaves quite an ambivalence in Wildberger's interpretation. The coming doom is the work of "the Holy One of Israel" (p. 192). Yahweh carries this title, according to Wildberger, "insofar as he turns to Israel, guides and protects her" (p. 24). "The Holy One of Israel is the covenant God who is conceived of the merciful, educating Father" (p. 24). The *yôm YHWH* is, on the other hand, a "day of vengeance" in which "God takes revenge on the enemies of Yahweh, namely the Jerusalemites" (p. 65). If this is the case, how can Yahweh be "a mighty fortress in times, when otherwise all walls break apart and all towers fall down" (p. 112)? How can he show himself as a "merciful, educating Father" when "Israel shall fall on 'them', i.e. 'a stone of offense' and 'a rock of stumbling', namely they shall fall (and be broken) on their God" (p. 340 on 8:14)? The debated continuation in 8:17 is interpreted to mean that "the prophet remains himself hopeful, i.e. paradoxically enough — he puts his hope ... on the deus absconditus ..." (p. 347). In contrast to B. Duhm and recent exegetes¹²) Wildberger does not understand Isaiah's message to indicate that hope is real for Isaiah but in vain for the nation as such. He summarizes that even despite the announcement that Israel is broken on the rock of stumbling and the stone of offense "the last goal of his [God's] ways with Israel is despite all of this salvation" (p. 353). While some interpreters answer "the urgent question whether or not there remains for God's people a future after they have failed" (p. 174) with a decided No, Wildberger thinks the prophet remains silent regarding the meaning of the Assyrian menace for the final existence of Israel (p. 229). But Wildberger's interpretation leaves nevertheless the impression that the question whether or not Israel has a future existence after their failure has to be answered with a Yes (pp. 260, 353). "As the Holy One he has to bring his people also into judgment. The goal of history of which Yahweh

Young, *The Book of Isaiah* "The New International Commentary on the OT" (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965-1970), 3 vols.

²) P. Auvray, *Isaie 1-39* (Paris, 1972) appeared too late for consideration.

³) On Isa 1:4-9 H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* [Leiden, 1964], pp. 119-121, and generally J. Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos, Hosea und Jesaja* (BZAW, 119; Berlin, 1971); R. Kilian, *Die Verheissung Immanuel's*. Jes. 7,14 (Stuttgart, 1968).

¹²) Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke*, pp. 159, 191; G. Sauer, "Die Umkehrvorderung in der Verkündigung Jesajas", *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrad* (Zürich, 1970), pp. 277-295; R. Kilian, "Prolegomena zur Auslegung der Immanuelverheissung", *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Zeigler* (Würzburg, 1972), II, 207-215; H. J. Hermisson, "Zukunftserwartung und Gegenwartskritik in der Verkündigung Jesajas", *EvTh* 33 (1973), 54-77; O. H. Steck, "Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 6", *BZ* 16 (1972), 188-206.

¹¹) See H. Ringgren, *TLZ* 91 [1961], 641; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon* [Lund, 1970], pp. 54-63.

is Lord can only be the realization of divine rulership. In the ultimate sense this manifestation of God's holiness means nevertheless salvation" (p. 260). This seems to mean ultimately that all divine visitations and judgments of Israel are but cleansing judgments and that Isaiah never expected an end of God's ways with Israel. His threats of total destruction (5: 1-7) were not meant to be taken to imply that such total destruction could become a historical reality.

The distance of this commentary from those who deny the idea of repentance¹³) in the book of Isaiah is vast. Isa 1: 17 does not employ the terminology of repentance but "he does not call to repentance is merely a matter of expression" (p. 47). Whereas the idea of repentance in 1: 27f. belongs to the glossator, the first explicit exhortation to repentance comes in 1: 10-17. "Through repentance it is possible to divert the divine wrath lingering over Israel" (p. 217). Repentance means "to seek Yahweh" (9: 12), which does not mean "to inquire" but "to ask for" (p. 218). Yahweh provokes his people to repentance through his action in the history of Israel. "But the history of Israel before her God is seen as a history of the hardening of the heart" (p. 227). Already the call narrative (Isa 6) aims toward the hardening of the heart of Israel "until cities lie waste without inhabitant, and houses without men" (vs. 11). In his call to harden the heart of Israel "Isaiah has to prevent that they repent and find healing" (p. 256). Still he hopes for repentance (30: 15), "even though he knows that this repentance time and again does not become a reality" (p. 256). But if "the way to salvation is time and again no real possibility", how can "the result of the activity of the prophet remain then fundamentally open" (p. 256)? Does not Wildberger's exegesis produce here a problematical polarity of apparently opposite ideas? Is there no significance in the expression "this people" of 6: 9 (cf. 8: 6, 11; 29: 13, 14; etc.) as compared to that of "my people" (1: 3; etc.) if the latter "expresses both right of rulership and fatherly sympathy" (p. 15)?

The name of Isaiah's oldest son Shear-jashub, mentioned in Isa 7: 3, is "A Remnant Shall Return"¹⁴), and Wildberger correctly points out that on the basis of the context of 7: 2-17, this name expresses the dual aspect of judgment and hope. "It [the name] warns and exhorts. Isaiah does not deny that there is salvation Only a remnant will return in all the catastrophes that come over Israel, namely those that turn in faith to Yahweh" (p. 278). Wildberger's assessment of the remnant theme in Isaiah does not follow the extreme positions of G. Fohrer, U. Stegemann, and G. Sauer who deny any positive remnant idea to Isaiah of Jerusalem. Wildberger considers Isa 4: 2-3; 6: 13; 10: 20-22; 11: 11-16; and 28: 5 as secondary additions. Despite the denial of these passages, he claims that "the remnant idea ... fits smoothly into Isaiah's announcements of judgment" (p. 65, cf. p. 295). If the call narrative of Isa 6 reflects the dual experience of lostness and forgiveness on the part

of the prophet, it is surprising that Wildberger overlooks the dual experience aspect of the nation in 6: 11-13 by limiting the genuine words to 6: 1-11. It has been demonstrated on the basis of stylistic analysis poetic parallelism, and matters of content¹⁵) that vss. 12-13 belong to the original chapter and contain genuine Isaianic thoughts. Wildberger explicates that 6: 11 contains "the point of the culmination of judgment by which the change to salvation is executed" (p. 257). On this basis it seems but natural that vss. 12-13 should contain Isaiah's picture of that future salvation! If this is correct then Isaiah can speak in 6: 13 of a "holy remnant". Can he not do so again in 4: 2-3? Regarding 10: 20-22 Wildberger himself points out that "they move noticeably close along the Isaianic line" (p. 415) and admits that it contains Isaianic vocabulary. The early date and authenticity of 11: 10-16 has been indicated recently by S. Erlands-son¹⁶). Accordingly its remnant idea can be considered to be Isaianic. In terms of Isaiah's remnant theology, and the remainder of his thought, literary critical decisions are by no means insignificant because they influence necessarily the total understanding of the prophet's message and theology. Wildberger's trend to argue for a larger body of genuine words of Isaiah is quite to the point. But his inhibition to follow through on his own observations keep his interpretation of Isaiah's message and theology distinctively shortened.

Despite distinct shortcomings Wildberger's commentary on Isa 1-12 as presented in this *Teilband* is a work of such importance that it must be carefully studied by each serious student of Isaiah. It is a rich and significant contribution to the BKAT series.

Andrews University,
September 1975

GERHARD F. HASEL

* *

Ekkehard MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, Band I. Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1975 (8vo, XXXIII + 375 pp.) = *Patristische Texte und Studien*, Band 15. DM 118.—.

In the work under review, Mühlenberg has edited Psalms commentaries by two renowned 4th century Greek fathers, namely Apollinaris the Younger of Laodicea (c. 310 - c. 390) and Didymus the Blind of Alexandria (c. 313 - 398), the latter being a mentor of such a towering figure as Jerome. This first volume contains the entire Psalms commentary by Apollinaris and that by Didymus covering the first fifty psalms, whilst the remainder, together with Indexes, is promised publication in Vol. 2 to be followed by Vol. 3, which we are told will present the editor's studies on the Psalms catenae and in which the classification of the catena types and the selection of sources for the first two text volumes will be considered.

Publication of any decent, scholarly, critical edition

¹⁵) Ward, *Amos and Isaiah*, pp. 158-160.

¹⁶) "Jesaja 11, 10-16 och dess historiska bakgrund", *Svensk exegetisk Arsbok* 36 (1971), 24-44.

of patristic works, that Mühlenberg's edition unquestionably is, is an extremely welcome event. This is especially true in our case, because the earlier edition of Didymus by Mai, later reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* 39, is notoriously unreliable and also because Mühlenberg's represents the *editio princeps* of all extant fragments of Apollinaris' Ps. commentary. It is also a fact that a considerable part of patristic exegetical works has been preserved only in the form of catena, which so far has received unduly negligible attention. Furthermore, works of authors holding unorthodox views such as our Apollinaris have to a large extent come down to us in catenae whose compilers remained largely indifferent to purely dogmatic controversies.

In fairly extensive Introduction, which according to the editor however does not claim to be a definitive "Praefatio" — more substantial discussions of general nature are retained for the concluding volume — Mühlenberg provides a necessary description of the manuscript evidence and also goes into rather complicated questions of internal relationships between different catena types. On this last point he naturally accords due weight to, and builds on, the pioneering researches in the field conducted by H. Lietzmann, R. Devereese and M. Richard.

Since a catena, by definition, incorporates commentaries by more than one author, one who sets about establishing a continuous text of a commentator on the basis of such a source is likely to encounter special kinds of difficulty as to whether a given ascription in his manuscript of an excerpt of a commentary to this or that author is to be accepted or not, or what he is to do with cases of conflicting ascription among the manuscripts or cases of missing ascription. It is principally in these matters that the editor disagrees with the leading authority in the field, Devereese, and points of their disagreement are fully listed.

The exegetical approach adopted by the two commentators is, as one might have expected, basically theological. Thus Didymus [396], commenting on Ps. xxxviii 8 b καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρὰ σοῦ ἐστίν, chooses to ignore the firmly established Hellenistic usage of ὑπόστασις "confidence, conviction, assurance, steadfastness" (W. Bauer), and writes καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποστάσεως λέγεται, καὶ αὐτὴ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐστίν ὡς ἐκ δημιουργοῦ. Interestingly, on the other hand, Apollinaris understood the word correctly: οὐ δὲ ἐν ἐκφυτῶ, φησὶν, ἔχω τι προσδοκίας ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σοὶ καὶ τὰ σὰ προσδοκῶν ἀναμένω κ.τ.λ. Possibly he consulted the Hebrew *tôhalti*.

Whilst Mühlenberg does not substantiate his claim (p. XXXIII) that Apollinaris is apparently one of those few that utilised Origen's Hexapla, it is striking that his text [144] on Ps. lxxxvii 6 reads ὡς οἱ ἀνηρημένοι instead of LXX ὥσει τραυματίαι (Heb. *kāmō hālālīm*), for Field records that Nobilius preserves Aquila's rendering

Septuagint scholars will note with interest that some of the striking Christian interpolations were known to Didymus: [385] Ps. xxxvii 21 c καὶ ἀπέρριψάν με τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ὥσει νεκρὸν ἐβδελυγμένον and [541] Ps. 19

ἀπὸ [ὕπὸ in Didymus] τοῦ αἵματος. For a discussion, cf. A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum odis* (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 31 f.

Further, Didymus [393-4] on Ps. xxxviii 6 knew of the existence of the two conflicting readings παλαιστὰς and παλαιάς, on which Rahlfs notes: "ambas lectiones novit Ambr(osius)".

These are but of a host of details that cannot fail to interest serious students of the Greek text of Psalms.

The edition includes two apparatuses, one of scriptural references and the other of a selection of variant readings. The latter, by the way, makes no reference to the Taura papyri, which contains, inter alia, a Psalms commentary allegedly from the pen of Didymus, and have recently been published by Gronewald and others. Nor does the editor discuss in this volume any possible relationship between the two markedly divergent versions. A cursory comparison seems to suggest that the Taura version is a secondary expansion of the version published here.

Manchester, April 1976

T. MURAOKA

* *

Adrian SCHENKER, O.P., *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke. Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62*. Schweiz, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975 (8vo, xxvii and 446 pp.) = *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 8.

The work under review is, according to the preface, an abbreviated version of a dissertation and Habilitationsschrift completed under the supervision of D. Barthélemy and submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Freiburg i. Ü. in 1972. Its primary aim is to edit hitherto unpublished fragments of Psalms Hexapla as preserved in a Vatican manuscript 752 (1173 according to Rahlfs' classification, dating from the end of the 11th century) and an Oxford manuscript Canonicianus graecus 62 (Rahlfs' 1122, dated to ca. 13th century). The existence of Hexaplaric fragments in the former was known to Cardinal I. Mercati, the reputed author of *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae* etc. (Rome, 1958), in which he published fragments preserved in the well-known Ambrosian Codex of Milan, and upon his death Mercati had actually made a preliminary investigation of the fragments here published by Schenker. The latter Oxonian manuscript mysteriously escaped F. Field's notice. Both manuscripts belong to the literary genre called catena.

Schenker's book consists of three main parts. Part I opens with a succinct introduction dealing with general questions such as the Hexaplaric tradition, its nature and history of past studies on the tradition, followed by a penetrating scrutiny of the catena (grouped as xxii by Karo and Lietzmann) itself. Some of the more important conclusions reached by the author are that MS 1122 was copied from MS 1173 up to the place relating to Ps. ciii 9 and that the author of 1173 was himself a catenist. Of no less importance is the identification by

¹³) Recently U. Stegemann, "Der Restgedanke bei Isaias", *BZ* 13 (1969), 161-186; Sauer, "Umkehrforderung", pp. 277ff.

¹⁴) See especially G. F. Hasel, "Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's Shear-jashub", *AUSS* 9 (1971), 36-46.

Schenker of a variety of sources from which the catenist culled his materials. These sources are conveniently tabulated on pp. 33f.

Chapter 3 of Part I investigates the relationship between the Hexaplaric readings and 126 nearly always anonymous catena elements as represented in the section relating to Ps. lxxvii 30, 36 — lxxxii 16 in our catena. The examination leads Schenker to conclude, inter alia, that these two components of the catena must have been found fused into a single literary work in the compiler's source itself. It is further emphasised that Hexaplaric readings are attested in Psalms with the greatest certainty and richness. Hence the utmost importance of the present publication.

The concluding chapter of Part I describes briefly what contributions the Hexaplaric fragments published here can make to our better understanding of translation techniques of the later Greek translators of the Old Testament in general and the Hexapla in particular. The chapter includes a summary discussion of some grammatical aspects as reflected in our Hexaplaric fragments with special reference to the recent researches into the transmission history of the Greek Old Testament, especially those conducted by the author's supervisor.

In Part II (pp. 59-106) Schenker edits in their entirety the Hexaplaric readings as preserved in the two above-mentioned manuscripts. The readings are preserved for Ps. lxxvii 30, 36 — lxxxii 16, and thus do not overlap with those published earlier by Mercati. This is unfortunate in that it prevents a comparison of the Hexaplaric materials of the same book transmitted in two different sources. On the other hand, the very same circumstance helps to enrich our knowledge of the Hexaplaric tradition by enlarging the scope of Hexaplaric vocabulary and adding further insight into Hexaplaric modes of translation. Schenker's edition is executed with admirable skill.

Part III (pp. 107-354), which is substantial in quality and quantity alike, is an extensive textual and philological commentary on the Hexaplaric readings published in Part II. Here the author is concerned with (1) establishment of a critical text, problems arising, inter alia, from occasional difficulty in deciphering abbreviations employed in the MSS as well as from conflicting readings in the two catena MSS, (2) the question of attribution of readings to one of the translators or revisers, some readings being left unattributed or wrongly attributed, (3) characterisation of the method of work adopted by each of the translators or revisers, and (4) comparison of their work within this corpus and that elsewhere in the LXX. Whilst by the very nature of the work involved the reviewer, or any other student of the LXX for that matter, might on not a few occasions be inclined to take exception to the author's views on, and solutions of, particular questions, the commentary as a whole represents a truly solid work of scholarship of the highest order, marshalling a great mass of relevant data. One aspect of the author's methodology that deserves special attention is that, unlike Field, who relied heavily on printed editions, Schenker studied the materials at their source, namely in manuscripts.

The book concludes with four highly useful indices of Hebrew words, Greek words, biblical passages, and subjects and authors.

Here is a work to which any serious student of the LXX in general and the Greek text of Psalms in particular will be obliged to make constant reference. Considering the plethora of Greek and Hebrew words printed in their original characters — Syriac words are transcribed in the Hebrew characters — the number of misprints is minimal. One will be eagerly looking forward to a future publication by the author of another Vatican manuscript (Ottobonianus graecus 398) containing Hexaplaric readings for Ps. xxiv - xxxii.

Manchester, March 1976

T. MURAOKA

* *

Arvid S. KAPELRUD, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah, Morphology and Ideas*. Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø, Universitetsforlaget, 1975 (8vo, pp. 120). Price: Nkr. 42.— (= US\$ 9.00).

This is a competent and original analysis of the Old Testament book, Zephaniah, but it can hardly be described as brilliant or memorable. It is not designed as a commentary; Professor Kapelrud makes no effort to account, verse by verse, for the textual variants and linguistic problems within the book. Nor does he endeavor to deal with historical problems; on a page or two (41f.) he identifies the time of composition, but without so much as mentioning — here or elsewhere — the central and crucial problem of this book, viz., the Scythian invasion of Egypt ca. 626 B.C., mentioned by Herodotus.

As the subtitle suggests, much is made of what Kapelrud calls "morphology". This in turn provides the clue to the book's major "ideas", which are, in essence, (1) that "the day of Yahweh" is an imminent day when Yahweh decrees the fates, and (2) that a faithful remnant will escape the doom of the nation.

Kapelrud has been strongly influenced by Martin J. Buss's book, *The Prophetic Word of Hosea, a Morphological Study* (BZAW, 111; Berlin, 1969), to which reference is made again and again. Kapelrud is interested less in genre analysis and the identification of specific life-settings for the individual pericopes in Zephaniah than in the analysis of formulaic peculiarities. Unfortunately, he never succeeds in offering the reader a clear notion of what each passage is attempting to say in terms of its total structure. While, for instance, he makes much of the fact that the book's doom-oracles regularly use a third-person formulation, reserving second-person address for exhortations, instructions, and promises (p. 52), his recurrent discussion of 3: 11-20 offers no hint of any stirring historical event stimulating the prophet to proclaim these hymnic words of hope. Kapelrud is content to point out obvious formal affinities with the "enthronement psalms" (Ps. 97, etc.), as though to account for the sources of a writer's imagery could completely explain so abrupt a change to a previously unused form. A psychologizing interpretation is offered (p. 90), to the effect that the prophet would have felt that his previous stern preaching would have been too shocking without some counterbalancing promise of blessing

for the remnant. This interpretation has strong affinities with the prophet-criticism of classical liberalism, identifying literary change in terms of the writer's own self-consciousness, not in those of the hearers' theological situation or political-social circumstances.

This same psychologizing interpretation dominates Kapelrud's explanation for the redactor's (rightly identified as early, pp. 17-19) use of formulae with *yôm*, "day", in 1: 8, 9, 10, 12. Supposing that the formulae in question are "eschatological", i.e., pointing to the distant future, Kapelrud explains that a disciple added them to prevent the officials addressed in vs. 8 from being angry at Zephaniah's denunciation. But is it not preposterous to think that the prophet who dared speak this denunciation in the first instance would have allowed his disciple to tamper with its meaning; or, if the presumed disciple were living after the prophet's death, to suppose that later officials would not know that the denunciation pertained not to them but to their predecessors?

Kapelrud supposes that there is virtue in insisting on the strict etymological meaning of the word "eschatology/-ical". "It does not seem right to empty the term of its original sense", says he (p. 102), hence we may not use it of events that are imminent, but only of those that are far off, at the very end of time. Most scholars are not so scrupulous, and use it for proximate as well as remote futuristic images. Our criticism of Kapelrud is directed not toward his rather artificial stance on this semantic question, but toward his ungrounded identification of the just-mentioned "day" formulae as "eschatological" in his definition of the word. How completely unwarranted this is, can only be made clear in the context of the present reviewer's exhaustive study of "day" formulae in his recently published book, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975; London, S.P.C.K., 1975), to which the reader's attention is invited.

It is from the viewpoint of the just-mentioned work that this reviewer likewise criticizes Kapelrud's identification of the crucial term, "the day of Yahweh". Our interpretation is that it designates any and every "day" of Yahweh's decisive interaction with responsible man in historical event (see *op. cit.*, pp. 340ff.). This is poles removed from Kapelrud's concept: "The fate could be doom, it could be restitution, it could be both. This was all in the hand of Yahweh, the Lord of his Day, the Lord of Fate. In the life of Israel-Judah he had changed the fate so often. He could do it again. He would do it. This was Zephaniah's firm belief" (102).

In judging the validity of Kapelrud's interpretation, the reader will carefully observe the methodology on which it is based. Suffice it to say that merely calling attention to Marduk's "tablets of fate", used each new year's day in Esagila (p. 84), hardly demonstrates the existence of a valid Babylonian parallel. One must take into account the Babylonian concept of history, in which the character of each "time" is absolutely predetermined. This is quite different from the formative concept of prophetic preaching, which challenges man to respond to God again and again, because time is *not* predetermined but is being creatively shaped in ongoing divine-human interaction. Even Kapelrud, who suggests in the fore-

going citation that Israel's "fate" could be changed, seems to understand in spite of himself that this is the true character of biblical religion. He simply does not realize what is actually implied in his effort to identify the "day of Yahweh" with the conceptual framework of Babylonian myth.

Delaware, Ohio, February 1976 SIMON J. DE VRIES

* *

R. J. GOGGINS, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, London - New York - Melbourne - Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XII + 150 pag.) = The Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible. Price: £ 2.25 Paperback, £ 4.50 Hardcover.

The "General Editors' Preface" indicates that: "the aim of this series is to provide the text of the New English Bible closely linked to a commentary in which the results of modern scholarship are made available to the general reader". In this Old Testament series the translators' footnotes of the N.E.B. have also been incorporated. Besides a translation, footnotes and brief commentary, each volume also has a short general introduction, which in this particular volume numbers eight pages.

The editors of this series are qualified scholars as this volume shows again. The author of this volume is well versed in the different problems with which the book of Ezra — Nehemiah confronts us. In spite of his limited space he often sees occasion to mention diverse opinions or proposed solutions with — albeit concise — argumentation. He then chooses modestly and without pretension for the "least unsatisfactory", "most probable", etc. or else admits to having no solution to a given problem.

It is meaningless to go into great detail with regard to the specific problems where the author himself has not had the room or space to discuss these questions in great detail or to forward the pros and cons of different views. Nevertheless the book deserves, because of its quality, that we take a closer look at the opinions of the author and add a few footnotes here and there.

Coggins regards it as most probable that Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah originally formed one work (p. 1-3). This was until recently a generally accepted opinion, which has in recent times however been disputed (by Miss S. Japhet et al.) and is also not as well-founded as has long been thought. Although there are certainly many similarities between the theology of Chronicles on the one hand and that of Ezra — Nehemiah on the other, there are in my opinion also some very striking differences. Especially with respect to the meaning which is ascribed to the house of David, and with respect to the historiography there is a distinct difference. Witness the significance in Chronicles of the miraculous intervention of God! In Ezra - Nehemiah there are no "miracles", the "hand of God" is rather behind the deeds of men, esp. behind the deeds of the Persian kings. One can hardly ascribe this to the sources with were used: Ezra 3 for example is regarded by many as written by

the Chronicler himself; it does not mention that Zerubabel was a Davidide.

The author, in my opinion, rightly thinks that 1 Ezra is "almost certainly dependent upon the canonical books".

Similarly, he rightly rejects the view of many scholars "that the Nehemiah tradition existed separately for a considerable time, and that the Chronicler's work should not be regarded as including the Nehemiah material in its 'first edition'" (p. 4-5).

That the first person material in Nehemiah does not originate with Nehemiah himself is not impossible in my opinion, but I find the author's (as well as other scholars) comparison of this material with the prophetic books more dubious, for example: with respect to the prophet's call (p. 69). Apart from certain similarities here, there are also striking differences.

Coggins regards 445 BC as the most likely date that Nehemiah, and 398 BC that Ezra came to Jerusalem, but he would not exclude as impossible the view which some have held since the discovery of the Delaiah papyri, that the Sanballat of Nehemiah is in fact not the Sanballat of the Elephantine papyri, but a later governor bearing the same name (p. 7f). Nor would he exclude as impossible a date of 458 for Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem. This last opinion, which I (the author of this book review) have defended in the past, I would still regard as possible. A later date than 445 for the arrival of Nehemiah I regard it as unlikely. Coggins forwards two weighty arguments against this. A late dating for Nehemiah would imply that the high priest Johanan of Nehemiah is not the Johanan named in the Elephantine papyri (the combination: Sanballat-Johanan, is admittedly very striking), cf. Coggins p. 63ff. An identification of the Eliashib of Neh. 3:1 with the one of Neh. 12:10 is then excluded (p. 81), while this is a rather obvious identification.

In Neh. 8:8 the author takes no stand on the meaning of *mprš*, which the N.E.B. translates as: "clearly". Coggins mentions the old Rabbinical view, which H. H. Schaefer revived, that the term would mean: "in translation" (in Aramaic), but which F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (Die Aramäische Sprache unter den Achameniden I, Frankfurt am Main, 1963, p. 4 ff.) have however shown to be untenable. They accept again the old interpretation, namely, that the term *mprš* means: "clearly". Etymologically, better argument in my opinion can be made for the view which Coggins also mentions, that the term indicates a division into short paragraphs.

The map of Jerusalem in the "monarchical period" (p. 77) I find rather confusing for the reader. According to this map Jerusalem is located exclusively on the eastern mount. The explanatory note however says that: "already before the exile there had been westward extensions of the city, but the size of the area involved is unknown".

This is correct, (the map in B. Mazar's, The Mountain of the Lord, New York, 1975, p. 56 will certainly not be accepted by everyone as infallible), but should not Coggins' map have indicated in one way or another that the city was larger than the eastern mount? This, especially because many scholars today (not this reviewer)

claim that just this, was not the case in Nehemiah's time.

My comments are only intended to illuminate with how much attention and interest I read this very expertly written volume.

The "epilogue": "Why should we read these books today?" (p. 144ff.) I found somewhat disappointing. I had thought that there is more to say about that than this book does.

Kampen, June 1976

H. H. GROSHEIDE

* *

ARAMAIC TEXTS FROM QUMRAN, edited with translations and annotations by B. JONGELING, C. J. LABUSCHAGNE, and A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, Vol. I. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (8vo, X + 131 pp.) = Semitic Study Series, New Series No. IV. Price: paperbound, Dutch Guilders 28.—.

The three editor-translators, who are all competent scholars, have produced a fine addition to the New Series of Semitic Studies. Their aim was to provide for students "a relatively cheap, and handy tool for the study of some of the most interesting Aramaic documents from Qumran", and secondarily to give a useful tool "to scholars who are not specialists in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls study". While they did not point the text, as was done by Eduard Lohse in his book *Die Texte aus Qumran. Hebräisch und Deutsch* (München und Darmstadt 1964), they provided more notes, which are clear and helpful. Not intending to rival the standard editions, they did not cumber the text with indications of partly preserved or doubtful letters. Where they disagreed with earlier editions they attempted to improve the transcription or left gaps.

The Job Targum from Cave 11 occupies pages 12-73 after a concise descriptive introduction which also summarizes the importance of this discovery. The Aramaic text is printed, with numbered lines, in one column on left-hand pages, facing the translation on right-hand pages in running text, with the corresponding line numbers inserted, and words bridging gaps in italics. Transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic words is used (but Greek letters for Greek words) in the smaller-type footnotes keyed by line numbers.

Following a five-page introduction, The Genesis Apocryphon from Cave 1 is printed in the same way on pages 82-119, and The Prayer of Nabonidus from Cave 4 (after a briefer introduction) on pages 126-131.

This is an excellent tool for use in Aramaic and text-critical studies. Another volume is to appear after "other major Aramaic documents from Qumran are made accessible to the scholarly world".

Berrien Springs, Mich.,
July 1976

LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

* *

Heinz-Josef FABRY, *Die Wurzel ŠUB in der Qumran-Literatur; Zur Semantik eines Grundbegriffes*. Köln, Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1975 (8vo, 365 pages) = Bonner Biblische Beiträge, Band 46. Price: DM 74,—, cloth DM 82.—.

In his Bonn dissertation H.-J. Fabry has done a masterful job of tracing the occurrences of the root *šub* throughout the published non-Biblical Qumran literature. He shows himself to be at every turn a master of these texts and of the secondary literature concerned with them, and he frequently adduces relevant parallels from the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Near Eastern literatures.

Fabry's book is divided into an introduction and three chapters. The introduction briefly surveys previous study of the root *šub* in the Hebrew Bible, at Qumran, and of its analogues in subsequent Jewish and Christian literature. He also makes some observations on the etymology and meaning of the root, emphasizing that in his view the root in itself seems to imply only a turning movement without necessarily implying achievement of the goal toward which the subject turns¹).

In his Chapter A, pp. 19-23, Fabry presents the statistics on the root's 154 occurrences in the Qumran literature. Chapter B, pp. 24-304, is the heart of the book, in which Fabry meticulously analyzes the occurrences of words related to the root in their various meanings. Attestations are grouped according to whether the words are verbs in the simple stem, pp. 24-155, the causative stem, pp. 157-255, the passive causative, pp. 257-264, or nouns, pp. 265-304. In Chapter C, pp. 305-333, Fabry offers a semantic overview of his findings in the form of annotated tables. Table I, pp. 306-7, shows the frequency of meanings of the Qumran attestations compared to Old Testament attestations, presented in the order of the analytic section, Chapter B. Table II, pp. 309-314, presents the individual attestations grouped according to the texts in which the words occur, organized according to Kuhn's Qumran concordance. Supplemental tables show the frequency of occurrence of words related to the root in connection with various prepositions, p. 316, and in their positions in positive, negative, interrogative, or conditional sentences, p. 317. Table III, pp. 318-328, again in Fabry's Chapter B order, shows the synonyms and antonyms of the words in their various occurrences. Finally Table IV, pp. 329-333, presents the occurrences alphabetically in order of their German translations. After a list of abbreviations Fabry gives what appears to be an exhaustive bibliography, pp. 343-365, of books and articles mentioned in the thesis.

In all this Fabry controls with ease a vast amount of detail and refers to the wide literature on the texts. He is especially concerned to establish with as much precision as possible the contexts of the occurrences he analyzes and sometimes spends considerable time and

space on single difficult passages, as in his discussion of 1 QM 1-12, pp. 137-153.

The root *šub* is both popular and tricky at Qumran and has a chance of being important in the history of religious ideas. As Fabry points out, the words related to the root were used at least since Deuteronomy in the sense of moral and religious repentance, a returning to God and his law after a period of rebellion. But it is far from specialized in this meaning in the Hebrew Bible or at Qumran. Later Rabbinic texts provide many attestations of the central importance of such repentance to later Judaism²). And by the time of the Syriac translation of the Bible the translators felt that the Syriac cognate to *šub* referred only to such repentance; they used *hʿfak* 'turn over/about' and other words for other meanings of *šub* in Hebrew³). Beyond that, it appears that Arabic borrowed words from the root in Syriac as technical theological expressions for repentance and forgiveness; the foreign origin of this set of words is clear from their use of /t/ while the native cognate to *šub* has the expected /tʿ/ ⁴). Qumran is thus an important observation post on the progress toward specialization of words related to this root.

But Fabry is not merely studying repentance. He states, p. 6, that he wants to make both a semantic and theological contribution without, however, going into methodological questions. But it might have been better if he had made his methodological position clearer at the outset. Fabry is aware of the thrust of J. Barr's argument that contexts of words must be considered in evaluating the theological meaning of concepts⁵). Fabry's detailed context analysis is laudable, but the reader remains unconvinced through it that the root *šub* really is a "basic concept" at Qumran, as his title claims⁶). Words from the root occur widely, but they do not seem to share any general thrust and are not on the whole connected with repentance or with divine vengeance. Frequently Fabry sees this, for example, p. 108, in connection with the root's appearance in legal contexts: "Zusammenfassend ist festzustellen, dass der Terminus selbst in Rechtssätzen einer relative homogenen Disziplinarordnung eine überraschende Variabilität in Verwendung, Funktion und semantischer Auffächerung aufweist". Elsewhere he notes

²) Compare now J. Bowman, "The Significance of *Teshubah*", *Abr-Nahrain* 15, (1974-1975), pp. 27-34.

³) Fabry, pp. 17f and n. 89. Holladay catalogues the various translations in Syriac, pp. 36-41.

⁴) Compare the few references under *twb*, all with theological connotations, with the many under native *twb*, many with secular connotations, in E. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Book I, Part I, (New York: F. Ungar, 1955 reprint of 1863 edition), pp. 321 a-c versus 361b-362b and 363, and in Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, (Beirut: Dar Sader, 1955), p. 233 versus pp. 243-248.

⁵) Fabry cites in his introduction, p. 6 n. 1, some linguistic considerations of semantic field analysis, including James Barr's *Biblical exegese und Moderne Semantik* (1965), the translation of *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961).

⁶) Compare Barr's still trenchant objection to the equation of "word" and "concept", *Semantics*, pp. 210f. G. Friedrich in his review of the German translation, *ThLZ* 94, (1969), 801-816, emphasizes that concepts may in fact be closer to words than Barr thinks, column 803. But one wonders whether he would find *šub* a single concept. And J. F. Sawyer, another critic of Barr's in his "Root-Meanings in Hebrew", *JSS* 12, (1967), pp. 37-50, would insist on a study of the root's semantic field in connection with its synonyms.

¹) This idea apparently goes back to E. Dietrich, *Die Umkehr*, (1936); it is perhaps significant that W. Holladay on statistical grounds argued that words related to the root in the Hebrew Bible usually do in fact imply returning to the point of departure; see his *The Root Šubh in the Old Testament*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), pp. 53ff.

that the semantic field of retribution which he demonstrates for some of the occurrences of the causative stem is shared by words related to other roots, *šlm*, *pqd*, and *gml*, p. 211.

Fabry's erudition is wide, and he usually applies it tellingly. It was especially interesting to see South Arabian evidence brought to bear on the various problems he analyzes, and Fabry promises, p. 13 n. 14, a further study in this direction.

It was somewhat disturbing, however, to see that Fabry's Assyriological sources, aside from the dictionaries and grammars and a few modern studies, are almost uniformly 50 years old and more. This lack of contact with the newer literature contributed to his conclusions in one speculative passage which serves as the finale of his etymological survey. Fabry seeks an etymological basis for the incompleteness he finds in words related to *šub* and discovers such a basis by tracing the root back to Akkadian usage and then to Sumerian. The verbs he finds for this derivation are rather unlikely. *Šabu* in Akkadian has to do with tottering and becoming giddy, as seen in AHW, p. 1120b, and Von Soden's note relating it to *šub* should be regarded as speculation⁷). Sumerian *šub* is even less likely to have anything to do with West Semitic *šub*. Its most common Akkadian equivalent is *nadû* 'to throw down'⁸). Fabry finds this equation acceptable for his understanding of the basic meaning of the root as undirected turning. But the equation of Semitic *šub* with Sumerian *šub* is unlikely not only semantically but also on the grounds that verbs are almost never taken over from Sumerian into Akkadian⁹). Presumably that is partly because Sumerian verbs only rarely conform to the Akkadian trilateral pattern. It is also significant that verb borrowing is rare among Aramaicisms in the Bible¹⁰). Sumerologists ought not to be forgiven for not supplying themselves and the learned world with a trustworthy modern glossary¹¹), but it is unfortunate that Fabry relies on F. Delitzsch's 1914 glossary for Sumerian *šub*.

Fabry's lasting contribution is his analysis of the con-

⁷) The speculative nature of the suggestion, first made by A. Salonen, OrNS 19, (1950), pp. 404-407, is implied by Von Soden's 's.' (= siehe) before the etymology. When he is sure of a relation, as in *šadû* = Hebrew *šdd*, p. 1121a, he does not use the abbreviation 's.'

⁸) AHW, p. 705b; Von Soden shows that *šabu* never equals *šub*, but rather *duš*, *duš*, *ság*, HAL, and it is translated by *sig*, *sig*, p. 1120b. Compare however in Fabry's favor *šub* = *nabaršudu* 'to run away', AHW, p. 735b, and *šub* = *darāru* 'to run off', CAD D, p. 109. The meanings of these verbs are not, however, very similar to that posited by Fabry for Sumerian *šub*, 'wenden, umwenden, werfen', p. 16.

⁹) So A. Falkenstein, "Kontakte zwischen Sumerern und Akkadern auf sprachlichem Gebiet", *Genava* 8, (1960), pp. 301-314, esp. p. 310.

¹⁰) Compare the summary by M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*, (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1966), p. 158. Wagner refers to the very general statement by A. Scherer, "Worauf beruht die Verschiedenheit der indogermanischen Sprachen?" *Indo-germanische Forschungen* 61, (1954), pp. 201-215, pp. 212f, who notes a tendency in Indo-European languages not to borrow pronouns or verbs because of their irregularity and complexity.

¹¹) Compare the objections of I. J. Gelb, "Approaches to the Study of the Ancient Near East", *JAOS* 87, (1967), pp. 2, 7. Projects now under way promise one day to fill this gap.

texts from which his attestations come. And in spite of my picky objections I feel sure that Fabry's book will be of interest to historians of religious thought as well as to Hebraicists. The work is organized in a way that is conducive to reference, and its numerous insights repay study.

University of Washington,
May 1976

DANIEL C. SNELL

* *

J. HEINEMANN, *Aggadot ve-Toldotam - Aggadah and its Development*. Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974 (252 pp., 22 illustrations).

It is well known that a single aggadic (Rabbinic homiletic or folk-lore) motif can appear in very different forms in a variety of sources. The author of this volume attempts to analyse the nature of such divergencies. He does so by taking a number of widely-attested motifs (legends), such as King David's sealing of the abysses, the revelation of God to the nations of the world, elements of the "Exodus"-cycle, etc., and closely comparing the different texts describes them. In some cases the variations may be arranged in a clear historical progression; in other cases the arrangement may be synchronic rather than diachronic, and the divergencies are best understood against varying polemic backgrounds. Thus, the authors conclusions will be of interest both to the straight historian, as well as the literary historian, and, of course, the folklorist.

A central thesis in this study is the oral nature of aggadic transmission. The first chapter develops this point at length, arguing that the nature of the variations between "parallel" texts can best be understood on the basis of this assumption. "For it is not the way of a copyist to alter and rework the style of the original unless he is forced to make significant changes for clear tendentious ends. However, when the changes are merely stylistic and linguistic, it certainly makes better sense to say that they were brought about through oral transmission" (p. 45). He offers some "proofs" of changes that could only come about mishearing (pp. 27-28 etc.). However, this thesis is by no means proven, and often far from convincing. The crucial issue is not whether the material was orally transmitted or transmitted in written form, but what was the attitude of the homilist to the body of aggadic literature that reached him, in whichever form it be. There is, after all, quite a wealth of evidence that already in the second half of the III cent.C.E. aggadot were committed to writing. In B. Gittin 60a we read how R. Johanan (d. circa 279) and Resh Lakish (d.c. 275) read a book of aggada. Indeed R. Johanan used to walk about with such a scroll under his arm (B. Berachot 23a). He even advised learning aggada from a written source: He who learns aggada from a book does not forget it quickly (Y. Berachot 5.1), etc. The interdict against writing down oral law was no longer applied to aggadic literature by this date (B. Gittin ibid., but cf. Y. Shabbat 16.1.). However, the homilist, once he had read and assimilated this material, felt free to rework it at will, to his own specific ends. After all,

ARABICA - ISLAM

B. LEWIS, *Race and Color in Islam*. London, Harper & Row, Ltd., 1971 (8vo, XI + 103 pp., 24 pls.).

Eldridge Cleaver, the former leader of Black Panther in the U.S.A. declared that the "Arabs are one of the most racial peoples in the world", according to the *Jerusalem Post* of January the 16th 1976. "This, he says, because of their attitude towards the black".

Some ten years ago the late Malcolm X declared after his pilgrimage to Mekka, "The colour-blindness of the Muslim world's religious society and the colour-blindness of the Muslim world's human society; these two influences had each day been making a greater impact, and an increasing persuasion against my previous way of thinking ... There were tens of thousands of pilgrims, from all over the world. They were of all colours, from blue-eyed blondes to black-skinned Africans. But we were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe never could exist between the white and the non-white".

Between these two contradictory expressions and pictures — the last of which he quotes himself — the well-known orientalist Bernard Lewis tries to assess the truth about *Race and Color in Islam*. In this booklet of just over hundred pages he presents an elaboration of some earlier articles and lectures and raises a very actual and 'hot' issue in the world of today.

The author starts off with the Qur'an which expresses no racial or color prejudice and reveals not even any awareness of such a prejudice. Piety is more important than birth (7). After the death of Muhammad and the spread of Islam to new areas (also Africa), the color differences become more fixed and more ethnic and absolute instead of personal and relative as they were before. Black overwhelmingly means the natives of Africa south of Sahara and their offspring. White or occasionally (light) red — means the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Turks, Slavs, and other peoples to the north and to the east of the black lands. Together with this specialization and fixing of color terms comes a connotation of inferiority attached to darker and more in particular black skins (9). To substantiate this argument B. Lewis quotes from different poets and from an essay of Jāhiz.

In the *hadith* at least the larger body of them racial prejudice is deplored and the primacy of piety is insisted upon, cf. the well-known phrase attributed to Muhammad, "I was sent to the red and the black" (19).

B. Lewis attributes the change of attitude towards race and color to three major developments.

1. The fact of the conquest. Although according to Islam the non-Arab converts were the equals of the Arabs and could even outrank them by superior piety, in practice non-Arab muslims were regarded as inferior and subjected to a whole series of fiscal, social, political, military and other disabilities (23).

2. Better acquaintance with Africa which was before limited to Ethiopia (27).

3. The development of slavery and slave trade (27). As to slaves B. Lewis remarks that total identification

much of this material was preached in synagogues, and the preacher had to adapt himself and his material to the occasion as well as to the audience. (Our author has even written a book on this subject.) This policy of freedom in the handling of aggadic material continued down through all generations of Rabbinic creativity. Take, for example, the aggadic compilations of someone as late as R. Solomon b. Nissim Masnut (XIII cent.), and see his liberty in juggling about with the sources, (see, eg. *Midrash Bereishit Zuta*, ed. M. Ha-Cohen, Jerusalem 1962, pp. 331-38). No one would dream of suggesting that he did not draw upon written sources. And the same is true of *Midrash ha-Gadol*, and the great *Yalkutim* (the *Shimoni* and the *Machiri*), etc. Of course, the material was passed on from generation to generation, and transported from country to country. It had, therefore, to be translated, obscure terms had to be explained or substituted, and the material had to be recast from the new time and circumstance. All this had little to do with whether or not it was written down.

On the contrary it can at times be demonstrated that changes are due to scribal errors, especially in the case of name and number corruptions. See, for example, the reviewer's examples in Sinai 378-79, 1968, 278-80, where it is shown that the difference between the numbers "eighty" and "three-hundred" in parallel texts was due to incorrect understanding of abbreviations in Hebrew letters. In one case, it has even been suggested (Nestle ZATW 22, 1902, 310) that *multa* in 2 Chron. 33.11 was misread *mazalta* (a very small orthographic change), giving rise in the Greek *ζῆδιον* in early Christian versions of the Manasses cycle (but see Bacher, REJ 45, 1902, 291-95). The author is aware of these problems (eg. p. 45) but one feels has not examined them in full depth and with sufficient criticism.

Even when he does examine in depth and detail, his examination is primarily form-critical. Relatively little attention is paid to linguistic evidence. For example, the Aramaic word *garimide* on p. 17 makes it quite clear that we are dealing with a Babylonian recension, while the Greek *timliosin* (= *θεμελιος* + pl. term.) on p. 21 points to the Palestinian nature of this version. Here and there, one would have liked the broader cultural context to be taken into account and related literature to be referred to (eg. to p. 54, see Sopher ha-Razim, ed. M. Margalioth, Jerusalem 1966, p. 105). There is almost no reference made to early Christian versions of Jewish legends, often a key to the "traditionsgeschichte" of the motif. Finally, in a work of this nature, the description of the aggadic sources and compilations on pp. 201-07 could have been fuller.

However, these occasional reservations in no way detract from the basic importance of the book. This is a very significant contribution to a very fascinating field. It demonstrates convincingly a method (but not the only method), that should be applied to the study of such literature. It is clear, pleasantly written and well-produced with a minimum of misprints (p. 233 note 21, read A for D). It is a welcome addition to any library of Judaic studies.

Jerusalem, March 1976

DANIEL SPERBER

of black men with slaves which occurred in North and South America never took place in the Muslim world. There were always white slaves as well as black ones (38). He mentions that in many Arabic dialects the word 'abd means simply a black man irrespective whether he was a slave or not.

A common explanation of the slave-status of the blacks is that the ancestors of the dark-skinned peoples was Ham, the son of Noah who (according to Muslim legend) was damned black for his sin (66). But B. Lewis immediately adds that this idea was by no means universally accepted. Ibn Khaldun and many other writers rejected it as absurd and attribute blackness to climatic and geographical causes" (37).

B. Lewis goes over the story of the Black and white slaves — in the last case he refers to the figure of the 'military slave' — and continues the description of the development into the 19th century up to the abolition of slavery. After a paragraph about the equality in marriage and for instance the rule of *kafā'a* which requires that a man be the social equal of the woman he marries, he speaks at last of a variety of traditional accusations and prejudices as one finds in other societies as well.

B. Lewis comes then to a rather even-handed conclusion which one knows from his writings on tolerance etc. in his *Arabs in History* and *Islam in History*. He wanted in his book to correct a false picture of total absence of prejudice and discrimination on the one hand. But on the other hand he wants to avoid the error of suggesting that the Islamic world knew the kind of *apartheid* known today in South Africa or until recently in U.S.A. He refutes in short the claim both of exclusive virtue and exclusive vice (101, 102).

One can say that B. Lewis' elaboration on the slave trade could have been shorter. He makes clear what he means by color and Islam but gives no clear definition of the third word in his title 'race'.

The author rightly stresses several times the fact — in one way or another (28, 96, 100) — that racial feelings are not color-bound and occur everywhere. Because of the sensitivity of the subject it would be good when a comprehensive study would be made about the condition *humaine* of all races, colors and religions.

It is a pity that the beautiful reproductions of the book are in black and white!

Beirut, March 1976

ANTONIE WESSELS

IBN AL-RAZZAZ AL-JAZARI, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (*Kitāb fi ma'rifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya*). Translated and annotated by D. R. Hill. Dordrecht-Boston, D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1974 (4to, pp. XXV + 285, 1 frt., 174 figs.). Price: Dutch Fl. 240.—.

Al-Jazari (the *nisba* relates to Upper Mesopotamia, the Jazirat al-'Āgūr) claims to have spent twenty five years in the service of the Artuqid rulers of Diyarbakr/Āmid before writing his treatise on automata, the *Kitāb fi ma'rifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya*, for Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd (597-619/1200-22), evidently in 1204 or 1206. It

describes approximately fifty machines, including water-clocks, candle-clocks, drinking vessels, bleeding machines, fountains and systems of water-wheels, with elevations and detailed drawings of their construction and lay-out. No autograph of the treatise survives, though a finely illustrated (incomplete) MS (Topkapı Saray, Ahmet III 3472) is datable to the early 13th century. It was, however, repeatedly copied in Mamlūk Egypt or Syria, and there is even a competently illustrated 17th century Mughal MS. Dr. Hill's list of extant MSS [3-] is usefully supplemented in the review by David King of the present work in *History of Science XIII* (Oxford 1975) 284-89. This includes a fine MS also in the Topkapı Saray (Ahmet III 3350).

Early in this century al-Jazari's treatise was the object of a series of studies by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser which remain of fundamental importance for the history of Islamic technology. Dr. Hill properly acknowledges his debt to them, thus correcting the exaggerated claim in the Foreword [xiii] that no work has previously been done on the subject by any properly qualified translator. As an engineer with Arabic, a talent for explanatory drawing and considerable interest in the history of technology he is certainly admirably qualified to make sense of al-Jazari's dismayingly recondite terminology. But one of the many merits of the present book is that it will turn scholar's attention back again to Wiedemann and Hauser's pioneering work.

Dr. Hill's stated aim [xv] is to give a faithful translation of the original, with accurate reproductions (read *reconstructions*) of the original drawings. But this is slightly misleading. An English text which reads comprehensibly to someone familiar with the terminology and technology of the higher plumbing needed a manuscript which was both complete and clearly illustrated. The earliest MS to satisfy these requirements is dated 891/1486 (Bodleian MS Graves 27) written, the colophon states [206] after a copy dated 742/1341, itself, allegedly, after the autograph, with the drawings of the devices as al-Jazari drew them "with the ruler [*bi-dabṭhi*] and freehand [*bi-khaṭṭhi*]", a claim which should not be taken literally. Important variations in illustrations have been noted, though textual variants have not. This works remarkably well, but occasionally the absence of a critical text is regrettable. For example [112 note 2] Hill oddly remarks, the final paragraph on page 111 is either an interpolation, or else written before al-Jazari decided to fit the ball valves he describes later [113]. Only a critical text could show whether the passage is indeed an interpolation, by whom and when. Hill's alternative suggestion, borne out by his suggested sequence of construction [256], which differs markedly from al-Jazari's, is, however, damaging to his general contention that al-Jazari describes his devices in the order in which he made them. Then there is the curious case of the, admittedly unclear, drawing, f. 94 of the Bodleian MS, which is excluded from Hill's text and presented [Plate XXXII] as a device of unknown purpose. But, on the contrary, it is plainly part of the mechanism of an alternating fountain [IV. 6] and follows directly in sequence. Why the doubt? Because it bears the note, apparently in the copyist's hand, *Hadhā'l-shakl khārij 'an al-khamsīn*

shakl, obviously an inaccurate gloss upon one of the two MSS from which the Bodleian MS was copied, which, as frequently happens, was incorporated into later copies.

The author's expert paraphrase will be equally valuable to Arabists and non-Arabists. However, expert paraphrase has one danger which should be remarked for the future. Obvious errors must be corrected and suitable alternatives suggested, though even Dr. Hill's ingenuity cannot get all al-Jazari's models off the drawing board. But where the main criterion of al-Jazari's accuracy is that the machine should *work* there is always the danger that modifications may be tacitly introduced which were foreign to his original intentions; just as he himself made minor modifications to earlier perpetual flutes [170], so as to present the results as his own invention. Hill's discretion is on the whole perfect, but his remarks on pages 111-3, referred to above suggest that for once he may have produced a different machine. If the beaker-clock could be made [V.1 71-4] he would doubtless have suggested [251] a new profile for it. Hill's suggestions are invariably interesting; but they represent a new and hitherto unexploited possibility in the way of textual corruption.

One might cavil at some renderings. Sandarach oil [148 and *passim*], from the resin of conifers like *Thuya aphylla* or *Th. cupressoides*, should more properly be *varnish*. *Susān* [160] is no "lily of the valley" but (Steingass) an iris, a tripartite flower which is plainly a more suitable description of the effect intended [161 Fig. 123] from the fountain described. *Mushadhdhar* [53 and 63], translated first as "decorated with gold" and then as "chiselled", would be better in each case simply as "gilt". *Makabba* is more suitably "rounded cover" (Dozy) than dome, but both it and the cast brass bosses of the palace doors at Āmid [193] (*muqabbab* — see E. Wiedemann "Über eine Palasttüre und Schlösser nach al-Ġazari" *Der Islam* XI (1921) 122) are most conveniently translated as "convex elements". *Sharāb murawwāq* [118] is strained or filtered wine, not "clarified", with its suggestion of butter or mulligatawny soup. And the top of a silver goblet [120] can scarcely have been "extensively filigreed" (no Arabic is given), since filigree in mediaeval Islam appears to be restricted to jewellery. Such minor disagreements are normally avoided by the author's care to give the Arabic term in any case of doubt. One essential tool in his arduous task has been the late 10th century lexikon, the *Maḥāṣin al-ʿUlūm* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib al-Khwārizmī, which, Hill remarks more than once, gives terminology for many aspects of Islamic technology on which virtually nothing else is known.

Al-Jazari methodically describes the general appearance of his devices, and gives detailed accounts of the construction and assemblage of their constituent parts, mostly by reference to drawings, impressions as to how they should work, and instructions for finishing them off. This may appear repetitive, but his early chapters, in particular his largest water-clock [15-41 I.1] comprise all sorts of devices which are later taken for granted. Hill uses line drawings in the text to clarify the illustrations of the Bodleian MS, then gives notes rationalising al-Jazari's exposition of the devices, de-

ducing the scale from the dimensions occasionally given in the text and adding isometric or perspective drawings where appropriate. But he interestingly remarks that despite the absence of scale and the lack of stereometric projection the apparently rather amateurish illustrations of the Bodleian MS are generally adequate as working drawings. Only occasionally, as with the peacock water-clock [251 I.6], set in a narrow space at the rear of a fountain, is his own isometric diagram essential [6.1]. Contrary to general supposition, he remarks, perspective machine drawings are often insufficiently perspicuous.

Al-Jazari, Dr. Hill considers, did not advance much on the work of his predecessors [for a brief review of these see 8-12]: improvements in tipping buckets; a reciprocating pump [274 V. 4], though this certainly had Hellenistic precursors; two float (*tarjahār*) clocks [I. 3-4]; and bleeding machines [III. 6-9]. And he concludes [273] from al-Jazari's criticisms of perpetual flutes [IV. 7] that he was aware of the application of an escapement to a water-wheel. However, his high standards of craftsmanship — cone-valves ground to a perfect fit [20 I. 1-2]; the use of metal to metal bearings; and even the preliminary construction of paper models (for example, the double dragon of the elephant clock [68 I. 4.13]) — make him a true mechanical engineer. Al-Jazari would have been pleased. He presents himself as a *muhandis* (having theoretical mathematics, cf. "Handasa" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*²), claiming [15] first to have learned from books and then reached the stage of witnessing — though this is the reverse of the training one would expect of a mechanical engineer of his time; and, for example, in treating of hydraulic organs he shows off his knowledge of "Apollonius, the Indian carpenter" and the "real innovation" in the treatise of a certain Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣṭurlābī written at Baghdad in 517/1123-4 [170], though his explanation of what it was is incoherent. But even when allowances are made for the over-written prose of his time his treatise has a distinctly pretentious air. Hill's considered judgement that he was a theoretical mechanical engineer in the full modern sense of the term may, therefore, be anachronistic.

Theoretically al-Jazari is weak. The trial and error [20-5 and Fig. 12] by which he calibrated the Zodiacal disc of his largest horologe when relatively simple mathematical calculation, Hill demonstrates [242] would have sufficed is not impressive. He takes the latitude of Diyarbakr as 36°, that of Rhodes, on which Marinus of Tyre (*circa* 110 A.D.), [O. Neugebauer *The exact sciences in Antiquity* (New York 1957; 1969) 220], Qinnasrin, Raqqa and Rayy, as well as, amazingly the Yüan observatory of P'ing Yang in Shansi (36°6' [W. Hartner "The astronomical instruments of Cha-ma-luting, their identification and their relations to the observatory of Marāgha" reprinted in *Oriens-Occidens* (Hildesheim 1968) 215]; when the real latitude of Diyarbakr is almost 38°. This shows regard for convenience, since he could then take others' calculations for granted, but little respect for the inevitable error involved. The error from the difference in longitude is ignored. His specifications for a protractor [VI. 2 196-8, 274] show only an elementary knowledge of

geometry. Spherical protractors receive passing mention, but Hill concludes that he intended only instruments to fit a given sphere. The heavy weather al-Jazarī makes of any mathematical computation makes Hill's dismissal, following Wiedemann and Hauser, of Riḍwān/Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān b. Muḥammad al-Sā'ātī's description of the horologe on the Bāb Jayrūn of the Great Mosque at Damascus for the assumption $\pi = 3$, rather than $\frac{22}{7}$, which was standard for Muslim mathematics

at this time, somewhat severe, particularly since Neugebauer (*op. cit.* 180) remarks that 3 is a common Hellenistic value for π .

In fact, al-Jazarī's real status may be deduced from his description of Apollonius "the Indian" as a carpenter (*najjār*). Hill suggests, not entirely happily, that "Indian" (*hindī*) is a corruption of *handasī* and thus a reminiscence of the geometer, Apollonius of Perga, to whom a treatise on hydraulic organs (most probably a Byzantine work) was ascribed in mediaeval Islam. But *al-najjār al-handasī* is virtually a contradiction in terms and, if we must choose, al-Jazarī's Apollonius was a *najjār*. So was "Cha-ma-lu-ting" whom Hartner [*art. cit.* 224] identifies as Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zahir al-Zaydī al-Najjārī. It is certainly possible [*ibid.* note 24] that *al-Najjārī* should be read *al-Bukhārī*. However, the 15th century historian of Aleppo, Ibn al-Shihna, writes of a *minbar* or *kursī* copying that of [the carpenter] *al-Najjārī* in the Great Mosque at Aleppo; so the *nisba* form is possible.

The work of practical craftsmen was often phenomenally accurate. Mayer remarks [*Islamic astrolabists and their works* (Geneva 1956)] that many astrolabists, who needed both mathematics and astronomy, have humble patronymics — Ibn al-Naqqāsh, Ibn al-Naḥḥās, Ibn al-Ṣaffār. And the astronomer, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī, wrote in the 1420s¹:

"Ustādh Ibrāhīm [a ṣaffār] is so good with his hands that when [I] marked two points on the concave surface of this ring [of an armillary sphere] and the other on its convex surface, indicating the spots corresponding to its axis and drew round each point a small circle, he placed the wimble on one surface and bored the hole, coming out exactly at the required spot on the opposite surface. He prepared ten holes in the rings in this manner and not one was faulty. The exactness with which the rings fit into each other is the best witness for the accuracy of his work ..."

In such company, al-Jazarī need scarcely have been ashamed of being a *najjār*. If he was so good. His stipulation [80 I. 6.6] that wooden discs should be laminated lest they warp on wetting — doubtless in-

¹ I am grateful to Professor G. J. Toomer of Brown University for having drawn my attention to this text. I cite A. Saylī's version *Uluḡ Bey v Semerkanddeki ilmi faaliyetleri hakkında Giyāsüddīn-i Kāshī'nin mektubu/Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī's letter on Uluḡ Bey and the scientific activity in Samarqand* (Ankara 1960) 102 text 514a-b.

tended to apply generally throughout the treatise — and his precision in specifying the various metals to be used — copper, iron, brass (*shabah*), bronze (*sufr*) and even a special alloy of tin and copper [*isfādrūh*; Persian *sapid rū* (Steingass) is standard for "tin"] for cymbals shows professional competence. However, the text contains some major peculiarities. His observation [106], relating to a wine-dispenser [99-109 II. 3] that after thirty years it broke down and had to be taken to bits must be boasting since, Hill remarks, [255] the bearings and cogs would have worn out long before. The beaker-clock [74 ff., 250-1 I. 5] is given an impossible profile, nor is there any obvious alternative, so that his claim to have calibrated it later to tell the solar hours appears suspect. With alternating fountains [for example 158 IV. 1.2] worked by tipping buckets there is no device for controlling the discharge of the accumulated head of water, so that the fountains would have been periodic, not continuous. The more erratic fountains of the Banū Mūsā in 9th century Baghdad alternated at much shorter intervals. Al-Jazarī furthermore claims that his fountains alternated every "constant" hour — Hill's slightly confusing term for the twelve divisions of the day and night, the length of which naturally varies with the seasons; but the necessary regulating system is not described, and, to judge from the difficulties the calibration of his large water-clock gave him, was most probably never attempted. As regards "perpetual flutes" [170-3 Figs. 130-3] he admits that whistles may be shrill [109 II. 4.3] and that flutes should be *jars* (that is, more like organ pipes), but his machines evidently had no more than two notes, a sad decline from sophisticated Roman hydraulic organs like that represented on a mosaic from Maryamīn in N. Syria now in the Ḥamā' Museum. They approach Dr. Johnson's idea of music as a disagreeable noise made on purpose and, worse still, al-Jazarī gives no directions for turning them off.

In his preface [15] al-Jazarī says that he has tested his predecessors' devices and found them wanting — though those of the Banū Mūsā are often more sophisticated. But were his experiments practical? and who financed them? Scarcely his employers, the Artuqids, for they would demand results, not experiments. In fact, employing the principle of *difficilior lectio*, al-Jazarī's very fluency speaks against him, for it is precisely in this that a practical craftsman would naturally be deficient. He certainly cites illustrious predecessors, whose works might be known to his readers; but there must have been whole generations of 12th century craftsmen, including his own teachers, whose devices he evidently copied, sometimes faultily, without acknowledgement. Moreover, some of his descriptions read more like break-downs than directions for construction and assembly.

Some of his devices are gratuitous. The positively alarming bleeding machines [III. 5.1-2] would have been better replaced by ordinary graduated cylinders [260] since, blood being thicker than water, they had to be dismantled and cleaned every time they were used. Moreover, friction in the pulleys and any slack would tend to decrease the amount indicated against the actual flow [262]. The accuracy of the drawings of this group

deteriorates markedly over the 14th-15th centuries, conceivably, despite the ubiquitous practice of blood-letting, because such vessels were too rarely used for copyists to be at all familiar with their mechanism. Other devices show lack of forethought. A whistling boat [107-9, 256 II. 4] which al-Jazarī specifically states he was ordered to make, is perfunctorily described without any indication of how the sailors in it moved. And a machine for ritual ablutions [149-52, 262 III. 9] with slaves offering first soap and then a towel, is surmounted by a peacock, the tail of which had to contain enough water to fill the cistern at the base. Since this was a cubic span in volume (roughly 15,525 c.c.) al-Jazarī's assurance that one need not fear the thing would overturn must be interpreted precisely as a warning that it inevitably would.

Such defects, which a master-craftsman would have easily avoided, suggest that some of the treatise at least is a compilation. If so, how much? The large horologes of al-Jazarī's Class I certainly had predecessors, most notably that on the Bāb Jayrūn of the Great Mosque at Damascus, attributed to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Rustam al-Khurāsānī al-Sā'ātī, built for Nūr al-Dīn (1146-73) and rebuilt with improvements after a fire in 562 or 564/1166-7 or 1168-9. It was described by Ibn Jubayr in 1184 and then in more detail by Riḍwān [cf. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser *Über die Uhren im Islamischen Bereich* (Halle 1915) 166-75]. This fell into disrepair after the builder's death, very probably because the accumulated error over a period of years [cf. also 45, 246 I.2] was beyond the competence of anyone to correct. Some of the water-raising devices al-Jazarī describes, moreover, were either ideas which were never realised or else not his own [V.1-2 and V.4 180-1, 184] since, Hill comments, "the heavy intermittent torque at the axle of the beam which was then transmitted to the rest of the machine was not compensated for by bearings, anchorages or cog-wheels sophisticated enough to withstand it".

On the other hand the trick drinking vessels [95-126] seem thoroughly appropriate to the means and cultural level of the Artuqid Court; though many of them were not al-Jazarī's own and those of the Banū Mūsā were often cleverer. A large wine-dispenser [99-106 II.3] gave out as much as a litre of wine at a time at random, so that [255] the guests ended up roaring drunk or, perhaps worse, totally sober. He very probably made the alternating fountains he describes, though he implicitly acknowledges his debt to the Banū Mūsā [157, 272]. The effect, however, may have been less impressive than the machinery, and there are certainly earlier impressive fountains known. The Persian traveller, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, [*Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau* translated Ch. Schéfer (Paris 1880) 28] in the 1040s noted that of the Great Mosque at Diyārbakr with a jet of water spurting up from a copper spout in the centre, keeping the level constant and with the outflow concealed. And Ibn Jubayr [*Voyages VI* translated M. Gauderoy-Demombynes (Paris 1953-6) 311] describes that of the Great Mosque at Damascus (1184) as having a jet the height of a man surrounded by smaller jets making, as it were, a water tree. Al-Jazarī, more-

over, simplifies his own devices by taking a constant water flow for granted. From the extant evidence only in Mamluk Egypt were fountains (some of which are now in the Islamic Museum in Cairo) constructed which worked off a restricted water-supply. Admittedly, from al-Jazarī's specifications for taps and valves one gets an idea of how the water-flow was probably regulated. His machinery takes basic plumbing for granted; but it is in fact just as obscure how ordinary fountains and *sabils* worked in mediaeval Islam.

The clearest case of compilation seems to be al-Jazarī's account of the cast brass (*sic*) doors made for the ruler's palace at Āmid [192-5 VI.1]. The chapter, for all its superficial competence, is very odd. He certainly shows himself familiar with bronze-casting, both in closed mould boxes with green sand (to use Hill's terminology) and by *cire perdue*. However, al-Jazarī never mentions that the doors are plated, not solid; and his insistence on brass must indicate a mistake on his part, since the abundant archaeological material is all bronze. The essential prerequisite for door-plates made of a mosaic of polygons is a *scale* drawing, but the overall drawing of the doors in the Bodleian MS [Fig. 142] shows an angular grid which does not even correspond to the shapes of the individual components, and al-Jazarī in fact writes as if the doors were to be assembled from an unspecified quantity of miscellaneous pieces. He refers to an inscription *border*, but all that is shown is a *horizontal band*, in fact corresponding to inscription plates affixed to bronze-plated doors like those of the mosque at Cizre/Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar [see E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser "Über eine Palasttür und Schlösser nach al-Gazari" *Der Islam* XI (1923) 223; C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler* (Berlin 1911) 25 and Plate XXXVI] with an inscription in the name of Abu'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sinjār Shāh (605/1208-?). However, the inscription on Fig. 142 reads *Al-mulk li'llāh al-wāḥid al-qahhār* (not *qāhīr*, as Hill translates it), which is not used on doors and is anyway far too short to fit the space available. His description of inlaying with copper by a second casting process [194-5, 267-8] is excessively complicated: the customary copper or silver wires and plates hammered into position would have been simpler and more effective. And, though virtually nothing is known of guilds, in 12th-13th century Diyārbakr, even the most elementary guild-structure would have prevented a craftsman from being simultaneously a *najjār* and a *naḥḥās/ṣaffār*.

The illustrations [Figs. 142-8] are some of the poorest of the Bodleian MS; they are much better in the early 13th century Topkapı MS (Hazine 3472); but the whole section is omitted in a Leyden MS Or. 117 (undated) as being of no interest. (A stemma might have been useful here). This is extraordinary, for there is so much later material to demonstrate the popularity of bronze-faced doors. There is even earlier evidence. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*Safarnāme op. cit.* 28] describes doors of "latticed iron" in the sanctuary of a church(?) adjacent to the Great Mosque at Diyārbakr. Iron-plated doors are evidently characteristic of Upper Mesopotamia/the Jazīrat al-ʿĀgūr: Herzfeld recorded the doors of the Mashhad Imām 'Awn al-Dīn at Mosul with a [restoration?] in-

scription of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' dated 646/1248. The Cizre doors alluded to above are flat bronze strapwork, but their knockers, in the form of confronted dragons hanging from a lion's head are exactly paralleled by those described by al-Jazari [195 Fig. 148], and there is a second pair, now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in West Berlin (Inv. No. I 2242), of unknown provenance. His account bears some relation, therefore, to the appearance of bronze doors in his time: it is his attempt to describe their manufacture which fails to ring true.

The chapter is, however, valuable, since the earliest extant doors to correspond closely with his specifications are in Cairo, where elements of doors from a foundation of Baybars (1260s), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, presage a series of great bronze-plated doors over more than a century, while cast bronze dragon knockers occur in Cairo as late as 885-6/1480-1, on the doors of the mosque of Qajmās/Qachmāz al-Ishāqī. Rich though the Artuqids were in copper, it would nevertheless be dangerous to suppose that Artuqid practice, as described by al-Jazari was the source of the Cairene fashion. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [op. cit. 81], corroborating Muqaddasī, describes the brass (or gilt brass — the terminology, and the alloy, is inconclusive) doors of the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem inlaid with silver and niello (the latter perhaps simply oxidised silver) bearing the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33) sent as a gift from Baghdad. This testimony is crucial. The fashion percolated gradually from Baghdad to provincial capitals where it was adopted by rulers anxious to ape the Metropolis: hence al-Jazari's association of it with the Artuqid palace at Āmid. The sudden mid-13th century Cairene fashion is perhaps to be ascribed to bronze-founders left unemployed after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate in 1258 and attracted by the pretensions of Mamlūk Cairo to be the new capital of the Islamic world. The omission of the chapter from some Mamlūk copies of the treatise is thus inexplicable.

Al-Jazari discusses certain subjects, for example, combination-locks [199-205], the history of which is very obscure. Dr. Hill's work will certainly attract attention to this — a fortunate consequence of a highly felicitous work. His evident concern for the reconstruction of al-Jazari's ingenious devices may well lead to a distinguished appointment as Court Engineer to some Oriental potentate. Unlike al-Jazari's treatise, however, his own will be of machines which all actually work.

There remains the problem of iconography which deserves a few concluding remarks. It raises two inter-related questions: (1) how was it that although, as usual, the illustrations were added after the text was written, their close relationship to it was maintained? And (2) why was the treatise so much illustrated in the Mamlūk period, when illustrated MSS are particularly rare? Hill's view of the treatise as a manual is tempting since, unlike the 13th-14th century Dioscorides MSS prepared mostly for herbalists, the illustrations of which diverge steadily from the text [cf. E. J. Grube "Materialien zum Dioskurides Arabus" in *Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst. Festschrift Kühnel* (Berlin 1959) 163-94] the illustrations to al-Jazari maintain their explanatory value. The

obvious answer to (1), therefore, is that automata-construction remained a flourishing Court industry and that the illustrations are the work of the craftsmen themselves. Divergence between textual and iconographic traditions is so much the rule, even with texts clearer than al-Jazari's, that it is otherwise scarcely credible that the Jazari miniatures did not suffer the fate of Dioscorides.

However, the answer is not very convincing. The instruments made for Hülegü's observatory at Marāgha are conclusive proof that the tradition of precision engineering survived the Mongol invasions. The Mongols even took to it. William of Rubruck at the Court of Möngke at Qaraqorum in 1252 met a Parisian goldsmith, Guillaume Boucher/Buchier, who had made a large automaton for the palace with silver lions belching kumiss, and a silver tree with pipes in its branches pouring kumiss, wine, rice-wine and mead into separate silver bowls, while an angel with a trumpet blew. The machine was known to Rashid al-Din, though he probably never saw it [cf. B. Gray "An unknown fragment of the 'Jāmi' al-Tawārikh' in the Asiatic Society of Bengal" *Ars Orientalis* I (1954) 71]. The Masjid-i Waqt-u Sā'at at Yazd (circa 1325) had, it is said, two horologes, though no detailed description of them exists, and no early translation of al-Jazari into Persian appears to be known. But Mamlūk Egypt had virtually none. The only reference L. A. Mayer gives is Ibn Iyās [*Islamic Astrolabists and their works*, op. cit. 21], who relates that some Yemeni *miqāṭiyya* [astronomical time-keepers] made a bronze automaton as a gift for the Ayyūbid Sultan, al-Malik al-Kāmil, which disappeared from the Royal Treasury in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (obit 1341).

The relative frequency of illustrated Mamlūk MSS of al-Jazari, despite the lack of evidence for a tradition of automata construction, must, therefore, be explained by the supposition that for the Mamlūks illustrations of automata took the place of the real thing. One dispersed MS, dated 1354, [cf. Plate XIII showing the hazardous wine-dispenser] was evidently a Royal commission, since the dome of the wine-dispenser bears the inscription 'Izz li-mawlānā al-Sultān al-Malik al-Sāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, a Mamlūk form of titulature which can only refer to Sultan Ṣāliḥ of Egypt (752-55/1351-54). Royal commissions are normally further evidence that manuscripts are not intended as manuals: they are normally for Royal libraries and therefore inaccessible; and, like "coffee-table" cookery books, they tend towards lavishness rather than comprehensibility. The illustration of 1354 is nevertheless closer to the text than that of the Bodleian MS [Fig. 82]. Perhaps, since the Mamlūk Sultan's knowledge of Arabic was reputedly bad, they depended more upon the illustrations, so gave orders that manuscripts they commissioned should be illustrated with special care.

Among the minor divergences which have nevertheless crept into the Bodleian MS one may mention [Figs. 52-2] the substitution of a beardless Mamlūk page for the bearded Indian prescribed; boys instead of slave girls [Figs. 82, 102, etc.] (slave girls apparently last appear in the dispersed 1354 MS), evidently because the Mam-

lūk fashion for epicene beauty left later illustrators at a loss; the tipping *shaykhs* [Fig. 100], evidently by deliberate censorship, for the conceit was as scandalous in its time as copulating cardinals would be now, become pages; and the Syriac monk in full dress of the bleeding machine, III.5, an appropriate figure because a doctor, becomes [Fig. 113] an oddly dressed elderly Mamlūk. Few illustrations diverge at all seriously, however. The lack of battlements on the fortress shown in Fig. 116 [III.7] makes the text obscure; and Fig. 134 showing a mule-driven water-wheel [V.2] has the mule drawn upside down, with the ludicrous gloss, apparently interpolated into the text, that the mistake is the illustrator's [180]. How did it escape the eye of an earlier supervisor? and why was it not simply corrected in later copies? Jokes are so rare in Islamic illustration that it cannot be deliberate.

Dr. Hill remarks in conclusion that al-Jazari's treatise, despite its completeness and coherence, had no seminal importance and never attained the status of a Classic. One explanation, which the present review has attempted to advance, is that it was sheer accident that the memory of a provincial master writing for the Artuqids of the ingenious devices known in the 12th century capitals of Islam was perpetuated by the Mamlūks in the 14th-15th centuries. As the subsequent history of cast bronze door-facings shows, at least part of his treatise is a description of established traditions where he was much less of an innovator than he pretended. For these there were clearly simple manuals of standard practice to supplement the "secrets" of the craft handed down informally from master to apprentice, and they must have changed with fashion, available materials and the quantity of skilled labour available. For a constantly changing climate of crafts, not to mention technology, al-Jazari's immutable treatise was plainly much less useful. One reason, perhaps, why his complicated astronomical clocks had no famous successors in the Islamic world is that infinitely simpler and cheaper means of telling the time, like sundials, were adopted as standard mosque or palace furniture. The restoration inscription of Sultan Lājīn in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo indeed mentions a *sā'a*; which was a sundial. Nor can his popularity at the Mamlūk Court have helped his public reputation, since it made him inaccessible to practising craftsmen, who had no other source of information on the devices he described, so far as we now know. To that extent, the abundance of illustrated MSS is misleading: the more he was copied in Court circles, the more his memory faded in the minds of the learned.

American University in Cairo,
December 1975

J. M. ROGERS

* *

GREEK WISDOM LITERATURE IN ARABIC TRANSLATION. A study of the Graeco-Arabic gnomologia. By DIMITRI GUTAS. New Haven, Connecticut, 1975 (8vo, X+504 pp.) = American Oriental Series, Vol. 60.

The main part of the work presented under the above

title consists of an edition of an Arabic gnomological text which bears the title *Muḥtār min kalām al-ḥukamā' al-arba'a al-akābir*. This text is identified by the author as a recension of a part of Abu Sulaymān as-Sijistānī's *Siwān al-Ḥikma*, namely the part which deals with Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. The edition is preceded by a survey of the available gnomological material in Greek and Arabic (46 pp.). The text itself is accompanied by an English translation (157 pp. in all) and followed by a commentary (221 pp.) with extensive references to Greek and Arabic sources and parallel texts. In a concluding chapter (33 pp.) the author discusses the general background of Greek and Arabic gnomological literature and the problems concerning its transmission from one culture to another. He also gives suggestions for further research. A bibliography (11 pp.), tables of concordance (10 pp.), a subject index (2 pp.) and a general index (9 pp.) conclude the book.

With this book Mr. Gutas has made a welcome contribution to Graeco-Arabic studies. Only a few publications on this subject have as yet appeared, among them several articles by F. Rosenthal and a few translations of gnomological texts like that of Sanguinetti. Ullmann's dissertation, which also deals with this part of the Greek heritage, is still unpublished. The present work is the first comprehensive study on Graeco-Arabic gnomologia to appear in print, testifying to a wide acquaintance with the relevant literature in different languages. In his chapter on the sources the author takes stock of the existing collections of gnomologia in Greek and Arabic. As to the Arabic part, the criteria for selection of books in the list are not clear to me. Collections of wise sayings like Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's *Nawādir al-falāsifa* are of course included, and so are gnomological sections of larger works like the *Uyūn al-anbā'* (sections mostly available in translation); but of the "works containing gnomological material" (material scattered throughout the text, I gather) only the works of Tawḥīdī, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ibn Qutayba and Jaḥīz are mentioned as having been used for the present edition, and the list of "works which must necessarily be taken into consideration in a comprehensive edition of the Arabic gnomologia" consists of only three titles: Ibn Juljul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, Sā'id al-Andalusī's *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* and aṣ-Ṣāhrazūrī's *Rawḍat al-afrāḥ*. It is hardly to be supposed that the author meant this list to be even remotely complete. The student of Arabic literature knows how much gnomological material is scattered through all kinds of different texts (Mas'ūdī's *Murūj*, for instance), and I think Mr. Gutas should have been more explicit about his criteria for selection.

This is another instance in which I wish more scholars had followed the practice adopted by Dozy in his *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*: listing not only the works which have yielded useful material but also those which have been consulted in vain. It would mean a few more pages in every book, but how much effort would be saved!

The comprehensive edition of the Arabic gnomologia mentioned above is a plan unfolded by the author in his concluding chapter. Separate editions of all the gnomo-

logia, he argues, will often overlap, since the same material is constantly used in different recensions. In a comprehensive edition the sayings can be arranged "according to the author under whose name it will be thought they were most likely translated". This rather cryptic sentence I take to mean: 'the name of the sage who is supposed to have uttered the saying'. A comprehensive edition of this kind would be very useful, but it is hardly to be expected that it can be undertaken in the near future, since too many manuscripts are still uncatalogued, and too many texts are still unknown to make possible an edition as definitive as one of such kind should be.

A text like the one edited by Mr. Gutas is of interest to the students of philosophy and cultural history, but to the philologist as well. For their benefit, a glossary — if only of technical terms — should have been added. The author's subject index is hardly useful in this respect and is, moreover, very incomplete. 'Animals' for instance, are only mentioned once in the text, according to the index, but even a cursory glance yields two other places, and several mentionings of dogs, swine, and 'wild beasts' as well, none of which could be traced in the index.

The author should also have been more explicit as to the principles of his text edition; it is based on three manuscripts, and they are dealt with in an eclectic way. This is, of course, perfectly justifiable, but it should be mentioned. One of the manuscripts bears no date, and because of its close relationship to another one written in the 15th century, the author supposes it to be from the same time. But cases are known of manuscripts copied from other ones several centuries older, so additional arguments for such a conclusion should be given. As to the critical apparatus of the text, the author might have saved himself trouble by omitting such variants as result from wrong diacritical signs, as is usually done (yasku – tasku). A short preliminary remark about the occurrence of such divergencies would have sufficed. The apparatus would also have been less bulky if the author had followed the practice of quoting only the variant reading without repeating the main text as well.

Some additional remarks: p. 429 note 1 suggests that the Greek text of the Nicomachean Ethics has never been edited — is this what the author meant to say? On p. 385 no. 8: the Arabic text ('A man told him — Aristotle — that Plato was stupid') is hardly a faithful rendering of the Greek ('Upon hearing that Plato spoke about him in a denigrating way Aristotle said'). On p. 171 note 1: if 'mantiq' means 'speech' in this context, why is it not translated accordingly?

I think the title should have indicated that the book is in fact a text edition; a subtitle should have explained this. As it is, the reader has to go through seven pages of introduction before he knows what he has in hand — which may be asking too much of the student who takes up the book for occasional reference. Consultation of the commentary would have been made much easier if the subdivisions of the text (Pythagoras, Plato, etc.) were given at the head of each page. Otherwise, the execution is pleasant.

March 1976

REMKE KRUUK

William E. GOHLMAN, *The Life of Ibn Sina. A critical edition and annotated translation*. Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 1974 (8vo, 163 pp.) = Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science. \$ 15.00.

The text edition provided here by W. E. Gohlman can stand as a school-example, of showing how, — in accordance with the achievements of Western philologic tradition from the 19th century onwards —, a text should be critically edited and commented. (Indeed, I feel that nowadays some text editions do not always match the required standards).

The "Introduction" (p. 1-15) is divided in three parts:

a. "Introduction to the edition" (p. 1-9), and additional "Notes 1-23" on p. 115-116. In this section the author discusses all the available texts concerning the life of Ibn Sina. By comparing the 14 surviving sources the author finds that two manuscript-traditions are to be distinguished. The first one is found in the long since published texts of al-Qiftī and Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybī'a; Both versions constitute only one single witness. Four witnesses corroborate the second manuscript-tradition. They were either totally unknown, or have not yet been the subject of a critical edition.

The method underlying the author's philologic discussion and critical edition is based on the "Stemmatics" of Paul Maas, as explained in his excellent booklet *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958).

b. "Introduction to the Translation" (p. 11-12) and additional "Notes 24-32" (p. 116-117). All the previously made translations of Ibn Sina's biography are discussed, especially the one of Arberry.

c. "Introduction to the Bibliographies" (p. 13-15) and additional "Notes 32-42" (p. 117). Here the attention is focused on the process of adding titles: The number of works attributed to Ibn Sina increases from the original "about forty" to 276.

In Appendix I-III (pp. 143-154) a listing and chronological order of Ibn Sina's works, as they are found in the material which were at the disposal of the author, is given.

The core of Gohlman's book, then, consists of the Arabic texts, together with a complete English translation which is of outstanding quality, and a critical apparatus based on his five witnesses of the autobiography/biography of Ibn Sina (pp. 16-89 and Notes on pp. 119-137) and of the bibliography of his works (pp. 90-113 and "Notes" on pp. 139-141). Regarding the translation of the Arabic text one might deplore the absence of any linguistic or grammatical notes. For example:

— on p. 22,5, "hattā" is translated as if it introduces a capital sentence. That, if it is true, must at least be considered as a rare use of this particle. One wonders if the author could point to any other texts where the same use of "hattā" occurs.

— on p. 38,7, "al-muwallad" is translated "by bird", where one normally would expect "a mulat" or

"a person not of mere Arabian extraction" (cf. Kazimirsky, II, p. 1603 and Lane, p. 2967).

— on p. 54,5, the translation of "min" is not quite clear to me: "Fa ibtada'a bi-l-ṭabī'yyāti min kitābin sammā-hu kitābu l-ṣifā'i" is translated by "And so he began with the 'Physics of a work which he called the 'Shifa'. I should prefer to see "min" translated in this context by "starting with the book which he called the 'ṣifā'" (see also "min" on p. 60,7).

— on p. 56,7 "Yaṭlabu al-maṣīra 'ilay-hi" is translated by "desiring to cast his lot with him". Why not just: "desiring to travel to him", or "asking permission to move towards him" (Lane, 1754).

— on p. 96,6 and 102,4, "tāmmān" is translated in two different ways, without any obvious reason. On p. 96 it is given adverbially: "Which is entirely lost", and on p. 104 one reads: "Which is not existant in its entirety". This last interpretation seems to be the more accurate one to me.

— on p. 180,5, the term "mā'iyya" is translated by "Essence", and so also is the translation given for the terms "Kayfiyya" and "Ġawhar", and sometimes also, I believe, for the term "Kammiyya".

Regarding this minor remark of mine, I am not stating that the author is necessarily wrong, only, that some more explicit grammatical and lexicographical observations of his would have set the reader's mind more at ease. The text reveals practically no misprints: on p. 40,1 "kitāb" instead of "kitāh"; on p. 62,2 "yumanni-hu" instead of "yumannitu" and on p. 105,7 "Bakr" instead of "Baki". The work ends with a Bibliography (pp. 155-158) and an Index (pp. 159-163).

Gent, May 1976

M. VAN DAMME

* *

Hava LAZARUS-YAFEH, *Studies in al-Ghazzālī*. Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, the Hebrew University, 1975 (4to, 542 pp.). \$ 20.—.

The authoress, Prof. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, former head of the Department for Islamic Civilization at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, presents her *Studies in al-Ghazzālī* as being the result of over fifteen years of continuous study in the works and thought of the great Muslim thinker, al-Ġazālī. The book itself testifies to this long and thorough study: it consists of the authoress' Ph. D. thesis, part of her M. A. thesis and two separately published articles. Notwithstanding the diversity of subjects treated, the work shows a clear coherence, centred as it is upon two basic themes.

The first theme is the analysis of the language used by al-Ġazālī and its implications for his way of thinking; it is "a twin study of language and content, the relationship of these to one another, their interaction and mutual influence" (p. 3). Terminology and the literary-stylistic peculiarities in general are used as a criterion to distinguish between al-Ġazālī's authentic works and works wrongly attributed to him. This method is elaborated

and applied in the present book to philosophical terms occurring in several works ascribed to al-Ġazālī as also to the book *Ar-radd al-jamil*, a refutation of the divinity of Christ.

The second theme, which is also elaborated by means of a literary-stylistic analysis, is the question whether al-Ġazālī has written some esoteric works. Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh comes to the conclusion that he did not, but that most of his later works consist of two "layers", the deeper one being intended for the initiated in mystical knowledge only. Thus all these works have a more or less hidden esoteric message. The authoress' conclusion, consequently, is that al-Ġazālī was a real mystic, and that his works — especially his *Ihyā'* — have to be understood as the expression of his "mystical re-evaluation and interpretation of traditional Islam" (p. 3).

The authoress shows to be fully aware of the many problems she has to cope with when trying to apply her literary method to the works of al-Ġazālī, e.g. the lack of good critical editions of his books, the lack of concordances, and even the uncertainty which books attributed to al-Ġazālī are really written by himself. That she nevertheless has undertaken this difficult task, and with some result, bears witness both to her courage and to the possibilities of the method used.

Technical terms and personal style.

I agree with Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh that in order to distinguish the authentic writings of a given author the analysis of his stylistic and terminological peculiarities can be of great importance. But we have to bear in mind that al-Ġazālī is not a writer of literary prose, nor a composer of sermons, in which the personal style of the author plays a very important part. An author as al-Ġazālī who composes scientific treatises, be it in the field of philosophy, theology or even mystique, is not free to use whatever terms or sentence structures he likes. His language is basically a technical language, in which words and structures convey a very specific and technical meaning. He carefully chooses his words, and in important passages each term and each structure can have its own specific function inside the argumentation and the elucidation of a given system of thinking. If al-Ġazālī's works do express his profound understanding of the structures of reality, if he really is the great thinker he is said to be, we must give our serious attention to the exact wording he chose in order to express his thoughts.

Does this observation imply that it is impossible to use terminology and style as a criterion to distinguish in scientific texts between what is authentic and what is not? Not at all. It even sharpens the criterion: not the relatively frequent occurrence of certain terms alone must be used as a criterion, but the frequent, *consistent* and *correct* use of the technical terms. Here even somebody imitating the personal style of al-Ġazālī will easily betray himself.

This has its consequences for the translation of al-Ġazālī's texts; such a translation must be very careful

and rather literal. Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh admits that her many translations are not very literal (e.g. pp. 4 and 53); she prefers a broad and free translation in order to make the meaning of the text as clear as possible. In most cases, however, these free translations obscure rather than reveal the true meaning of the text concerned since the technical impact of words and structures has disappeared in her English text. We shall discuss some examples below.

In order to show the importance of the study of technical terminology, I now briefly comment on a short passage, pp. 53-84, where the authoress discusses some "expressions of stress and emphasis" (p. 53) characteristic for the authentic writings of al-Ġazālī. In her opinion these expressions are used mainly to "convey to his reader his feelings of religious certainty" (p. 52). In fact, however, most of these expressions belong to the technical vocabulary of logic and are consciously used by al-Ġazālī as truly technical terms. My choice of this passage was dictated by the fact that the description of human knowledge — in which most words and expressions treated here find their place — is elaborated in a later chapter of the book (pp. 357-363). Moreover, this subject clearly shows the importance of technical terminology as also the dangers of free interpretation and free translation of the texts concerned. My observations below are entirely based on the text quoted by the authoress.

'alā t-tahqīq: this and similar expressions are explained as used to stress the contents of a given sentence; consequently, they are translated as "actually", "truly" or "as a matter of fact". From the texts quoted, it appears, however, that al-Ġazālī, just as other theologians, used the word *ḥaqīqa* as opposed to *ism*, the reality of the thing concerned as opposed to its name (cf. pp. 57-58; the translation on p. 57 entirely neglects the clear grammatical opposition between both terms). Consequently, Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh correctly notices that *tahqīq* means "verification (of this reality) by research and study" (p. 54), but she fails to see that in the examples quoted the term is really used in this technical sense.

Tahqīq leads to knowledge (*ma'rifa*), in opposition to *taqlīd* (uncritical adherence to traditions), which only leads to *taṣdīq* (accepting something as true). Thus *tahqīq* (verification) in the various ways in which it is used indicates the sure way to acquire real knowledge.

darūri: rightly Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh remarks that the use of this term (necessary) is not "a camouflage, denoting a lack, as it were, of the ability to debate", but she fails to notice that this term is the terminus technicus for the "necessary" knowledge, the direct and incontestable knowledge everybody has. This knowledge is very often empirical and emotional (direct self-experience and direct knowledge of the outer world by sensory perception; cf. pp. 61 and 65). Thus the use of this term does not try to convey a religious certainty, but appeals to the knowledge every reader necessarily has. It indicates a kind of knowledge and invites the reader of the text to consult his own experiences. Rightly this term is used as opposed to *naẓar* and its derivatives, which in-

dicates the process of reflection and argumentation leading to the other kind of knowledge, the acquired knowledge. (The translation of the verb *'araḥ* by the English "tell" on p. 63 obscures the fact that the Arabic text mentions necessary knowledge.)

lā yutamārā fih: "about which no one has any doubts" (p. 68). This expression is used to stress one of the aspects of necessary (*darūri*) knowledge: the fact that it is indisputable, that nobody can honestly dispute it, since the knowledge concerned is common to all human beings. (Consequently, the translation "which you will not doubt" on p. 69 is confusing and incorrect.)

Conditional sentences: the use of the conditional sentences quoted by the authoress is not dictated by the need "to stress his words and their veracity" (p. 79); most often they are used in the course of two kinds of argumentation which are very common in Islamic theology: the *reductio ad absurdum* and various kinds of analogical reasoning. In both cases the conditional sentence has its own function and must be understood as integrating part of the argumentation.

These examples may suffice to show the technical aspects of the terms used by al-Ġazālī and discussed by Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh. When dealing with the question of the authenticity of writings attributed to al-Ġazālī, one should also verify whether all those technical terms, if used at all, are used correctly and in a way which is consistent with their use in the authentic works.

Esoteric elements

The authoress rejects the thesis that al-Ġazālī secretly cultivated an esoteric doctrine and held the theory of a "double truth". She is right in doing so. Yet she discovers in the writings of al-Ġazālī a double message, one for the masses (*'awāmm*) and one for the initiated (*ḥawāṣṣ*) only. This distinction between two categories of people is described by her in terms which tend to become moral qualifications: the *ḥawāṣṣ* are "worthy" (p. 349), the *'awāmm* are regarded with "contempt and pity" (p. 353) and are forbidden to study theology (p. 354). I got the impression that she takes here factual observations as moral prescriptions and actual possibilities as moral qualifications. Al-Ġazālī himself makes a comparison with the subsequent stages of human life: an infant does not yet know what an older child is and knows, and that child does not yet know what an adult person is and knows, just as this person does not know what a prophet is and knows (cf. pp. 301-302).

Al-Ġazālī distinguishes accordingly between *'ilm al-mu'āmalā* (for all people) and *'ilm al-mukāṣafa* (for the initiated only). As appears from the division of knowledge into different categories (p. 358), it is not correct to call the latter the "science of revelation" (p. 359). One better chooses terms like "morality" (*'ilm al-mu'āmalā*) and "theology" (*'ilm al-mukāṣafa*). In this context it would be very useful to make a deeper study into the use of the two terms for "knowledge": *'ilm* and *ma'rifa* (cf. pp. 386-387 and 421). This might elucidate also al-Ġazālī's point of view regarding the value of the

traditional sciences such as *kalām* and *fiqh*. I got the impression that Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh describes it too negatively; anyhow, her rendering of al-Ġazālī's attitude towards the *kalām* is much stronger in its formulations than the original text on which it is based (cf. pp. 382 and 383).

Personally, I am not very happy with the translations presented by Prof. Lazarus-Yafeh. I noticed already that her free translations often obscure the real meaning of the text, especially where the Arabic formulation appears to be carefully chosen. Moreover, one meets with a number of real mistranslations, which should have been avoided. To give a few examples from the pages discussed above: *mustaqill bi* is not "independent" but "entirely devoted to" (p. 57), *ḥabar* cannot be translated as "inquiry" (p. 58), the addition of the word "but" in the first text of p. 56 changes the meaning of the sentence fundamentally (also the remainder has to be corrected, as is apparent in the original context).

Also the transliteration of Arabic words shows some mistakes or misprints: dots are forgotten, just as the marking of long vowels and the doubling of letters; the transliteration of *'ayn* and *hamza* presents some difficulties; final *hamza* is not transliterated at all (*ihyā*, *asmā*, *imlā*). Arabic *yā* is transliterated as *y*, *j*, (*dunja* besides *dunya*) *i*, and *i*. The word *'āmmiyy* is always written *'āmiyy*.

Anyhow, this book with its presentation of the possibilities of the literary stylistic method in the study of Muslim authors, is a challenge to every colleague working in this field to elaborate this method and use it in his own research. For me, the fact that it brings the texts themselves into focus is among its greatest merits.

Nijmegen, May 1976

JAN PETERS

* *

C. NIJLAND, *Mikhā'il Nu'aymah. Promoter of the Arabic Literary Revival*. Leiden/Istanbul, Netherlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1975 (4to, VIII + 131 pp., frontispiece) = *Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul XXXIX*. Price: f 50,—. ISBN 90 6258 039 4.

Nijland's work is a Ph. D. dissertation on which he worked for some years under the guidance of J. Brugman, Professor of Arabic Studies at the University of Leiden. After perusing this work thoroughly and admittedly with a critical eye I can say without any inhibition that the result has been rewarding. As a student of modern Arabic literature Nijland chose his subject carefully with the idea of presenting one of the foremost pioneers and promoters of the Arabic literary revival. His choice of Nu'aymah has been a right one if we take into consideration that Nu'aymah's works have never been subject of a thorough scientific investigation (notwithstanding the study made by Nu'aymah's nephew Nadim, published in 1967) whether in Arabic or in a foreign language.

The author covers in his study, up to 1975, all that Nu'aymah wrote in addition to the personal interviews and discussions which he had with M. N. in his retreat in Lebanon. In such a situation Nijland had a unique opportunity which enabled him to make a comprehensive study of his subject.

The introduction which is an exposé of the historical background of the revival of Arabic literature during the 19th century and the first half of this century, is a worthy piece of work which forms clearly the basis of the edifice of the following chapters. Nevertheless, the introduction contains a few remarks and comments which need more elaboration; for instance: "They were not dogmatic, were anticlerical and had democratic feelings" (p. 9). Such a rather sweeping statement warrants a thorough elaboration of what is meant by expressions as 'dogmatic', 'anticlerical' and 'democratic feelings'. Also, I feel that the last sentence at the end of the chapter (p. 14): "In due time, however, he turned into a new, non-literary direction: he became a preacher of a creed superseding all existing ones and excluding none, saying that man via a long chain of individual rebirths will finally lose his individuality and be reunited with God", is apt to confuse the reader at this early stage of the work. It might have been kept for a later chapter i.e. Chapter VII (as mentioned by the author himself in the footnote on p. 14).

In the chapter about the life story of M. N. one cannot help but being impressed by what M. N. wrote in his diary about Tolstoy's influence on him and his outlook on life (p. 18). It must be mentioned that Nijland made a good use of Nu'aymah's autobiography "*Sab'un*" as a basis for this chapter. A minor fault on p. 22 is that the Peace Conference was not held in San Remo, but in Versailles Palace in Paris.

In the following chapters the author presents Nu'aymah a poet, narrative prosodist, biographer of Gibran, autobiographer in '*Sab'un*', literary critic and preacher.

Talking of him as a 'poet' Nijland presents us with a good selection of the poetical works of Nu'aymah. Unfortunately, he presents them in transliterated form while, I am confident, the reader would have preferred to see them in Arabic characters. Nonetheless, the translations of the titles of the poems, words and expressions of the chosen poems are correct in general except for a few mistakes which appear here and there; for instance the title 'karam 'alā darb' (p. 29 footnote 8) must be 'Karm 'alā darb'; also 'ṣadā al-agrās' (p. 30) must be translated by 'the echo of the (church) bells' and not by 'the voice of Church bells'. In addition there are few mistakes in the method of transliteration or in the transliteration of poems' titles or contents; but I do not feel that they are so important to warrant tabulating them here and they do not seem to mar the aesthetic value of the work rendered.

In the chapter on Nu'aymah's narrative prose we get a clear picture of his literary work which places him as a prosodist more than a poet. Nearly all that Nu'aymah wrote has been done in Arabic and one misses the statement that, although he became acquainted with Russian and Western literature and although he lived a long

span of his life abroad, he never produced any translation, except Gibrān's, *The Prophet*.

Despite the fact that M. N. never bothered much about politics as we have seen in the chapter entitled "The biography of Gibrān and Nu'aymah's autobiography", we come across a few important statements which show M. N. as a person really interested in the world around him. For instance his 'four-line fierce comment' (as Nijland says, p. 76) on the issue of the Balfour Declaration.

I must admit that M. N. was a mystery to me till the moment I read Nijland's work especially the last chapter wherein he presents M. N. as the Preacher. Here we come across a figure who deserves to be described as a unique man of letters in the annals of modern Arabic literature. Nijland has to be thanked for his vivid analysis of the personality of such a writer.

Amsterdam, December 1976

MUSA SUUDI

* *

A. L. TIBAWI, *Arabic and Islamic Themes. Historical, Educational and Literary Studies*. London, Luzac & Company, 1974 (8vo, 409 pp., 1 frontispiece). SBN 7189 0164 9.

The present book is divided into three parts and an appendix. Part one consists of six articles and reviews which have to do with Islamic themes. Part two brings eight articles and a review about education in Islam and part three comprises a review and six articles about the modern period of the Nahḍa and the Palestine conflict. The appendix consists of twenty reviews of a variety of books.

Most of the articles and reviews have been published elsewhere and it would have been a good thing if the author had given full bibliographical details of the original publications in footnotes to the relevant articles. The reviews in the appendix mention only the author and title of the book, but not the publisher, place and date of publication etc.

Part one opens with a review of A. Guillaume's, *The Life of Muhammad*. London, O.U.P., 1955, which is the English translation of the text of Ibn Ishāq as reconstructed by Prof. A. Guillaume. Prof. Tibawi's critique concerns: 1. the necessity of a new translation; 2. the reconstruction of Ibn Ishāq's text; 3. the English translation on its own and in comparison with Weil's *Das Leben Mohammads* (1864); 4. the introduction; 5. the notes; 6. certain isolated matters. Tibawi's verdict is negative.

To be mentioned here is the review by Rudi Paret in *Der Islam* 32 (Nr. 57), 334-342, the better part of which consists of a list of corrections and elucidations (pp. 336-342).

2. "Christians under Muhammad and his first two Caliphs" (pp. 53-71), published earlier in *Islamic Quarterly* 6 (1961), 30-46.

The author tries to prove that Islam was meant to be a universal religion from its very beginning. He then proceeds to show what were the new relations between

Muslims and Christians after the latter had refused to listen to the invitation to accept Islam. The imposition of the poll-tax in lieu of military service, the land tax, the expulsion of the people of Najrān during the caliphate of 'Umar, and the so-called Ordinance of 'Umar are dealt with.

3. "Is the Qur'ān translatable? Early Muslim Opinion" (72-85), is a paper read at the XXVth International Congress of Orientalists, August 1960, in Moscow. Published in *Muslim World* 52 (1962) 4-16. On the basis of the premise that Muhammad's mission is to mankind as a whole, the author discusses two questions of early Islam: a. Is it permissible to translate the Arabic Qur'ān into another tongue? b. Is it lawful to recite the translated Qur'an in prayer?

4. "The Idea of Quidance in Islam" (86-98). (Published in *Islamic Quarterly* 3 (1956) 139-156). The author sketches in broad outlines the developments of Islamic thought from its early beginnings to the teachings of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' on the one hand and to those of al-Ghazālī on the other.

5. "From Islam to Arab Nationalism. With Special Reference to Egypt and Syria" (99-153). In this long article Tibawi traces the development of the idea of Arab nationalism from its early beginnings in the late eighteenth century down to the present day. Notable in this article is the translation of three anti-Turkish placards which were posted up in Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Damascus in 1880. The dispatches from the British Consulates in Beirut and Damascus on the subject of these placards are considered next. The author holds that the placards were written by Muslims and that the Christians played a secondary part only in stead of being the prime movers as held by George Antonius.

6. "The Last Knight of the Last Caliphs" (154-158). Published in *Islamic Quarterly* 15 (1971) 159-163). This article deals with the siege of Madina held by Fakhri Pasha from July 1916 until 19 January 1919 against the revolting Arabs under Ḥusayn, the Sharif of Mecca.

Part Two opens with "Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' and their Rasā'il. A Critical Review of a Century and a Half of Research" (161-180) (*Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955) 28-46). The article reviews the research carried out since the first fragment of the *Rasā'il* was published in 1812 in Calcutta, discussing the question of authorship and the relation with Ismā'ilism. The author calls for an investigation of this relationship, for an analysis of "the sources of the Ikhwān's material" and for a "detailed study of the influence of the *Rasā'il* on Islamic thought, both Sunnī and Shi'i, on the one hand, and on medieval European and Jewish literature on the other". The author ends his review with the suggestion to study "the place of the *Rasā'il* in Muslim educational thought and practice". The last reference quoted in the above review dates from 1948.

2. "Some Educational Terms in Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'" (181-186), being the text of a paper read at the Congress of Orientalists, Munich, 1957. (Published in *Islamic Quarterly* 5 (1959) 55-60).

3. "Philosophy of Muslim Education" (187-197) (Published in *Islamic Quarterly* 4 (1957) 78-89). Starting with what the Qur'ān and Tradition have to say about education, the author turns to the first theories of education by al-Jāhīz and Ibn Saḥnūn. He dwells shortly on the Rasā'il of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' and then proceeds to the writings of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn.

4. "Al-Ghazālī's sojourn in Damascus and Jerusalem" (198-211): (Original publication not traced). The aim of this article is "to throw light on that important episode in the life of al-Ghazālī and, in particular, to suggest a connexion between his decision to leave teaching and a desire to commune with a mystic then living and teaching in Damascus".

5. "Origin and Character of al-Madrasah" (212-227) (Published in *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 225-238. This article is in essence a critique of G. Makdisi's article "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad" (*BSOAS* 24 (1961) 1-56).

Tibawi holds against Makdisi that learning was less formalized than one is led to think by the latter's article; that words like *dars* and *mudarris* were not exclusively connected with the study of *fiqh* (p. 217, n. 2), and that the *madrasah* was not an institution designed for the teaching of *fiqh* to the exclusion of other religious sciences. He also holds that Nizām al-Mulk did not support the *Nizāmiyas* from his own purse but from public funds and that, therefore, after Nizām al-Mulk's death, control fell to the Sultan and later to the Caliph.

Right as Tibawi may be about the lack of system in Muslim education in the 11th century, it should, however, be said, that Makdisi never excluded other religious sciences from the *madrasah*, but included them as subjects subsidiary to the study of *fiqh* (*BSOAS* 24, p. 11).

6. "Al-Mu'allim Butrus al-Bustānī". This chapter is part of an article published in A. Hourani, *Middle Eastern Affairs*, Number Three (St. Antony's Papers, Number 16). London, Chatto & Windus, 1963, pp. 137-182, with the title "The American Missionaries in Beirut and Butrus al-Bustānī". The present Chapter covers pp. 157, line 13-182 of the above mentioned article.

This chapter "consists of an analysis of Bustānī's intellectual development and literary production against the background of his connections with the American missionaries in Beirut", and: "it is based largely on unpublished American missionary and diplomatic sources utilized for the first time". These are the Archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, the American Consulate (Beirut?), and the Arabic letters Bustānī wrote to Eli Smith, the American missionary "entrusted with the preparation and printing of missionary literature". (Cf. Part II, Ch. 7 of the present volume, "History of the Syrian Protestant College", p. 258).

The treatment is chronological, unfolding the multiple activities of al-Bustānī which made him a key-figure in the Arabic revival as far as Lebanon is concerned. To give his verdict the author quotes Gibb, saying "A pioneer in many branches of literary activities" (p. 251), while censoring Zaidān's assertion that Bustānī was "the leader of the literary movement of his age in regard to schools, societies, newspapers, journals, language,

science as literature" as "very difficult to sustain" (p. 252).

7. "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College" (253-285), is like the preceding chapter largely based on the Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, and the Archives of this Board. It was published before in the *A.U.B. Festival Book*, 1967, pp. 257-294, and in *Middle East Journal*, 21 (1967) p. 1-15, 199-212.

A large place is reserved for the so-called Lewis-affair which culminated in something like an anti-darwinist purge to which Lewis and the Arab teachers Fāris Nimr and Ya'qub Ṣarrūf fell victim in 1884. More recently on this issue Nadia Faraq, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf" *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 8,1 (January 1972), 73-83.

The author expanded on the early history of the Syrian Protestant College in his *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1966.

The last article of part II is titled "The Meaning of ath-Thaqafa in contemporary Arabic". It is the text of a paper read at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge, August 1954. It was published in *Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955) pp. 222-228.

The author opens this paper with an analysis of the meaning of the word *thaqāfa* according to the Arab lexicographers. He then passes on to the present-day use of the word *thaqāfa* for meanings which should have been rendered by words like *ta'lim* and *tarbiya* on the one hand, or by words like *ḥadāra* and *madaniya* on the other hand. The author gives some examples to illustrate his argument.

Part three consists of a review of the *Cambridge History of Islam* and six articles, five of which are relevant to Palestine problems. One article deals with, what the author calls, "Some Misconceptions about the Nahḍa".

1. The author's complaint against the *Cambridge History of Islam* is that it is written in the main by Western scholars and that "Arab scholars are conspicuous by their absence". He selects five out of about fifty articles for a closer analysis.

2. "Some Misconceptions about the Nahḍa" (pp. 304-314). Earlier publication not traced. The author challenges the assumption that the Arabic literary revival originated in Lebanon and that the American Protestant missionaries together with the native Christians were the leaders of this revival. He refers to the cumulative lists of Arabic books printed in Cairo and supplied in 1839, to, among other centres, Aleppo, Damascus, Latakia, Tripoli, Jaffa and Gaza" (305). He further asserts that Arabic classical texts were printed in Cairo long before Beirut took interest.

As regards the Lebanese Nahḍa Tibawi is of the opinion that the Muslims cannot be denied their share. He refers to the placards posted up in Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli and Damascus in 1880 which he translated in his article "From Islam to Arab Nationalism" (pp. 99-153 of the volume under review). He ascribes these placards, on good grounds it seems, to Muslims. The bias in favour of the Americans and the Christians is

largely due to George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*. Tibawi holds. He further takes exception to A. Hourani's *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*.

The following articles are titled:

3. T. E. Lawrence, Faisal and Weizzmann (pp. 315-323), from *Journal Royal Central Asiatic Society*, 56 (1969), 156-163.

4. "Palestine in an Anglo-Zionist Conspiracy (From the McMahon Pledge to the Peace Conference) (pp. 324-330) (Earlier Publication not traced).

5. "Denial of Self-Determination to the Palestine Arabs. The British Responsibility" (pp. 331-340) (Earlier publication not traced).

6. "Visions of the Return. The Palestine Arab Refugees in Arabic Poetry and Art". Published earlier in *Middle East Journal* 17 (1963) 507-526. The article has not been updated. The insertion of the year 1967 (p. 343) has therefore remained an empty gesture.

7. "The City of Jerusalem" (pp. 355-363) (from *Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1972) 3-11.

To conclude: This volume amply illustrates Professor Tibawi's activities in many fields. His articles are on the whole well worth reading. It is a good thing to have so many of them collected in the present volume.

Leiden, December 1976

C. NIJLAND

* *

Myriam ROSEN-AYALON, *Ville Royale de Suse IV. La poterie islamique*. Paris, Geuthner, 1974 (pp. XII + 313, Plates LXIX) (= Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran. Volume I. Mission de Susiane sous la direction de R. Ghirshman). Price: NF 490.

The council of archaeological perfection is to publish excavated material while memory is fresh and it is still possible to check, despite the danger that subsequent excavation may entail revisions. Brief catalogues may suffice. Volumes as detailed as J.-Cl. Gardin's *Lashkari Bazar II. Les trouvailles. Céramiques et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et Bust* (Paris 1963) may be unnecessary, and the now standard practice (cf. K. Brisch's *Jabal Says/Usais*, T. Goell's *Arsameia ad Nymphaeum*, R. Naumann's *Takht-i Sulaymān*, G. T. Scanlon's *Fustāt* and D. M. Whitehouse's *Sirāf*, to name but a few) of incorporating running commentaries with drawings and plates upon Islamic pottery excavated into preliminary reports has much to commend it. But the extension of this principle to Islam is recent. Excavated Islamic pottery has mostly been relegated to separate publications (*Sāmarrā* (1925), *Antioch* (1948), *Ḥamā'* (1957), *Nishāpūr* (1974)) issued long after excavation has ceased. In this last case patience has been rewarded by C. K. Wilkinson's careful *Nishapur: Pottery of the early Islamic Period* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1974) which has clearly gained in some respects from the enforced delay. But if delay is not al-

ways fatal it adds enormously to the complications.

The result of this policy, and the disruptive effects of two world wars, is that pottery from many Islamic excavations of prime importance is known merely from promissory footnotes in preliminary excavation reports (*Qasr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbi*, Rayy, *Iṣṭakhr*, *Khīrbat Mīnya*, *Raqqa*, among others) and remains unclassified, choking museum reserves all over the world from Istanbul to Chicago. The waste is more than tragic. It is, for example, now notorious that most of the intact pieces of pottery exhibited in museums as "Rayy" have virtually no parallels in the excavated sherd material (mostly in the reserves of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the University Museum, Philadelphia and the Oriental Institute, Chicago). Excavation of many of these sites is now impossible after years of systematic destruction by clandestine digging, and the obvious way of reconciling major inconsistencies appears to be the publication of sherd material *in toto*.

The scope of such publications raises many difficulties, however. The papers of Maqrīdī Bey's expedition to *Raqqa* in the 1900s, now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, incomplete as they are, show conclusively that the material was neither stratified nor necessarily from *Raqqa*, since much of it came from material confiscated at *Aleppo*. Even where detailed day-books survive (those for *Sāmarrā* are presumably in Herzfeld's papers in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, while Rayy and *Iṣṭakhr* depend upon the Schmidt papers of which a major part are in the University Museum, Philadelphia) they relate to the excavator's preoccupations and not necessarily to the problems of the present. Any serious publication would involve years of reconstruction, and it is unclear whether it would be worth the trouble. Even statistics of frequencies are suspect, for it is rarely possible to determine how much significant material was discarded in the field. There remain summary typologies with analysis of any kiln material present or of glazes and body material. And that is virtually all; disappointingly, for it is scarcely bearable to see so much material once potentially valuable go to waste. But more ambitious publication is inevitably misleading.

Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's work plainly shows these tensions. For despite continuous French excavation at *Sūsa/Shūsh* since 1897 only one previous volume has appeared on the Islamic pottery, R. Koechlin's *Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1928), and the Islamic material collected between 1897 and 1946 has had to be written off. Richard Ettinghausen in his review of Ghirshman's *Rapport préliminaire I. Cinq campagnes de fouilles à Suse (1946-51)* (Paris 1952) in *Ars Orientalis* I (1954) 220-3 looked forward to a new era with regular detailed reports on the Islamic finds. In 1960 there appeared *Numismatique Susiane. Monnaies trouvées à Suse de 1946 à 1956* (= Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse XXVII) with an important contribution on the Islamic coin finds by G. C. Miles. Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's work, which appears more than twenty years after Ettinghausen's review, is only the second of the reports he wished for, though she announces that it is to be followed by a publication of the glass and small finds.

As she herself frequently remarks, the detailed chronology of early Islamic pottery is far from satisfactory. A catalogue of excavated material, therefore, ideally needs to concentrate upon chronological precision, with a key in the form of a stratified grid, full description and dimensions, relevant comparative material and technical analysis to back up the typology. Irritatingly, technical analysis "par son caractère plus étranger aux sciences humaines" [4] has been left for yet another volume. But even twenty years has been too long an interval for the author to treat her material as current, and the work of reconstruction necessary has made it difficult for her to produce a satisfactory catalogue. Her frequent references forwards to parallels between glass and pottery demonstrate her detailed knowledge of the *Susa* material; but she was too young to take part in the 1946-51 excavations and at the time the present volume went to press she was not able to include the results of the trial excavations she considered necessary [9 n. 1] to verify her conclusions. She has therefore had to take a great deal for granted. It cannot have been easy, for example, to work on pottery stored separately, with no indication of associated finds, as must have been the case since [126 Fig. 283] she is obliged to catalogue a potter's spur, essential evidence for local kiln production, without indicating the ware(s) to which it is to be related. It seems, moreover, extremely unlikely that the material she publishes is the totality of finds. For her typology, which abounds in drinking or storage vessels, contains no cooking pots, a paradoxical phenomenon in habitation areas; and straight-spouted ewers, which have been used continuously in Islam for purification [e.g. 21 Figs. 4-5], apparently do not occur above Level III. The only possible conclusion is that much potentially useful material was tacitly discarded in the field. Moreover, no evidence is provided for her assumption that the 1946-51 were typical. In the circumstances her conclusion [10] that the material from the 1946-51 seasons forms a complete spectrum of types appears especially rash.

The evidence for the dating of the Islamic *Susa* levels is heterogeneous. The author's prime datum is Ghirshman's Levels I-III — 10th-early 11th century; 8th-9th century; and 7th-8th century respectively, and in fact equivalent to "Buwayhid", "Abbāsīd" and "Umayyad". She ignores [12] Ghirshman's subdivision of Level II, and her doubts on the adequacy of a three-level distinction occasionally show in allusions to multiple levels (for example [28] Fig. 27 I-II) and the incorporation of levels from other *Susa* mounds, notably that known as the "Ville des artisans" (levels given 12 n. 8 or material 240 Figs. 570-2). Ghirshman simply ignored material from the later 11th century onwards, though there was ample evidence for it, and Koechlin (*op. cit.* 10) even refers to numerous "17th-18th century Turkish" wares "of rather poor quality", [evidently "Kirman" blue and white] which suggests that the town was not only flourishing in the post-Mongol period, as contemporary geographers assert, but remained important into Šafawid times. Ghirshman's upper limit was evidently determined by the fall of the Buwayhids, who had made *Susa* one of their principal garrison towns, though it would have been more interesting to have chosen a slightly later date

so that the economic consequences for *Susa* could have been examined.

Mme. Rosen-Ayalon does not make it clear whether, or how, Ghirshman's three levels were stratified. The relevance of numismatics she adduces is problematic. Thus [13] in Level II a hoard of 1130 coins, 86% of them dated 860-79 came to light. Miles has suggested (*op. cit.* 69), doubtless on other grounds, that Level II corresponds to 8th-9th century habitation levels. But the hoard is at best a *terminus post quem*, and all the more difficult to evaluate since both Wilkinson (*op. cit.* xxx) and Miles himself (*The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York 1938) 5-7) have remarked upon the persistence of early Islamic coins in circulation. There are no further references to numismatic evidence in the present volume: it is always difficult to evaluate; and impossible without reference to precise archaeological contexts, which the classification of the *Susa* finds leaves indeterminate.

The author's independent ventures into chronology are no more successful. She notes stucco finds in Levels I and II (13 and Plate III) comparable, respectively, to *Sāmarrā* Styles C and B. This evidence is weak, however: the chronology of the *Sāmarrā* stuccos needs reconsideration, since it cannot now be argued that the town collapsed with the return of the Caliphs to Baghdad in 892; and Style C has been shown to persist, with only minor modifications, into the early 14th century. She also invokes [12] the filled in wells which cover the "Ville royale" as decisive evidence, though her case remains unproven. Puits G (Appendix I) is not stratified, merely divided into 50 cm. sections, and the identifiable material (there is no reference back to the text) all appears to be from Level I. Her comparison with Scanlon's "sealed pits" at *Fustāt* [12] is based on a misconception. The latter were essentially cisterns to store fresh water from the Nile, since the water from the rock is brackish and undrinkable. As is well known, broken sherds, among other material, were periodically thrown in to precipitate dust in suspension. They were not always cleaned out and when overlaid by subsequent building constitute stratified sequences, which Scanlon has analysed with conspicuous success, even though, without external evidence for dating, it is sometimes difficult to determine the period covered by a given sequence.

Wells, however, are a different matter. Those which dry up constitute a public danger and must be filled in: the fill is archaeologically valueless. The division of Puits G into 50 cm. sections is thus pointless; but it raises the suspicion that Ghirshman's Levels I, II and III are similarly unstratified. Filled in wells, as opposed to cisterns (cf. R. McC. Adams "Tell Abū Sarifa, a Sasanian-Islamic ceramic sequence" *Ars Orientalis* VIII (1970) 91), where numerous, are not always easily detectible, so that intrusive material from upper stratified levels may occur. Hence, although the sherd-count in the Abū Sarifa wells was low, glazed sherds were found at levels well below their proper level. Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's attempts to refine Ghirshman's three-level chronology, which is too wide to allow for developments over a decade or less, lack cogency.

Equally serious is the failure to localise sherd material. The excavations in the "Ville royale" [12] covered more than a hectare, an area over which considerable variation may be expected. However, no grid is reproduced, or referred to, and sherd material is given simply its *present* location (MT - Musée de Téhéran; ML - Réserves de la Mission archéologique à Suse; and RMT - Réserves de la Mission archéologique à Téhéran). The author herself appears to have had doubts occasionally: of [29] Fig. 30 ascribed to "Level II?" she remarks in note 1 "signalée comme datant du IX^e siècle s'y trouve probablement par erreur" — whose mistake? Hence also, perhaps, the unexplained Addenda to various groups (29, 73, 206, 240, 244, 260) though some may represent genuine doubt — for example, a glazed ostrakon [206 Fig. 490] from Level II which appears really to belong to the unglazed ostraka [108-9 Figs. 236-9] from the same level.

Circumstances, therefore, and Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's approach, make her work more of a provisional typology than the systematic archaeology [4] she aspires to. Her "comparative chronology" (Appendix VII) is simply incomprehensible. It apparently relates to the total volume of production, which as her catalogue demonstrates, cannot be calculated for Susa. And the termini given for Afrāsiyāb, Fustāṭ, al-Minā' and Rayy are patently misleading, while Sirāf is ignored. The time expended on compiling it would have been more profitably devoted to the text of her volume.

How useful is the work as a typology, then? It is certainly difficult to consult, since the published volumes of the Susa excavations are discrete, as Ettinghausen complained in his review of Ghirshman's *Rapport préliminaire*. For the most part, therefore, the conclusions of earlier volumes are assumed, without discussion or even summary. The lack of technical analysis necessary to supplement Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's catalogue threatens to make it unusable. Some general editorial supervision of the publication of the Susa excavations seems very necessary if, as intended, future volumes are to form a coherent corpus. The most serious disadvantage for her work is that up to the present none of the Parthian or Sāsānian pottery has yet been published. It is left to the reader's speculation whether the finds were minimal or negligible: [8] though Susa was sacked and partially abandoned after a punitive raid by Shāpūr II in the 4th century and a new town, Īwān-i Karkhā founded 20 kilometres to the North, Susa itself appears to have revived just before the Islamic conquest of 638-9. However, it is scarcely possible to characterise Level III, the transitional Sāsānian-Islamic period, without considering the Sāsānian levels, and it is unclear how far Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's conclusions will have to be modified in the light of them.

Her principal typological criterion is decoration, on the basis of which she establishes twenty one types (closer to Koechlin's preliminary classification than her disparaging remarks on his study might lead one to expect; but it may be deliberate since it facilitates comparison with material published there) — 1-11 unglazed, 12-21 glazed. Each type is introduced by some general remarks, including descriptions of body and consistency.

After a catalogue of individual fragments there is a paragraph indicating distribution over the Levels I-III. There are, however, no quantitative observations. The sherds may all be sub-types, but the inclusion of even small fragments suggests that Mme. Rosen-Ayalon takes uniqueness for granted. Koechlin in fact refers (*op. cit.* 3) to numerous duplicates among the material he examined. These may only have been different fragments of the same pot, but some indication of quantity might have explained the basis upon which she compiled her chart "Tableau de l'importance [i.e. comparative quantity] de la poterie de Suse" (Appendix IV), the importance of which is not apparent.

The individual catalogue entries consist of a drawing, generally with a profile as well, with a summary description of the shape and usually some dimensions. Indications of comparative material, supplementary information and disputed points are relegated to footnotes. Since the author dislikes repeating herself it is advisable to consult the frequent references back to earlier footnotes. Not all pieces are photographed, but this is no loss, since the photographs are of very poor quality: this is partly bad printing; but there is scarcely a single plate without at least one illegible photograph which is out of focus or wrongly exposed.

For reasons beyond the author's control neither the drawings nor the photographs are to the same scale, but in the former case at least the scale may be ascertained from a concordance [297-300]. The dimensions occasionally given in the catalogue entries are neither standard nor systematic. Thus, rim or base fragments, the diameter of which could easily be calculated, mostly have no diameter given and the author goes so far as to assert [239 Fig. 567] of a rim to base fragment that there is no way of reconstructing the shape. Dimensions are also approximate in some cases: in particular *ouverture* (more or less "rim diameter") may be either the exterior or interior measurement. But it is the thickness, "E.", which raises most serious doubts. One example among many is [205] Fig. 487, drawn at a scale of 1 : 2, the thickness of which is given as 8 mm. Measurement of the profile as drawn gives thicknesses of between 4 mm. and 7 mm. (hence *actual* thicknesses of 8 mm. to 14 mm.), but with no indication of whether maximum, minimum or average thickness, or thickness at a standard point, is meant. It also arouses the suspicion that profiles are not always drawn to scale. Rim and base diameters are certainly of statistical importance for determining technical capacities at a given period, but so is thickness, even in vessels with tapering walls, since there are certain critical points (for example, the centre of the base; a standard point 2-3 cm. above the base; the junction of the neck and shoulders, etc.) where thickness is highly relevant to the structural soundness of the pot. The diversity of shape in, say, 10th-11th century Islamic unglazed wares may in fact reflect a large number of unsuccessful experiments. There is, therefore, no justification for capriciousness in giving dimensions, and it is to be hoped that in any future work Mme. Rosen-Ayalon controls the technical aspects more carefully. As it is, her implied claim to have mastered [xi] "les rigueurs méthodologiques du domaine de l'art et l'archéologie de l'Islam" will unfortunately re-inforce prehistoric archae-

ologists' views that Islamic "archaeology" is too primitive to be worthy of the name.

Of the unglazed types 1-11, 9 and 10 are miscellaneous, the former including some slip-painted figurines which J. David-Weill ("Têtes de chevaux sassanides" *La Revue des Arts* (1954) 157-64) had previously published as Sāsānian but which she re-assigns [113-20], with a few misgivings, mostly to Levels II-III; the latter includes lamps of various periods. Only with the glazed pottery, in particular, types 15-18 are there serious grounds for dispute, all with blue, green or brownish-purple staining characteristic of opaque-glazed wares. But types 15-16 are asserted to have a transparent colourless glaze (no slip is mentioned); and only 17, "émaillé" and decorated in cobalt blue, is admitted to be of the tin-glazed type. The whole question of opaque glazes is indeed complex (see H. Hodges "The technical problems of copying Chinese porcelains in tin glaze" in *The Westward Influence of the Chinese Arts* (= Colloquiums on Art and Archaeology in Asia No. 3) edited W. Watson (Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, University of London 1973) 79-84); but in view of the author's decision to leave technical analysis for a future volume her dogmatism is difficult to explain. Carefully checked colour plates might have been a provisional solution, since staining oxides in opaque glazes undergo characteristic colour changes. What is no use is assurances like that prefacing type 19 [243 no. 2] that in using comparative material from Antioch for polychrome stained or marbled (*jaspé*) wares "on a scrupuleusement observé non seulement la similitude de la forme mais aussi l'émail (reviewer's italics) qui les recouvre".

It is painful to continue the recital of inadequacies. What comes out strongly in her discussion of glazed wares (types 12-22) is the poverty of French technical terminology when it comes to distinguishing overglaze, underglaze and in-glaze decoration. This is even the case with *glasure* and *émail* which Mme. Rosen-Ayalon generally uses interchangeably, with only occasionally "glasure ou émail" [e.g. 136] to confuse the reader. There is no absolute distinction between glazes and enamels, but the latter generally vitrify at low temperatures and are thus most suitable for overglaze decoration of pottery or glass. Thus, type 11 (all Level I) slip-painted wares [136 ff. Figs. 310-23] enhanced with designs in bubbly glaze, "céramiques non-glacées à décor glacé", are in fact most probably enamelled (Koechlin *op. cit.* 54-7 describes them well as "émail sur cru"), since wares of this type, *mināi* in all but their lack of glaze, persist well into the 13th century. Koechlin refers to these, and a jug of unknown provenance from the Louvre illustrated [140 Fig. 323] by Mme. Rosen-Ayalon is probably to be dated late. This demonstrates the usefulness, even in French, of a distinction between glaze and enamel. If she considers total agnosticism as still most prudent then it would have been less confusing to stick to a single term.

Criticisms of the author's typology, which could be amplified, raise two general problems: the adequacy of glaze and decoration as a substitute for classification by shape and dimension common to archaeological studies of pottery from other periods; and the relevance of com-

parative material from Syria and Palestine to the early Islamic pottery of Mesopotamia. The former is far from completely answerable at the present time, since even sophisticated analysis cannot always compensate for minor local differences in body. What travelled most in mediaeval Islam was not clay but potters, their moulds and their glaze recipes. Comparative analysis of trace elements or impurities in glazes is therefore a promising line of research when it comes to establishing provenance, and for this the visual description of glazes is no adequate substitute. On the other hand, science can still do little to establish chronologies for Islamic pottery within the required tolerance of a few decades or less; so that typologies based upon shapes and their evolution are still essential. With two riders. The distinction between shape and decoration may easily be exaggerated and Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's demonstration with respect to stamped wares (Type 4) that form and pattern may evolve concurrently is fully in conformity with R. McC. Adam's conclusion (*art. cit.* 94-6, 100, 112-3) that many vessel types in early Islam are constant in quantity, so that decoration becomes an essential index of change. And glazed and unglazed shapes are not necessarily divergent in their evolution, though the latter, obviously, are much richer in their variety. Thus (Adams *art. cit.* Figs. 12-14) the typically Islamic glazed bowls with flaring sides of the 12th-13th centuries, are the product not simply of evolution but of the consolidation of several quite distinct types, both glazed and unglazed. This point, to judge from her typological chart (Appendix II), appears to have escaped Mme. Rosen-Ayalon.

The problem of the relevance of Syrian and Palestinian material to the early Islamic pottery of Mesopotamia is not one of principle but of ignorance. The Islamic levels of virtually all the great Mesopotamian sites have been ignored (cf. F. Wetzel, E. Schmidt and A. Mallwitz *Das Babylon der Spätzeit* (Berlin 1957)), and Sāsānian pottery from both Mesopotamia and Persia (Dāmghān and Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr) is virtually unpublished except from Kish (D. B. Harden "Pottery from Kish" in "Excavations at Kish and Barghutiat 1933" *Iraq* I (1934) 124-30). Not unnaturally, Mme. Rosen-Ayalon has been forced back upon the published early material from Syria (particularly Antioch) and Palestine, most interestingly to her own excavations at Ramla (Mme. Rosen-Ayalon and A. Eitan "Ramleh" *Israel Exploration Journal* XVI/2 (1966) 148-50), where below the 8th century levels there was virgin soil. However, too little is known of trade routes in the 6th-8th centuries for it to be clear what was imported and what locally manufactured. Wilkinson and Adams both rightly emphasise the strong *a priori* probability that most unglazed wares were manufactured *in situ*, with consequent wide local variations over comparatively small areas. A corollary of this is Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's emphasis [14] upon the homogeneity of the Susa material. But, on the contrary, resemblances so far away as Syria and Palestine should be exceptional, and their use as comparative material, therefore, raises more problems, probably, than it solves. In any case, Mesopotamia after so much neglect is now enjoying something of a boom. Not only is there Adam's publication of material

from Tell Abū Sarif; there are the Italian excavations at Seleucia-Ctesiphon with running catalogues of Sāsānian-Islamic pottery finds; in particular, R. Venco Ricciardi's "Pottery from Choche [the presumed site of ancient Ctesiphon]" (*Mesopotamia* II (1967) 57-92) and ead. "Sasanian pottery from Tell Mahuz" (*ibid.* V-VI (1970-1) 427-82) might well have been profitably consulted.

It may be that concentration upon Mesopotamian sites, of which Susa was evidently one, would have produced only a slight change of emphasis in Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's book. What is more important, and more disputable, is her conclusions [14] that Sāsānian pottery was much poorer than contemporary metalwork, and that there was a general decline in pottery in the Near East, including Syria and Egypt, in the years preceding the rise of Islam. Her first contention is not original; but it is question begging: can pottery and metalwork be compared closely enough? pottery is surely more of a complement to than a substitute for metalwork? is it possible to compare finds from similar archaeological or economic contexts? is the relationship between contemporary pottery and metalwork shapes close enough to be comparable? None of these seem likely. It is difficult, indeed, to see why anyone should bother to assert the proposition: after all, no Byzantinist has yet ventured to say that Byzantine pottery is poorer than Byzantine silver. Her conclusion of a general decline in pottery in the 4th-7th centuries is also difficult to explain. In the first place, as has been made abundantly clear in the present review and by the author herself, too little Sāsānian pottery has yet been published even for useful comment on the transitional Sāsānian-Islamic Level III at Susa. And on the contrary Syria and Egypt have a rich and varied tradition of locally produced imitation terra sigillata: the quality of individual pieces is certainly lower than Roman luxury imports of Aretine or Gaulish wares, but the overall quality rises enormously. Many sites, moreover, developed viable local traditions of fine pottery, even the "provincial" Nubian sites of Jabal 'Adda, Qaṣr al-Wizz and Qaṣr Ibrīm; unglazed, admittedly, but the evidence for the transmission of Roman glazed wares still remains uncollected and unpublished. This, however, is no reason for presuming discontinuity, and Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's contention of a general decline appears to be based upon scholarly ignorance at the present time. It would have been better omitted.

The pseudo-problem of a pre-Islamic decline is, of course, one way of accounting for the undisputed development of pottery in Islamic technology by the 10th-11th centuries. She tends to see this as a single problem, a unitary phenomenon related to the rise of Islam. It is very difficult to say. But, expressed in these terms, it scarcely admits of an answer. Her Appendix II, which attempts to present a graphic demonstration of the evolution of certain basic types, does not explain their proliferation; nor can this be traced back to the early years of Islam. It is relevant to stress Wilkinson's conclusion (*op. cit.* 291) that it is impossible to relate Nishāpūr wares of the 9th-13th centuries to pottery of the post-Conquest period (no pre-Islamic levels came to light in the areas excavated) and that, in particular, Nishāpūr

moulds for the manufacture of unglazed wares, which are one of the most characteristic Islamic types, are frequent only from the late 11th century onwards. This gives one clue: the sheer quantity of Islamic material compared with earlier levels is partly due to the discovery, relatively late, of techniques of mass production. One reason for the proliferation, already suggested in this review, is that a fair proportion of new types were in fact unsuccessful experiments: there is little to be said for the general assumption of Islamic archaeologists that any reasonably fired vessel must automatically have been structurally adequate for the purposes for which it was intended.

One beneficial effect of Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's catalogue is that it made the reviewer re-read Koechlin's preliminary study of the Susa pottery (recently, at least, still in print), which has come in for some hard words from her. It is a select catalogue, unpretentiously presented, naturally, somewhat dated, but observant, well illustrated and useful. Koechlin even speculates appropriately (*op. cit.* 6) that since Susa and Sāmarrā are both thoroughly Mesopotamian the departure of the Caliphate to Baghdad in 892 led to a surplus of labour at Sāmarrā, particularly among the potters producing fine wares, and that Susa benefitted from their dispersion. This begs at least four questions: was pottery made at Sāmarrā at all? did Sāmarrā decline so catastrophically once the Caliphs no longer lived there? was not the surplus labour all absorbed by demand in Baghdad? and would not only a handful of potters with their recipes be enough to set up an industry at Susa? However, his suggestion of some correlation is extremely suggestive and work on this might well produce very interesting results. Mme. Rosen-Ayalon's catalogue is much larger but not conspicuously more useful. The photographs are valueless and the drawings not always reliable. Conclusions on glazes and bodies are only provisional since a technical report on the pottery is to be published. There are signs of haste in its preparation for the press, since various cross-references remain blank. And the comparative material, through no fault or her own has not much expanded beyond what was available to Koechlin. It is sad that so much labour should have gone into publishing a collection of sherds and to so little purpose; but she clearly overrated their possibilities, a natural enough mistake in the circumstances. Anyone who wishes to gain an idea of the Susa pottery would still do better to consult Koechlin. It also costs about ten times less. The monstrous price charged by the publisher is simply incomprehensible. Acknowledgement is made to the *concours* of the Commission de Fouilles: perhaps somewhere someone got it wrong and thought what was intended was *concurrence*?

American University in Cairo,
October 1975

J. M. ROGERS *)

* *

*) J. M. Rogers has been working since 1970 on the late pottery of Apamea-on-the-Orontes in Syria.

J. READ, *The Moors in Spain and Portugal*. London, Faber & Faber, 1974 (8vo, 268 pp., 18 plates, 12 figures, 4 maps). Price: £ 4.95.

The reader of this book, avowedly popular, will remain with mixed feelings.

On one hand it is a well written and instructive book. The author sketches all the major phenomena of Spanish medieval history, interweaving interesting episodes. He has the gift of arousing the interest of the reader and those who are not familiar with Spanish history will learn very much from his book and be induced to read more about the various subjects touched upon. The author raises also general questions, e.g. why the Omayyads did not annex the provinces of Northern Spain into which they made so many military expeditions. He has studied the translations of Arabic sources and has a fairly good knowledge of the modern scientific literature about Spanish history.

But on the other hand there are in the book many mistakes which should have been avoided even in a book destined for the general reader. Umar was not an Omayyad caliph of Damascus (p. 21), the levying of tributes in North Africa and carrying off of young women to the harems of Damascus did not give rise to Kharidjism (p. 37) and the author is wrong in calling Kharidjism and Shi'ism speculative doctrines (p. 59). The monk John, ambassador of the German Emperor Otto I to 'Abdarrāhmān III, was not abbot of a monastery in Görz (i.e. Gorizia, formerly in Austria and now belonging to Italy) (p. 79), but of Gorze in Lorraine, and the general Ghālib was not a eunuch, but a "ṣi-klābi", that is a soldier of non-Arab, northern origin, so that the author should not be astonished that he begot children (l.c.). al-Ḥādhib is not a name, but the title of the party kings (p. 133, 136). Samuel Ibn Naghrela (not Naghzala, p. 28, 107) was not a philosopher, but a poet, grammarian and author of juridical works. Many other blunders could be listed. How could the author substantiate his assertion that women served in the Moslem countries as secretaries and judges (p. 76)? Ibn 'Abdūn was not a chronicler (p. 148). He was the author of a *hisba*-book, that is a code of the laws regulating the market life (which is quoted by Mr. Read!). That Mr. Read calls the greatest geographer of the Middle Ages, al-Idrīsī, — a chronicler (p. 83, 156) is really shocking.

Even the author of a popular book should beware of misspelling of geographical names and of inconsistency. The river Duero has in Mr. Read's book sometimes its Spanish name (p. 46) and other times its Portuguese (p. 62, 158). On p. 115 I read "the Niebla", although this is a town and on p. 180 I find the name of the town Calatayud blurred into Catalayud. Aragon is consistently written with two r: Arragon (p. 43, 103, 127, 128, 132, 135, 138, 142, 150 etc.). Why did the author not check the name of this important geographical term in a dictionary?

The author shows little sympathy for the inquisition and the principle of the "purity of blood" (*limpieza de sangre*). He is however inclined, obviously influenced by some books published in Spain and elsewhere, to trace the origin of both of them to the Jews themselves. In the chapter about this subject, which he found necessary to

include in a book on the Moors in Spain, he has recourse to a gross misinterpretation of texts and to manipulation of quotations, which are adduced partly so that the reader can not easily check them (all the more that the pages are not indicated) and is being misled. There was a great difference between the medieval Spanish Jews' opposition to sexual intercourse with persons belonging to other denominations and the belief that people hailing from other communities or nations are on a lower level. A non-Jew who embraced Judaism was considered as a member of the Jewish community as those born therein. A Christian who had become Jewish was not refused an office in the synagogue, whereas a Jew converted in the sixteenth century was. That the rabbis and the leaders of the Jewish communities in Christian Spain opposed sexual intercourse with Christian women is surely not surprising, since it was considered by the Church and the State as a sin and a transgression punished by death by the fire, or at least by the confiscation of the property of the offender¹⁾. The passage in the *Shebhet Y'huda* (which the author quotes p. 204f., although misunderstanding it) refers to the Jews' sexual intercourse with Christian women as one of the factors which stirred up anti-Jewish feeling in Spain and resulted finally in the expulsion²⁾. Mr. Read quotes (l.c.) a passage in the book of A. Neuman about the Jews in Spain where a rabbi's decision is translated in extenso and drops the half of it so that it can no more be understood as it should. The author of the decision blames a slanderer, whereas according to Mr. Read's quotation he would have said that a Jew having intercourse with a Christian woman "has defamed thirty or forty souls, and the voice of the blood of entire families cries from the earth..."³⁾. Being aware of these methods I am not astonished at all to find in Mr. Read's book some statements on the State of Israel and the Jewish belief of the identity of the State and of single religion (p. 210). All this in a book about the Moors in Spain.

Jerusalem, March 1976

E. ASHTOR

* *

J. REVAULT, *Palais et résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1974 (Large 4°, pp. 448, 155 text figures and XC plates). Price: NF 260.—.

J. REVAULT and B. MAURY, *Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo/SEVPO, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris 1975 (p. vi + 109. Folio. 29 text figures and LXVI plates). Price: NF 150.—.

M. Revault's Tunis volume is the third in a five-

¹⁾ *Las siete partidas* IV, 10, 9; F. Baer, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* II, p. 48 no. 63; Régéné, *Catalogue des actes de Jaime I^{er}, Pedro III et Alfonso III, rois d'Aragon concernant les juifs*, REJ 62 (1911), p. 44 no. 510, p. 45 no. 515.

²⁾ Ed. Jerusalem 1947, p. 127.

³⁾ Cf. A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain* (Philadelphia 1942) II, p. 7.

volume series. *Palais et demeures de Tunis XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris 1967) and *Palais et demeures de Tunis XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris 1971) have already appeared and are to be followed by two further volumes, on architecture and decoration. The present volume is a survey of the country houses or palaces outside Tunis.

The publication is exemplary — systematic and economical, the environs of Tunis being treated zone by zone. The settlement round the *zāwiya* (here a *mazār* [visiting place] with some accommodation for pilgrims) of Sidi Bou Said/Abū Sa'īd (1156-1231), whose tomb was particularly frequented by the Shādhiliyya Ṣūfis [175-278] is typical: a general plan of the area showing the interrelation of its various buildings; plans of the buildings in their present state, including the surrounding orchards or gardens (*ṣāniyya/ṣawāni*), which are often an integral part; then restored plans of the basement, the piano nobile and the upper storeys (*burj/kushk*); axial or cross-axial sections or elevations; and sometimes detailed drawings of floor mosaics (mostly of local tiles from Qallālin) from the main reception rooms [*bit b'il-kbw wa'l-mkāser* i.e. with alcoves (*al-qabw*) and partition walls]. — It will be noted that M. Revault uses local terminology, sensibly transcribed according to local phonetic rules rather than those current for Arabic. These are almost always self-explanatory, though [61] "la driba [darība, grand entrance, vestibule] a l'apparence d'une zaouia" has the reader foxed. The plans are complemented by photographs, with a proper balance between black and white and colour (the Winterhalter equestrian portrait of Queen Victoria in the British Embassy [Fig. 12] merits only black and white), designed to give elevations or decorative details not apparent from the drawings. It is rare to have a work of architectural history so well conceived and executed: in a perfect world, perhaps, some plans might have had contours, since these might explain [e.g. 211 Plate XLVI] divergences from rectangular courtyard plans. But M. Revault has provided enough to put all architectural historians in his debt.

All 17th-19th century buildings have been recorded, even those long since ruined. Many closely resemble villas depicted on Roman mosaics from Carthage [22-4], and many of the grandest [cf. 31-2 and Planche D] are adaptations of modest country housing. For example, the now ruined 18th century *burj* of Ḥamūda Pasha at La Mornaguia [402-13], though built as an adjunct to the Bardo and Manūba palaces with a grand loggia (*bortāl/barātil* or *barātil*), offices and a Bayt al-Majlis [cf. plans Plates LXXXII-IV] remained essentially a farm. The type was a low building with an entrance hall or vestibule [*darība*], generally with a passage off it leading straight to the gardens behind [35]; a basement of storerooms and domestic offices; and the grand apartments above the *bortāl*, which M. Revault attributes [199 note 4] to Andalusia. The piano nobile comprised a principal courtyard or patio (*dār al-kabira*) with the main reception room at one end, often fronted by a raised terrace, either T-shaped (*bit b'il kbw wa'l-mkāser*) or a rectangular hall (*bit diwāni*) which, possibly following Istanbul fashion [36 note 8], may be cruciform. There were guest rooms apart, sometimes on an upper

floor, but the roof was almost always crowned by a tower-like set of apartments for the owner, hence the name *burj* generally applied to these country houses. Stables, mills, laundries, bakeries and the servants' quarters were normally confined to separate courts, sometimes [for example, 130 Plate XXII] across the street. Most houses had elaborate irrigation systems worked by animal-drawn horizontal water-wheels. However, exceptionally, the houses on the Jabal Manār [273] did not even have their own wells and were entirely dependent upon public fountains which also served as watering-troughs (*hawd*), like the Sabil of Ḥamūda Pasha (1208/1793) [361-6 and Plates LXXII-III] which included a *masjid* and even a *café*, supplemented in the 19th century by rock-hewn cisterns.

Some of these country houses, particularly the grander houses at Sidi Bou Said, closely followed the plans of houses inside Tunis. Thus, as the restored plan [Plate XLVII] shows, the Dar Lasram, the country residence of the Bāsh Kātib, Muḥammad Asram [214-7], is simply a sprawling version of his palace inside Tunis (cf. M. Revault's plan in *Palais et demeures de Tunis XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris 1971) 350-61]. This is not so much due to lack of imagination, M. Revault implies, as to fear of the suspicion in government circles conspicuous consumption aroused, and he cites a revealing and amusing contemporary anecdote [33] illustrating this. Country houses were more discreet.

The continuity of palace architecture is most difficult to establish [46-57] since it is most swayed by fashion, and in the 19th century, particularly, was under strong European or Istanbul influence. The Bardo/Bardū (perhaps from the Spanish "Prado/Pardo") [304-36] is first mentioned in 823/1420, but has since undergone so many modifications that the early parts cannot easily be identified, even though, as M. Revault remarks, these may have involved the addition of new courts, as in the Alhambra, rather than the destruction of the old. But perhaps there is no possible comparison at all between palaces like that of the Ḥafsid ruler, al-Mustanṣir (1239-77) the garden of which [23 note 1] had a square central pool large enough for the ladies of the Court to go boating on, with colonnaded pavilions with painted and gilt wooden ceilings at each corner, and the pavilion, or "Balace", built by Muḥammad b. 'Āyid above Cape Carthage after a mission to France in 1831, which is most like an Italian bandstand [147 ff]. The extravagant Carrara marble and Neapolitan tile panelling was removed by his successor, Muḥammad Bey (1855-9); but his successor built a villa there for his harem with wooden bathing machines (*ma'ūmas*). When the ladies went bathing [150 note 5] the cliffs above were guarded by the Bey's Guard; with their backs turned. The bathing machines strongly suggest European influence, and the cabins, few of which now remain, may well have been imported pre-fabricated from France. However, the strictness also recalls the large private swimming pool in the Harem of the Topkapı Saray, and M. Revault pertinently points out that [19] the French occupation of Algiers had by 1850 led to much closer Tunisian ties with the Ottoman Porte and that the fashion for bathing may well have been inspired by Istanbul. Whatever the

case may be, he is certainly right to insist upon the subtleties of 19th century Westernisation in Islam.

The season was very short [278]: from late August, when the harvest was in and provision for the winter made, and at Sidi Bou Said, for example, [280] the houses might be deserted for weeks at a time for beach cabins, as if they were yalis on the Bosphorus. The owners lived largely off provisions they brought with them, returning to Tunis when they were exhausted even before the end of the hot weather. However, the luxuriant orchards which surrounded their houses, with elaborate irrigation systems [78-80, 100-14] and often with agricultural land, olive groves and camping ground for Bedouin seasonal workers [for example, the Borj el-'Aid 123-4 or the Borj el-Ousleti 125-41], supported a permanent population of tenant farmers [141]. The economy is thus apparently similar to the 'izba economy of 19th century Egypt, the origins and functioning of which are at present being studied in Oxford by Roger Owen. But the environs of Tunis were exceptionally favourable to rural expansion without the exploitation of an already established peasant population. The Spanish attacks of the early 16th century [27] under Charles V destroyed the olive groves which were the sole livelihood of the coastal villages, and led to the total depopulation of some areas, and further potentially fertile land was left ownerless after Algerian raids and internal strife in the 17th century.

A distinct pattern of land reclamation emerges [125 ff]. Agricultural land was purchased; an irrigation system of horizontal animal-driven water wheels was constructed; orchards were planted and the nucleus of the house built; subsequently the house and its estate would be expanded by the purchase of the surrounding land. Some recolonisation can be attributed to the early 17th century when Moriscos and Jews expelled from Andalusia by Philip II settled, for example, at al-Ariana [164-6]. Later, class differences emerged: La Marsa was not open to foreigners till the late 19th century [183]; and Sidi Bou Said [264] always remained a preserve of the 'ulamā'. However, elsewhere freehold grants of land were made to foreigners. Thus, the residences of the French and British embassies [81-9 and 90-99] were built on land acquired in, respectively, 1856 and 1858 and entirely replaced the Consular residences granted by the Beys to the European powers in the 18th century grouped round the Abdaliya palace.

Moreover, once established, these country estates remained exceptionally permanent, in spite of the dangers of Latin Americans, to one of whom the Manūba palace was gambled away in a night [398 note 6], and of the divisive effects of the Islamic laws of inheritance. Some were made *waqf ahli* and thus survived as family trusts, but otherwise they were generally sold intact, not split up. Thus, the Borj el-Ousleti [125-41] passed through the hands of four different owners [125 note 5] between 1709 and 1790. The steady increase in the sums it realised reflects improvements, in this case particularly the growth of the surrounding estate. In 1848 it was bought up cheap for a Minister, Shaykh Aḥmad b. Diyāf [126 note 5], precisely because, exceptionally the heirs had sold it off in lots. The speculation was extremely profit-

able: after "improvements" it was valued at more than three times its purchase price a generation later. The Shaykh added a front esplanade, a grand entrance and an inner courtyard, turning it into a palace. Urban taste triumphed, but the economy remained unchanged.

M. Revault's three volume corpus will, it is hoped, be an inspiration to historians of domestic architecture in Syria, the Lebanon, Istanbul or Morocco before everything of interest is swept away by modernisation or revolution. Even in Tunisia stronger protective measures are necessary, since many of the houses surveyed here have disappeared in the past decade. One difficult question of wider importance raised by his exemplary work is whether such country houses were restricted to the Maghrib. Ibn Baṭṭūta, and later Babur, describe palaces or houses with gardens outside Samarkand where the town-dwellers would seek relief from the unendurable summer heat inside the town; and the Mamlūk historians occasionally mention "gardens" in Ḥusayniyya, a fashionable Mamlūk quarter to the North of the Fātimid walls of Cairo, or in Giza. None of them have survived. It is generally considered that the *iqṭā'* system discouraged Mamlūks from living on their country estates. However, recent work has shown that some major Mamlūk *waqfiyyas* specifically exclude from agricultural land made *waqf* to Cairene foundations *kafr/kufūr* [evidently, peasant villages] and *dimna*, even from Royal lands [*ard kharājiyya*]. The translation of *dimna* is disputed: Quatremère in his translation of Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* understands it as hamlets or groups of houses, whereas Dozy understands it as cultivated or arable land; there is justification for both. The reasons for the exclusion are obscure. However, one possible explanation is that urban notables (including tax-farmers) regularly spent some months of the year in the country and founded private estates which existed side by side with the *iqṭā'* system. Although Egyptian land tenure is very obscure before the 19th century it seems probable to the present reviewer that there were the equivalent of country houses by the Mamlūk period and that if the Maghrib was exceptional it was in combining relative underpopulation with large areas of land available for reclamation.

This account shows M. Revault's concern with the wider implications of architectural history. His publication, the first of a series, with Bernard Maury on the town houses of Cairo is equally interesting. The contrast with Tunis is misleading since, for a variety of historical reasons, there is only urban architecture, in Cairo and a number of provincial cities, before the 19th century. Apart from E. Pauty's *Les palais et les maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire* (Cairo 1932), now most useful for a summary catalogue of palace or house remains quarter by quarter, and the late Alexandre Lézine's *Trois palais d'époque ottomane au Caire* (Cairo 1972) domestic architecture has been neglected and a detailed study is badly needed. The series is designed to give complete coverage, including studies of the epigraphy, the historical sources and the *waqfiyya* material. The present volume contains detailed surveys of six buildings: the Qā'at al-Dārdīr [1-10], which has been attributed by Creswell (*The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* I (Oxford 1952) 261-7; not II as the present text has it) to the

Fātimid period; a loggia (*maq'ad*), with an inscription dated 901/1496, part of a palace restored by Mamāy b. Khudād (Ibn Iyās sic: ?Khudādād?) [11-20]; two "palaces" of Qāyṭbāy [21-34 and 35-65]; the palace of Riḍwān Bey [67-82]; and the Manzil or Bayt al-Sinnārī [83-106].

The Bayt al-Sinnārī was a felicitous choice since [cf. restored plan Fig. 28] it has undergone very little alteration since it was built *circa* 1780, and its constituent parts are an essential datum for the reconstruction of earlier Cairene palace architecture. The ground floor [plan Fig. 28] houses a rectangular block of kitchens and miscellaneous domestic offices, a secondary court with servants' quarters and a rectangular *cour d'honneur* with a North-facing loggia (*maq'ad*) on the mezzanine with an open portico (*takhtabūsh*) below it [cf. Fig. 25 for elevation and section]. The piano nobile has a great reception-room (*qā'a*), in the present case [Plan Fig. 27] directly above the entrance, with a projecting *mashrabiyya*-screened balcony above it. There are also smaller *qā'as*, recognisable by their modified cruciform plan, but only the grand *qā'a* here has its own bath and latrines.

Late as it is, the Bayt al-Sinnārī follows the grand Cairene tradition. The remains of the earlier buildings surveyed are disposed round spacious but irregular courtyards, with imposing entrances to the harem and selamlık, evidently similar to the original street entrances. Exterior façades, the *maq'ad* and a few ground-floor buildings are generally faced with squared stone; the masonry above is brick, or mixed brick and rubble, with a thick plaster facing. This was standard practice throughout the Mamlūk period, and although the authors conscientiously indicate differences in masonry on ground plans they prudently refrain from drawing any chronological conclusions; for there are very few to draw.

Most Cairene palace buildings have undergone too many restorations to make detailed chronology possible. Ibn Iyās [cited 12] explicitly states that Mamāy restored an earlier palace when he built his *maq'ad*, but lunettes of Iznik tiles on its façade testify to some further, so far unidentified, Ottoman restoration. The authors also note earlier remains [77] within the palace of Riḍwān Bey. These they attribute to Uljāy/Ölchei al-Yūsufi, a later husband of Sultan Sha'bān's mother, Khwānd Baraka/Bārākā, whose funerary *madrasa* (770/1368-9) is at the South-East corner of the "Palace of al-Razzāz" [cf. Fig. 11], and whose own funerary *madrasa* is also in the vicinity. The authors would have done well to distinguish [36-8] the former *madrasa* clearly from Sultan Sha'bān's own funerary foundation nearer the Citadel which remained unfinished at his death and which is no longer extant. The attribution to Uljāy/Ölchei is doubtless a guess, but many Mamlūk palaces must have occupied the same site for more than two centuries, like the palace of 'Alī Āq incorporated into the palace of Khayr Bek (dated by palaces must have occupied the same site for 'Alī Āq incorporated into the palace of Khayr Bek (dated by Creswell *circa* 906/1501). By the late 14th century, if not earlier central Cairo was completely built up with

pious foundations and property made *waqf* to them, so that such extensive buildings as the "palaces" surveyed in the present volume would have been inconceivable were they not on earlier palace sites.

For all their splendour these palaces pass virtually unmentioned in the historical sources. But their histories of successive restorations suggest that they were not strictly Royal. Both of those of Qāyṭbāy bear inscriptions, some more than once — Amara bi-inshā' hadhā'l-makān al-mubārak mawlānā al-Sultān ... Qāyṭbāy ... (Has ordered the construction of this blessed place/palace His Majesty ... Qāyṭbāy ...) [42-3] and bear Qāyṭbāy's own cartouche. Qāyṭbāy's cartouches are not conclusive evidence that these buildings were his own palaces, since they appear on monuments all over Cairo, including the *private* mausoleum of the emir Sūdūn al-Qaşrawī (865-72/1460-7). His own palaces were on the Citadel of Cairo and on the Qal'at al-Kabsh, the latter being used later by al-Ghūrī to house visiting embassies like that of Domenico Trevisan in 1512; and palaces down in the city would be particularly vulnerable to factional riots provoked by dissident Mamlūks. However, Van Berchem's suggestion [cited 36] that the "Palace of al-Razzāz" should be identified with the tenement house (actually *makān*) in the same street designed in Qāyṭbāy's *waqfiyya* of his funerary *madrasa* in the desert as part of its income is unpromising. The remains of a *rab'* (tenement house) with rooms or apartments closely spaced to extract the maximum revenue near this *madrasa* show how unsuitable the "palaces" surveyed in the present volume were for investment. What then was their purpose?

Some light of this obscure question is thrown by Ibn al-Shihna's account of the house of al-Fakhrī at Aleppo (translated J. Sauvaget "*Les perles choisies*" d'Ibn al-Chihna (= Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire d'Alep I) (Beirut 1933) 187) with the largest reception room in the city. This had been made *waqf* to the *madrasa* of Ibn al-Şāhib, but was restored in Ibn al-Shihna's time [the reign of Barsbāy 825-41/1422-38] by Khayr Bek, the governor of Aleppo, who added a garden, an *iwān* and a fountain, with the evident implication that it was for his personal use; or as the governor's official residence. From the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad onwards certain palaces in the Mamlūk capitals appear to have been built at State expense as official residences for high emirs during their term of office. Thus, the "Hawsh Bardak" or Palace of Yushbak in Cairo, to be published by MM. Revault and Maury in a forthcoming volume, is almost certainly to be identified with the *iṣṭabl* of Qawṣūn, dated by Creswell *circa* 737/1338, built as the palace of the *atābak*, which was what it remained. This bears Royal cartouches which may be those of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (obit 741/1341). Hence perhaps the presence of Qāyṭbāy's cartouches, which would not normally be evidence for proprietorship, on one of the inner porches of the "Palace of al-Razzāz". The occupation of residences by a succession of emirs, moreover, would then explain their appropriation by high officials on the Ottoman conquest in 1517.

The "Palace" of Riḍwān Bey [67-82] (died 1065/1654-5) presents further problems. For it contains two

wikālas as well as grand reception rooms and the standard North-facing loggia, and the street front was turned into a covered market, now occupied by the Khayyām-iyya, the Tent-Makers' bazar, but originally intended for the shoemakers (Sūq al-Qawwāfīn) [cf. A. Raymond *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* I (Damascus 1973) 264]. It is usually assumed that *wikālas* are the Cairene equivalent of *khāns* or caravansarays, and some may have been, since the historians' terminology is unsystematic. However, just as Frederick II of Hohenstaufen [cf. T. C. van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford 1972) 270] established a system of *fondachi* in which merchants were required to deposit their goods pending the levying of Customs dues, so Mamlūk sultans and emirs established *wikālas*, evidently the equivalent of bonded warehouses, particularly near the North gates of Cairo, where the Northern trade could be taxed on entry into the city. Riḍwān Bey's "palace" just outside the South gate of Cairo and well placed to tap the Southern trade, with its *wikālas* deeply embedded inside it and able to hold whole caravans [Fig. 18-19], was thus almost certainly for profit as well as pleasure. It is, of course, premature to expect the present preliminary survey to deal with such intricacies, but it will be interesting to have M. Raymond's identification of the wares Riḍwān Bey built it to entrap.

There are a few disputable assertions. It is more probable that the *maq'ad* at the funerary *madrasa* of Qāyṭbāy in the desert was for the Royal ladies than for winter use [33 note 1] when those using it would have frozen. Nor is their designation of the vaulted basement rooms of the *maq'ad* of Mamāy [18 note 2] as *sardābs*, (semi-) underground refuges from the summer heat, self-evident. Admittedly, they have separate wind-towers for ventilation [Fig. 6]. *Sardābs*, certainly, are known from Pharaonic architecture as well as from Iraq and Central Persia, but although Lézine ["La protection contre la chaleur dans l'architecture musulmane de l'Égypte" BEO XXIV (1972)] has noted the mediaeval Cairene predilection for wind-towers (*malqaṭ/malāqif*; occasionally *bād-hanj*), even for North-facing buildings, *sardābs* were really unnecessary and can scarcely have been a standard feature of grand Cairene architecture. On the contrary, from November to April, wind-towers in Cairo produce icy draughts wherever they are built in, which make the lack of heating uncomfortably apparent.

The reviewer is also somewhat sceptical of the authors' possibly anachronistic assumption [19 and *passim*] that the large irregular courtyards of these buildings were filled with gardens. Zaccaria Pagani's account of the Trevisan embassy to Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī in 1512 [translated Ch. Schéfer in *Le voyage d'Outremer de Jean The-naud* (Paris 1974) 188, 190] certainly mentions the Royal gardens on the Citadel of Cairo, but their exoticism is more striking than their splendour. Not surprisingly, since watering must have been a major problem. Central Cairo was even worse off. The restricted light from surrounding buildings, the brackish water away from the Nile which rapidly leads to the salting up of the soil, and the incessant sandy dust which mutes every tone of green must have made gardening a thankless

task. And if the palaces were indeed *iṣṭabls*, which in Mamlūk terminology implies that they contained barracks as well as stables, the interior space must have been a parade ground. In this respect comparison with the outskirts of Tunis is misleading. The gardens of Cairo or Baghdad, where the Caliphal gardens were a poor combination of sparse parkland, market gardens and artificial flowers or trees, have been overpraised by their historians. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's astonishment on finding gardens inside Samarkand is surely nearer the mark.

It would be ungenerous, however, to end off this review upon a contentious note. The authors have heroically attempted to identify the functions or designations of all the rooms they have surveyed, a Herculean task given the frightful state of ruin of the upper floors of almost all the Mamlūk palaces. They have been further hampered by the lack of a detailed current Egyptian Arabic vocabulary of architectural terms for ancient monuments. There is an occasional peccadillo, but they have for the most part forsworn any attempt to impose the Tunisian vocabulary upon the Cairene buildings. The plans are perspicuous and a monument of patient industry. M. Revault's work on Cairo is clearly going to leave historians as much in his debt as his corpus of Tunisian domestic architecture. It would also be pleasant if this, and the work of his Franco-Egyptian collaborators, M. Robert Mantran, M. André Raymond and M. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Ṭawwāb, might also encourage support for the preservation of the monuments of Cairo in their present pitiable state.

American University in Cairo,
December 1975

J. M. ROGERS

* *

Fernando de AGREDO BURILLO, *Encuesta sobre la literatura marroquí actual*. Madrid, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975 (8vo, 71 pp.) = Cuadernos del "Seminario de Literatura y Pensamiento Arabes 2. 100 pesetas. ISBN 84 500 7223 9.

The present book consists of a questionnaire filled out by 19 contemporary Moroccan poets and authors. The first six questions are related to the biography, like date of birth, studies, profession, literary preference, languages known, and whether there are other poets or authors in the family.

Five questions are devoted to personal literary activities, as favourite genres, the language used for writing, contacts with other writers, and if the author believes in a continued existence of bilingual writers in Morocco.

The last set of questions refer to general literary matters! Do you think that there is in Morocco a genre which we call "short story" in the West? If so, when did it start in Morocco? What is your opinion of the Moroccan people as readers? Which genres do they prefer? What is your opinion of present-day writers and their problems? Do you think that there is an Arabic editorial movement of some note in Morocco? Do you believe that the difference between the classical and the colloquial languages offers a solution? What are the possibilities of this idea: One language for all the Arabs?

The writers who filled in this questionnaire are born, as far as could be ascertained from the data they provided, between 1908 and 1951, with an average age of 39. Eight of the nineteen authors left this particular question unanswered. One gains the impression that the younger generation has been left out for one reason or another. This is not to say, however, that the book is not very useful and very welcome indeed for everybody interested in Arabic literature.

Leiden, January 1977

C. NIJLAND

TURKIJE

TURKOLOGISCHER ANZEIGER (TA 1). Sonderdruck aus: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 67. Band, Wien 1975, S. 343-488.

Mit dieser von A. Tietze und G. Hazai bearbeiteten laufenden Bibliographie werden die internationalen Neuerscheinungen zu den (osmanisch)-türkischen Studien endlich so umfassend nachgewiesen, wie es den Bedürfnissen des Spezialisten entspricht. Die erste Ausgabe verzeichnet das selbständige und unselbständige Schrifttum der Erscheinungsjahre 1973 und 1974, und zwar einschliesslich der Besprechungsliteratur. Die historische Zeitspanne reicht von der rumseldschukischen Epoche bis zur Türkischen Republik von heute.

Die Literatur wurde mit Unterstützung eines internationalen Mitarbeiterkreises zusammengetragen; Welch bemerkenswerte organisatorische Leistung damit vollbracht wurde, zeigt schon allein die Vielzahl der berücksichtigten Sprachgebiete, insgesamt mehr als ein Dutzend. Rund 900 der mehr als 1400 ermittelten Titel sind der Hauptgruppe D („Geschichte“) zugeordnet. Zahlenmässig an der Spitze stehen dabei die zumeist in der jeweiligen Landessprache abgefassten Beiträge aus der Türkei und den ehemals osmanischen Ländern Südosteuropas. Über die Erforschung der osmanischen Epoche in den ehemaligen arabischen Provinzen lässt sich hier dagegen noch kein Eindruck gewinnen, da das arabische Sprachgebiet nicht berücksichtigt wurde. Dies bedeutet, dass vor allem im Bereich der osmanischen Provinzialgeschichte grössere bibliographische Lücken bestehen, die allerdings nicht leicht zu schliessen sind.

Zumindest der eiligere Benutzer wird mit dieser Bibliographie einige Mühe haben, wenn er sich schnell und bequem über die literarische Situation auf bestimmten Spezialgebieten orientieren möchte oder einen raschen Überblick über die Neuerscheinungen zu Einzelfragen sucht. Die höchst summarische „Inhaltsübersicht“ verrät nicht viel über die Gliederung des Stoffes, und das so bescheiden wie einseitig ausgefallene Verzeichnis „einiger Schlagwörter“ führt nur teilweise weiter. Die sachliche Zuordnung der Titel birgt eine ganze Reihe von Problemen, die durch das ein wenig inkonsequent gehandhabte Verweisungssystem keineswegs behoben sind und sich wohl auch nur durch Beigabe gründlicher Register einigermaßen befriedigend lösen lassen. Hier findet man jedoch nur ein Register der Verfassernamen. In der Klassifikation des Stoffes wurde eine möglichst feinmaschige Ordnung angestrebt; ob es sinnvoll war,

sie bis in die Anordnung der Titel innerhalb der einzelnen Untergruppen zu führen, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Zumindest in der „Geschichte“ sind überdies einige Unebenheiten festzustellen, die den angewandten Ordnungsgrundsätzen zuwiderlaufen. Hierzu gehört die in einer Fachbibliographie unangebrachte Eingliederung eigenständiger und zugleich gut entwickelter Wissenschaftsfächer ((Ethnographie, Kunstgeschichte) in ein anderes (Geschichte), dem sie keineswegs besonders nahe stehen. Im Umgang mit den Hauptepochen der Geschichte wäre es vermutlich günstiger, wenn überall klar und typographisch deutlich erkennbar zwischen der osmanisch-türkischen und der türkei-türkischen Epoche geschieden würde, wie es sich auch aus sachlichen Gründen anbietet. In der Folge der Haupt- und Untergruppen ist das Prinzip der sinngemässen Ordnung nicht immer erkennbar. Was die Feingliederung der Begriffgruppen betrifft, so bemerkt man eine sachlich nicht gerechtfertigte unterschiedliche Behandlung einzelner Teilgebiete und -aspekte, die ihren Niederschlag zugleich in der Schlagwortauswahl und im Verweisungssystem gefunden hat. Die hier skizzierten Mängel, bei denen vielleicht auch ein ganz persönlicher Standpunkt des Bearbeiters mitgespielt hat, haben bewirkt, dass einige sehr wesentliche Teilbereiche der Geschichte, zum Beispiel Gesellschaft, Recht und Staatsorganisation, daneben wohl auch die reichshistorische Tragweite bestimmter Ereignisse und Erscheinungen, zu kurz gekommen sind, besonders gemessen an den der Sacherschliessung zugrundegelegten Prinzipien und ihrer an anderen Stellen der Gliederung mitunter schon ins Extrem gehenden Anwendung. Allerdings muss auch gesagt werden, dass die islamkundliche Fachliteratur dem Bibliographen bisher nur wenig Hilfen zu einer umfassenden, auch für die Zukunft brauchbaren Lösung seiner Schwierigkeiten bietet.

Hamburg, Mai 1976

HEIDRUN WURM

* *

R. E. KRANE (editor), *Manpower Mobility Across Cultural Boundaries: Social, Economic and Legal Aspects — The Case of Turkey and West Germany*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo., 222 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, XVI. Price: 68 Glds.

In recent years, social scientists have become increasingly interested in the study of inter-state labor migration, with its resulting impact on economic life, social mobility and cultural change. Since the early 1960's, labor migration into Western Europe, from countries less developed economically, has increased very markedly. Manpower movement between Turkey and Federal Germany and its consequences is the main topic of this collection of nine articles, contributed by Turks, Germans and Americans. Most of the items are based on empirical research; together they form a sorely-needed contribution to a subject hitherto examined chiefly in scattered essays.

The contributors discuss the following topics: 1. Labor migration — aid to the West German economy? (Gott-

fried E. Völker). 2. The legal status of foreign workers in West Germany (Fritz Frantz). 3. Residential patterns and social integration of Turks in Cologne (John R. Clark). 4. Structural change in the migrant Turkish family (Ayşe Kudat). 5. Differences in industrial learning behavior of Turkish workers at home and abroad (Terry D. Monson). 6. Migrant workers, wages and labor markets — an economic model (Duncan R. Miller and İhsan Çetin). 7. International labor migration and Turkish economic development (Tufan Kolan). 8. Effects of international migration upon occupational mobility, acculturation and the labor market in Turkey (Ronald E. Krane). 9. The Turkish brain-drain — migration tendencies among doctoral level manpower (Turhan Oğuzkan).

In his article on the Turks in Cologne (pp. 61-76), Clark (of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire) has investigated the residential patterns of the Turkish „Gastarbeiter“, neighborhood by neighborhood, illustrating his findings by maps. Further, he has checked his hypotheses by interviewing 180 Turkish workers in Cologne. Not surprisingly, Clark has found out that, although no „Turkish quarter“ exists in Cologne, two thirds of the city's Turks live in buildings inhabited by Turks and other foreigners. Segregated housing has fostered social segregation. Clark concludes that most of the Turks interviewed by him (close to sixty percent) claimed to have learned no new skills in Germany; he argues that there is a high correlation between this phenomenon and segregated housing.

Kudat (International Institute of Management, Berlin), in her paper on change in the migrant Turkish family (pp. 77-94), has studied the effects of German laws and labor practices on Turks in West Berlin. She concedes that her conclusions are largely based on random interviews which are not statistically representative. Even so, one feels that there is much to be learned from Kudat's discussion of the effects of migration on Turkish household composition, division of labor, budget-control, and extra-marital relationships. For example, if a wife is the first to get employment in Germany, while her husband remains in Turkey caring for the children temporarily, strains may arise from the reversal of the traditional division of labor. Similarly, the allocation of household income, which is generally a husband's prerogative in rural Turkey, can become a frequent source of dispute among Turkish migrants in the West, where local practices encourage considerable equality of the sexes.

The last two studies in this volume examine Turkish labor migration in other contexts. Krane (California State University at Northridge, Los Angeles) analyzes the effects of international migration on the returnees to Turkey (pp. 161-204). The scope of these effects can be gauged from the fact that, by 1972, one of every thirteen Turks in the 20-39 age-group had first-hand exposure to a working environment in Western Europe. Contrary to what is frequently assumed, Krane found out that a majority of these migrants were townsmen or city-dwellers possessing important skills even before migration. Over ninety percent of those interviewed in Izmir, Kocaeli, and Zonguldak asserted that they had

achieved their main goals — occupational expertise and material gain. On the average, these returnees earned a third more than non-migrants. The combined resources of the returning migrants could provide Turkey with the needed skills for an increasingly specialized labor-market.

The research carried out by Oğuzkan (of Bosphorus University, Istanbul) on the brain-drain (pp. 205-220) is, in a way, the counterpart of Krane's study. While Krane dealt with the advantages accruing to Turkey from the skills gained by returnees, Oğuzkan investigated the brain-drain of Turkish Ph.D.'s. He is concerned with engineers, scientists and social scientists — but, regrettably, not with physicians (of whom a sizable number has left Turkey permanently). Even so, the proportionate figures are staggering. Production in Turkey of Ph.D.'s in all the fields examined averaged 111 per year in 1962-1965. The 217 migrant Ph.D.'s contacted by Oğuzkan in the late 1960's were thus equal to two years' production! The questionnaires he used established that most of the migrant Ph.D.'s were academicians, whose main reasons for remaining abroad were professional rather than financial. Oğuzkan's frank conclusion is that the Turkish authorities must offer better professional conditions in order to induce Ph.D.'s to remain in Turkey.

The volume includes 42 tables and 5 maps. It ends with a selected bibliography, whose usefulness is unfortunately affected by its brevity (pp. 221-222 only); true, it is supplemented, to some extent, by the references at the end of each article. The absence of an index hampers the reader who is interested in some specific topic and does not wish to peruse the whole book. Another drawback is that the research of each of the nine authors, valuable though it is, has employed different methodologies and referred to different points in time, during the 1960's and early 1970's. The editor should have written a concluding chapter, highlighting the common ground and tying up differences of approach and conflicting conclusions (e.g., that most Turkish labor migrants have — or have not — acquired valuable skills abroad). All considered, the book presents less than a well-rounded view of Turkish labor migration abroad. Nevertheless, the high quality of most of its articles — their analytical rigor and clarity of exposition — make this volume a „must“ for all concerned with the subject.

Jerusalem, March 1976

JACOB M. LANDAU

* *

Peter BENEDICT, Erol TÜMERTEKİN, and Fatma MANSUR, Editors, *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974 (8vo., xi + 446 pp.) = Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, Volume IX. Price: 124 guilders.

This collection comprises the following fifteen studies, by ten Turkish, and five other, contributors: 1. Erol Tümertekin, „The Development of Human Geography

in Turkey". 2. Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, "The Influence of Social Structure on Land Division and Settlement in Inner Anatolia". 3. Necdet Tunçdilek, "Types of Rural Settlement and Their Characteristics". 4. Adnan Güriz, "Land Ownership in Rural Settlements". 5. Daniel Bates, "Shepherd Becomes Farmer: A Study of Sedentarization and Social Change in Southeastern Turkey". 6. Lelya Sayar Elbruz, "The Changing Order of Socio-Economic Life: State-Induced Change". 7. Ahmet Tuğaç, "Indices of Modernization: A Case of Local Initiative". 8. Mübaccel B. Kırar, "Social Change in Çukurova: A Comparison of Four Villages". 9. John Kolars, "Systems of Change in Turkish Village Agriculture". 10. Peter Benedict, "The Changing Role of Provincial Towns: A Case Study From Southern Turkey". 11. Frederic C. Shorter and Belgin Tekçe, "The Demographic Determinants of Urbanization in Turkey, 1935-1970". 12. Tuğrul Akçura, "Urbanization in Turkey and Some Examples". 13. Nephân Saran, "Squatter Settlements (Gecekondus) Problems in Istanbul". 14. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility". 15. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century".

Essentially, this is an English version of a book edited by the same three people, entitled *Türkiye: Coğrafi ve sosyal araştırmalar*, Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi — Coğrafya Enstitüsü, 1971. The English version includes two new articles (nos. 11 and 14), but regrettably omits an article by the late Professor Lloyd A. Fallers, "Türkiye'de sosyal ilimler" ("Social Studies in Turkey"), which was one of the best contributions to the Turkish volume. Furthermore, the English edition does not generally update the Turkish one, except for the two new articles. This results in Professor W. F. Weiker's *Decentralizing Government in Modernizing Nations: Growth Center Potential of Turkish Provincial Cities* (1972) not being mentioned in no. 10; or in several important studies on urbanization in Turkey, recently published by Professors Ruşen Keleş and Cevat Geray, not being cited at all in articles 11 and 12. Nevertheless, the collection as a whole represents a significant advance in research on human and social geography in Turkey. While all its articles well merit discussion, space considerations compel us to restrict ourselves to but a few of them.

Professor Saran's study on some squatters' quarters in Istanbul (no. 13) deals with one of the most widespread and pressing problems in Turkey. Although its origins are in rural migration to the towns as early as the eighteenth century, the problem has become particularly acute in recent years, due to the proportions it has assumed. The shacks which the newcomers build on the outskirts of cities — in general, illegally — solve their need for housing, in a way, but create new problems: water supply, drainage, electricity, transportation and jobs. Saran interviewed a number of those shack-dwellers, men and women, in Istanbul and found that most had adapted rather well to city life and prefer their occupations to village work. A large majority wants to remain in the city. Family life in shack quarters, particularly for first-generation squatters, still follows rural

patterns (e.g., in the traditional marriage ceremonies or cuisine). However, they "have their eyes and ears open to the outside world. There is a lot to know and learn. They want to know how the other residents of Istanbul live. The women are curious about birth control and the men are very much interested in politics" (p. 350).

While the above relates to internal migration, Professor Nermin Abadan-Unat's research is concerned chiefly with external migration, which she examines in terms of social mobility (no. 14). She considers Turkish migration as a case of governmental planning for manpower import and export. Seen from this angle, the Turkish-German agreement of 1961 provided a basis for the manpower exchange which the paper aims to study. In 1971, out of 468,096 Turkish abroad, 424,400 were employed in Federal Germany; it was the fastest-growing contingent in that state. Abadan-Unat finds a striking similarity between Turkey and Yugoslavia concerning motivations for labor emigration — economic pressure in two essentially agricultural countries. Her survey, moreover, has established the following major characteristics of the Turkish external labor force: "Predominantly male, lonely, ... young, on the average primary school educated, rather isolated, and still living in ghetto-like dwelling units (dormitories), showing great solidarity between countrymen, with little interest in language learning and vocational training, a faster social adjustment of women workers, and very strong motivation for money earning and saving" (p. 398).

Professor Şerif Mardin has based his examination of the Westernization of Ottoman urban life on an analysis of the Turkish novel in the latter part of the nineteenth century (no. 15). He emphasizes that two issues were deliberately and prominently discussed in novels at that time: the place of women in society and the Westernization of upper class men. Mardin has sifted through major Ottoman novels, and shows how they reflected the trends of Westernization and how they actually influenced the forward swing of such trends. He has uncovered gradual alienation from traditional values and the growing appreciation of Western values and customs. However, Turkish society at that time still preserved a sense of proportion, expressed in the ridicule for the over-Westernized type and the condemnation of public morality associated with the West. This last trait is attributed by Mardin to Turkish communitarian conservatism. The result, in at least some of the novels considered by Mardin, is what he aptly calls a "sort of halfway house to modernization" (p. 436).

These and several other articles are original, perceptive and interesting. What one misses is an extensive general introduction (one has only brief prefaces) to express the overall methodology and main conclusions of the research. An index would also have been welcome. Nevertheless, this is a book to be read attentively and kept at hand for further reference by everyone concerned with either the human geography or social development of modern Turkey.

The Hebrew University, Jerusalem,
February 1976

JACOB M. LANDAU

IRAN

J. D. PEARSON [Editor], *A Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia*. London, Mansell, 1975 (8vo, XXIX + 288 Seiten) = Persian Studies Series, Number 2. Preis: £ 11.00 (US \$ 27.00) - ISBN 0 7201 0365 7.

Eine entsagungsvolle Arbeit, wie sie jede Bibliographie darstellt, möchte man gerne nur loben; auch gilt für Bibliographien zweifellos das Wort, das Samuel Johnson auf die Wörterbücher bezogen hat: sie seien wie Uhren — *the worst is better than none*. So möchte ich auch dieser Bibliographie bescheinigen, ihr mehrere neue Titel entnommen zu haben und an manchen Titel, der für meine gegenwärtige Arbeit wichtig ist, durch sie erinnert worden zu sein. Mit diesen Worten aber sind die Grenzen des guten Willens schon erreicht; im Ganzen gesehen ist dem vorliegenden Buch der schärfste Tadel nicht zu ersparen.

Diese Bibliographie ist ein überzeugender Beleg gegen den verbreiteten Glauben, Bibliographien seien „Kärrnerarbeit“, die man Anfängern und Hilfskräften überlassen dürfe; im Gegensatz dazu ist etwa Louis Renous *Bibliographie védique* von einem der vielseitigsten Indologen seiner Zeit, von einem Meister seines Faches kompiliert worden. Die *Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persia* nennt zwar berühmte Namen der Iranistik als Mitglieder eines beratenden Komitees (S. VII), aber die faktische Arbeit ist von drei Persönlichkeiten gemacht worden, die — nach dem Autoren-Index ihrer eigenen Bibliographie zu schliessen — auf dem Gebiet der Iranistik noch nichts veröffentlicht haben; sie standen unter der Leitung eines „Professor of Bibliography“ der Londoner SOAS, von dem kein iranistisches Urteil, allerdings aber eine strengere Aufsicht gegenüber vielen Ungleichmässigkeiten und Flüchtigkeiten der bibliographischen Darbietung¹⁾ zu erwarten war. Das Ergebnis dieser Sammelarbeit von Nicht- oder Kaum-Iranisten ist entsprechend grotesk: der Altiranist findet auf Seite 38 eine neue altiranische Sprache, „Old Bactrian“ — und muss alsbald erkennen, dass hier zwei verschiedene Sprachen, „Altbaktrisch“, die gelegentliche ältere Bezeichnung des Avestischen, und die (vor allem durch die grosse Surkh-Kotal-Inschrift repräsentierte) mittelliranische Sprache (Kušān-) Baktrisch zusammengeworfen sind! Das Ärgernis liegt weniger in der dadurch entstandenen altiranischen *ghost-language* als in dem Resultat, dass mehrere unter „Avestan“ gehörige Titel dort nicht zu finden sind und dass andererseits eine mittelliranische Sprache, eben Baktrisch, unter „Middle Iranian“ völlig fehlt.

Wenn man schon Leute an eine iranistische Bibliographie setzte, denen Elementarkenntnisse über die Ein-

¹⁾ So fehlen auch bei Titeln, welche die Verfasser einsehen konnten, die Seitenzahlen (z.B. A 173); bei einer offenbar älteren Arbeit fehlt das für die Auffindung so wichtige Erscheinungsjahr (A 178). Als Fachfremdem konnte dem Editor zwar nicht auffallen, dass mit den unmittelbar untereinander stehenden Abkürzungen „Z.V.S.F.“ (A 558) und „K.Z.“ (A 559) ein und dieselbe Zeitschrift gemeint ist; aber dass „Z.V.S.F.“ 27“ (Bandzahl, ohne Jahreszahl, A 558) und „Z.V.S.F., 1885“ (Jahreszahl ohne Bandzahl, A 561) in einer sorgfältigen Bibliographie nicht in knappem Abstand hintereinander vorkommen sollten, hätte ein „Professor of Bibliography“ auch ohne Kenntnis des erfassten Faches feststellen müssen.

teilung und die wechselnden Benennungen²⁾ der iranischen Sprachen fehlten, dann hätte man sie doch wenigstens anhalten können, Titel auch aus exotischen Sprachen wie Französisch oder Deutsch richtig abzusprechen bzw. sie in der Korrektur sorgfältiger nachzuprüfen. Verstümmelungen wie die eines Titels von Grotefend (A 67), von Meillet (A 2376), von Weber (A 2520) begegnen sonst nur in manchen — längst nicht mehr in allen — Bibliographien orientalischer Verfasser. Des weiteren hätte man den Bearbeitern nicht gestatten dürfen, das Bemühen um die Einsicht in aufgenommene Titel vorschnell aufzugeben und sie, als „non vidi“ durch Stern gekennzeichnet, aus Sekundärquellen zu zitieren; man kann mir nicht weismachen, dass in London, einem Dorado reichster Büchersammlungen, Schriften obskurer Akademien wie jener von Göttingen, Rom, Wien (vgl. XIX ff., A 761, B 901), Zeitschriften wie *Indogermanische Forschungen* (A 582), Standardwerke wie Meillets *Trois conférences sur les Gâthas* (A 627) nicht vorhanden sein sollten. Als „non vidi“ wird in dieser „iranistischen“ Bibliographie auch ein bahnbrechender Aufsatz wie der von W. Lentz über die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi (A 2354) aufgeführt!

Aus meiner weiteren Lektüre gebe ich nur eine Blütenlese des Schlimmsten:

A 77: Die Arbeit von J. J. Jensen erschien nicht in „K.Z.“, 8, 1907, sondern in Band 81 (1967). Ein Druckfehler, gewiss; aber ein mit dem Altpersischen vertrauter Leser der Korrekturen hätte gewusst, dass dieser mehrfach diskutierte Aufsatz aus jüngerer Zeit stammt. — A 313: K. Brugmans (sic) Aufsatz „Altpersisch *akunauš* und *adaršnauš*“ ist nahezu richtig (nur mit š für s) zitiert, aber kurz davor erscheint er als A 309a zwar mit richtiger š-Schreibung, jedoch ohne Seitenzahlen und als Leistung eines ANON[YMUS]; unverständlichlicherweise, denn Brugmann (damals noch Brugman) hatte seinen Namen unübersehbar unter das Artikelchen gesetzt. — In ähnlicher Weise findet man den selben Aufsatz von Lüders als B 1544 und B 1545 untereinander; offenbar als nützliche Demonstration dafür, wie verschieden man die Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie in einer und derselben Bibliographie abkürzen kann. — Ein ungewöhnliches Schriftzeichen wird einfach weggelassen (wie in ap. „*armiš*“, A 320, obwohl wenigstens θ nach dem Ausweis von A 337 vorhanden war), bestenfalls durch ein formal ähnliches ersetzt, was linguistischen Unsinn ergibt (wie ap. „*āmupa*“, A 339); ein Titel von Lommel (A 924) wird durch solches Weglassen zum agrammatischen Wortsalat eines Sprachgestörten. Ähnliches bietet A 988.

Der Fall dieser Bibliographie ist deshalb so bedauerlich, weil in ihr doch recht viele, auch seltene Titel zusammengetragen sind. Hätten die seriösen Stellen, die den Anstoss zu ihrer Entstehung gegeben haben, sich entschlossen, das Material durch mehrere Kenner von

²⁾ Die Titel A 1067, A 1069 und B 354 zeigen, dass den Verfassern der ältere, irige Gebrauch des Namens „Medisch“ für das Elamische unbekannt ist. So erscheinen diese Titel fälschlich unter „Median“ bzw. „The Medes“, fehlen sie unter „Elamite“.

Einzelbereichen der Iranistik sichten und ordnen zu lassen, er wäre vielleicht doch noch eine brauchbare Bibliographie zum vorislamischen Iran entstanden; wir würden ihrer so sehr bedürfen.

Wien, März 1976

MANFRED MAYRHOFER

* *

Alfons GABRIEL, *Die Religiöse Welt des Iran*. Entstehung und Schicksal von Glaubensformen auf persischem Boden. Wien, Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1974. (Grossoktav, 192 Seiten, 1 Karte). DM 38,—. ISBN 3 205 07113 1.

Der Verfasser dieses Buches studierte zunächst Medizin, aber entdeckte während seines Einsatzes als Arzt im Ausland bald seine Vorliebe für naturwissenschaftliche Probleme. Er begann sich eingehender mit persischer Geographie und Kultur zu befassen. Zwei Durchquerungen des Landes, eine in meridionaler und eine in west-östlicher Richtung, die auf der Karte von Iran im Anfang des Buches vermerkt sind, und ein längerer Aufenthalt im Lande ermöglichten dem Verfasser das erforderliche Material für seine Betrachtungen über *Die religiöse Welt des Iran* zu sammeln.

In fünfzehn Kapiteln handelt das Buch von der „Vielfalt der Religionen in Iran“, von der Prähistorie bis zur Neuzeit. Der Verfasser bietet keine durchgehende Religionsgeschichte, aber lässt Momentaufnahmen sehen und wirft sein Streiflicht auf eine Reihe interessanter Episoden aus der langen Geschichte Irans. Sein Stil ist derjenige eines erfahrenen Reisenden, der von seinen Beobachtungen in fremden Ländern unterhaltend zu erzählen weiss. Das hat zur Folge, dass seine Mitteilungen Besonderheiten enthalten, die man in den üblichen Handbüchern der Religionsgeschichte kaum findet.

Die am meisten in anekdotischer Weise verfasste Darstellung verhindert eine Zusammenfassung der gebotenen Wissenswürdigkeiten. Es hat auch keinen Zweck die Titel der Kapitel zu zitieren. Der Rezensent muss sich darauf beschränken, dass er die Hauptthemen erwähnt.

Nach zwei einführenden Kapiteln wird zuerst „Der prähistorische Götter- und Geisterdienst“ beschrieben. „Die Religion Elams“, die einst eine wichtige Rolle spielte, kommt darauf an die Reihe. Der Hintergrund der späteren iranischen Religionsformen sind die „überirdischen Vorstellungen der indoarischen Völker“. Sie erklären auch gewisse Züge in „Zarathustras Lehre einst und jetzt“. Aufmerksamkeit verdienen drei „Versunkene Religionen“, nämlich die Mithras-Mysterien, der Manichäismus und der Mazdakismus. Eine neue Epoche fängt an, wenn „die Religion Muhammads Iran unterwirft“. „Das Los des arabischen Islam in Iran“ war sehr bewegt, weil die muslimischen Iranier von der sunnitischen Linie abzweigten und sich zur schiitischen Lehre bekannten. Eine aufsehenerregende Sekte innerhalb des iranischen Islam waren die „Assassinen“, die Zeiten lang von ihrer Burg aus einen wahren Terror übten. „Juden und Christen“ haben in Iran mehrere Schicksalswechsel erlitten. Es gab dort auch „Schwin-

dende Religionen“, das heisst die Mandäer, die Teufelsanbeter oder Jezidi und die Nestorianer. Weiter wird ein Kapitel „den Expandierenden Religionen-Mystikern und Pazifisten“ gewidmet. Damit sind die Sufi und die Anhänger des sogenannten Bab und dessen Nachfolger Beha'ullah gemeint. Lesenswert ist das nächste Kapitel über „Religiöses im Volksglauben und Brauchtum des Iran“. Zum Schluss berichtet der Verfasser über „die Spuren alter und neuer Religionen“, die er und seine Frau auf den zwei genannten Reisen entdeckt haben. Dem Buch sind eine Zeittafel religionshistorischer Ereignisse, eine Bibliographie und ein Register angehängt.

Der Verfasser prätendiert nicht religionswissenschaftliche Fragestellungen und Betrachtungen zu bieten. Obgleich man ihn nicht auf grossen Fehlern ertappen kann, spürt man ihm doch an, dass er kein Fachgelehrter ist. So gibt es einige Punkte, in denen Gabriel sich geirrt hat. Das betrifft erstens das Bild, das er von der Religion Zarathustras entwirft. Er hat die ethische Qualität der Lehre Zarathustras zu stark betont (S. 14, 24). Zarathustra trat zwar auf als Prophet und Reformator, aber war und verblieb Opferpriester. Sein Dualismus war nicht nur ethisch, sondern auch kosmisch. Weiter hat Gabriel die Achämeniden zu Anhänger der Lehre Zarathustras gemacht (S. 15, 163), was höchst zweifelhaft ist. Man verzerrt das Bild des ursprünglichen Zoroastrianismus, wenn man nicht betont, dass die Bekämpfung schädlicher Tiere (S. 46) eine spätere Erscheinung ist. Augenscheinlich weiss der Verfasser nicht, dass die Vorstellung von einem Manne der mit zwei wilden Tieren kämpft (S. 29) aus dem alten Mesopotamien stammen muss. Um Mani zu verstehen, sollte man hervorheben, dass er Gnostiker war (S. 68/9). Es ist fraglich ob der Gott Echnatons den Charakter eines Weltgottes hatte (S. 109). Um den Sufismus richtig zu würdigen soll man wissen dass er im ältesten Islam wurzelt, wie Massignon aufgezeigt hat (S. 132 sq.). Schliesslich kommen einige Druckfehler und Fehlschreibungen vor: „Motar“ (S. 42) muss wohl „Hotar“ sein. Zarathustras „Gutes Denken“ heisst nicht „Vahu-Manya“, sondern Vohu Manah (S. 45). Daneben gibt es ein Prinzip, genannt „Spenta Manyu“. Die „Omairaden“ schreibt man Omajjaden oder Omayyaden. Dies sind nur kleine Randbemerkungen, die den Wert des Buches nicht verringern.

Amsterdam, 23/3/1976

C. J. BLEEKER

* *

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN, Volume IV: *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*. Edited by R. N. Frye. London, Cambridge University Press, 1975 (4to, XIII, 734 pp., 24 pls.). Price: £ 10.00.

The present volume consists of two clearly distinct parts; namely, seven chapters on political history, and thirteen on various aspects of Iranian culture and civilization in the first four hundred years of Moslem rule. The purely historical chapters are, for the most part, double the size of the others. All the authors who have

contributed papers to this collective volume are scholars generally known for their great competence. A glance at any historical chapter is sufficient to make one aware of the fact that it is not only a clear and concise survey, such as a handbook should contain, but a presentation of the results of thorough research, based on literary and numismatic evidence. Rightly, the progress of Islamization in this early period of Moslem rule is dealt with in all papers; and compared with volume V of the same series the purely historical chapters occupy much more space.

The following review deals with these chapters only, the reviewer not considering himself competent to deal with the subjects of the other chapters.

The chapter, „The Abbasid caliphate in Iran“, contributed by R. Mottahedeh, sketches the general history of this dynasty, without duly concentrating upon conditions in Persia. The revolutionary movements that convulsed so many provinces of Iran and Transoxiana under the first Abbasids are described as purely religious phenomena. But even a rather conservative Orientalist like B. Spuler has already pointed to the social background of these movements, which leaves little doubt as to their social-revolutionary character¹⁾.

The great experience that C. E. Bosworth has had in research on various aspects of Iranian history and civilization is clearly felt in his well documented paper on „The Tahirids and Saffarids“. The author doubts whether one should speak of the Tahirids as a separate dynasty of Khurasan, since the governorship of this country was only one of several offices, albeit the most important one, which they held simultaneously (p. 104). Saffarid rule he considers as a regime of military occupation and, on the other hand, as the first great breach in the territorial integrity of the Abbasid caliphate (p. 107). Another major conclusion of Bosworth concerns the beginnings of Oriental feudalism. He emphasizes that in 902 Tahir b. Muhammad b. 'Amr distributed grants of land (ikṭā') to his troops in Fars. Bosworth concludes that the system of supporting the military on the revenues from lands and estates was at that time certainly widespread in Iraq and in Western Persia (p. 127).

The history of the Buyids is surely a very complicated chapter of Near Eastern history in the Middle Ages and one will be thankful to H. Busse for his concise survey, although it deals with political aspects only and is not concentrated on Persia either. It is however worthwhile to quote his conclusions as to the place Iraq and Persia (or more exactly Fars) held respectively in the Buyid's policy. Iraq was occupied without instructions of 'Imād ad-daula, then the senior of the dynasty, and Baghdad was never visited by him (p. 261). In the days of 'Adud ad-daula when the Buyid territories were united, Shiraz was the capital (and not Baghdad) (p. 271). Even Busse believes that the feudal system was not invented in Iraq under the Buyids, but had existed before their rule in Western Iran (p. 260). As in previous treatises, Busse

lays great stress on 'Adud ad-daula's aspiration to a revival of the Sasanian empire (p. 274 ff.), supporting his thesis with new arguments²⁾. Without denying the existence of such a tendency, the reviewer takes the liberty of drawing attention to similar aspirations of other Iranian dynasties of that period, such as the Samanids and the Ghaznavids³⁾.

The paper on the Samanids, written by the editor, R. N. Frye, distinguishes itself by many interesting views. It deals extensively not only with the political history of the dynasty, but also with its administration and its cultural policy. Among Frye's major results, should be mentioned his conclusion that Persian was used as the official language of the administration (whereas most other scholars maintained that all attempts made to introduce Persian failed) (p. 145). The Iranian renaissance began in Central Asia under the Samanids, because the society in Transoxiana was in pre-Islamic times less hierarchical than in Sasanian Iran. Therefore the new egalitarian trends of Islam could better develop there and conditions were more propitious for cultural revival. The Samanids liberated Islam from its narrow Arab Bedouin background and gave it an international culture (p. 147). Samanid administration was centralized, relying upon an ever growing bureaucracy, which was located in continuously developing towns. The peasants and dihkāns emigrated to the towns, so that the urban proletariat swelled more and more, and land value decreased. Landowners lost their social standing; the lower classes were more oppressed than before (p. 153).

C. E. Bosworth's paper on „The early Ghaznavids“ contains some very interesting conclusions of this author, who has done so much valuable research in this field. Since financial considerations seem to have been paramount in Sultan Maḥmūd's mind, it is, according to Bosworth, difficult to consider him as a Moslem fanatic, eager to implant his religion in India by the sword. Indeed, Islam made little progress there in the Ghaznavid period. Maḥmūd's aim was to make the Indian princes his tributaries and to extort from them great sums of money and, at the same time, to despoil the pagan temples (p. 180). Ghaznavid rule was that of a military cast (p. 181), and the empire's economic prosperity was built on the slave trade across its territories (p. 163). From the treasures of the Indian temples there came the bullion which enabled the sultan to maintain a good standard of gold and silver coinage. This excellent coinage stimulated trade all over the eastern Moslem world, reversing for a while the drain of specie into the Indian subcontinent (p. 179). Briefly, Bosworth changes the pattern of gold-silver relations as conceived by Blake, but the fact remains that just from the days of Maḥmūd a great silver famine began in all Moslem countries of the Middle and the Near East (and even in India)⁴⁾.

„The minor dynasties of Northern Iran“ by W. Madelung is a fine piece of mature scholarship. The learned author, carefully weighing up literary and numismatic evidence, succeeds in giving a clear survey of the en-

¹⁾ E. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1952), p. 197, 203, 205.

²⁾ Cf. his paper, The revival of Persian kingship under the Buyids, (in) D. S. Richards, *Islamic civilisation 950-1150* (Oxford 1973), p. 47 ff.

³⁾ See in the same volume p. 92, 165.

⁴⁾ See the review of my monography *Les métaux précieux et la balance des paiements du Proche Orient à la basse époque* (Paris 1971) by S. Digby in BSOAS 37 (1974), p. 469.

tangled vicissitudes of the petty dynasties of the Caspian borderlands, the history of Arab princes (Rawwāids), Kurdish rulers, Dailamits (Sallārīds), Turkish families (Sādjīds), etc.

The chapter on "Sects and heresies" contributed by B. S. Amoretti is an excellent paper. It comprises a sociological and religio-typological analysis of the religious sects and the revolts in Iran in the Abbasid period. Abū Muslim appealed to the trading and landowning bourgeoisie. The fanaticism, which in the Khurasanian Abbasid revolution seems to be represented by the Arab merchant missionaries of Abū Muslim, was connected with the growth of a local spirit, being a kind of Zoroastrianism not identical with the religion of the Mazdaean clergy. All contrasts were played down, receiving a common Khurasanian denominator (p. 493 f.). The religious revolts were based on a syncretistic religion, and in so far as they were social uprisings, they were directed against the big landowners (p. 496). From the middle of the eighth century, the central government and the big landowners were on one side with the merchants and smallholders, both Persian and Arab, on the other, the antagonism between these classes and the religious syncretism becoming the common ground for the revolts (ibidem). As to the revolt of al-Muḥannā, the author accepts the view of Yakubovsky, viz. that organized peasant groups supported it (p. 502). In the movement of Babek the presence of a peasant element is beyond doubt. Smallholders and other countryfolk were the mainspring of the movement. But in a later stage of the revolt, the tendency to replace the large-landowner class by others became a foremost objective and resulted finally in its failure. The same was true for the Karmatians (p. 508). To this interpretation of the social context of the religious revolts I subscribe wholeheartedly. In fact, I have arrived at the same conclusions in a recent work, namely, that the major trend of some social revolts in the medieval Moslem Near East was not a change of regime, but the replacement of the higher classes⁵⁾.

The volume also includes Cl. Cahen's paper, which bears the title "Tribes, cities and social organization". As the author, himself, avows, this is not a systematic survey of the economic and social development of Iran in that period, but consists of rather disconnected notes (the author's expression). The author raises a number of questions without giving any answers and several statements in his paper will arouse argument. Cahen concludes that despite numerous revolts in the Abbasid period there was never a widespread national movement in Persia (p. 309). In spite of the terminology used by Spuler his opposite supposition seems more probable⁶⁾. Neither is Cahen convincing when repeating his thesis concerning the innocuous character of Arab Bedouin expansion. According to him, the spread of Arab nomads resulted, on the contrary, in an exchange of products and was rather a factor of mutual enrichment than of disorder (p. 309 f.). But as in the days of the

caliph Hishām there were 30,000 Arabs serving in the army in Khurasan, and Ziyād b. Abīhi sent 50,000 others there, most of them being settled in the Merv oasis⁷⁾, it is very difficult to agree with Cahen's opinion that they did not constitute a disruptive power. However, expressing this opinion Cahen is at least consistent as he has uttered it before. On the other hand, in the present paper, he identifies the fityān with the 'ayyārūn, whereas he clearly distinguished between them in a previous treatise⁸⁾. Cahen versus Cahen? What the author says about industrial development in Persia in the caliphal period, is, in my opinion, untenable. Cahen maintains that besides state workshops in the capital cities for luxury textiles (tīrāz), weapons, coins, paper etc., there were only small workshops where collaboration amounted only to a kind of juxtaposition of individual crafts rather than to a chain of production (p. 325 f.). But the works of the Arabic geographers of the tenth century comprise many authentic data about manufactures which were not necessarily small ones and were located in provincial towns, mainly in South-Western Persia, and further, they clearly point to the fact that formerly Royal manufactures passed to private ownership⁹⁾. Considering conditions in the Eastern caliphate in the tenth century, I venture to cast doubt on another statement of Cahen, viz. that businessmen were not at the top of society (p. 326). What about the role of the tax-farmers¹⁰⁾?

Altogether the reader of this volume will not remain satisfied and especially when comparing it with Volume V of this series, which was published previously. Besides the excellent papers of Frye and Amoretti, economic and social history is utterly neglected. One would like to know whom did the Šaffārīds represent and who was behind those Šāfi'ī and Ḥanafī factions fighting in the towns of Sidjistan (p. 122). The rise of the Buyids is a phenomenon that is not duly explained, neither is the figure of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Was it only the powerful new weapon, the elephant, that explains his success? Is it true that the prosperity of Persia in the tenth and eleventh centuries depended mainly on the slave trade? Bosworth, who expresses this view, alludes (without quoting it) to a passage in al-Muḥaddasī's Geography where he speaks about the great international trade between Transoxiana and the Moslem Near East¹¹⁾. From this account we learn that slaves were only one article in this wholesale trade.

There remain many other questions to be answered: what were the consequences of the Moslem conquest for the agriculture of Persia (growth or decrease of cultivated area, change of crops, greater or lesser yield ratio), how did commercial exchanges develop after the great expansion of the Arabs, i.e., what was the character of wholesale trade in Persia in that period. In so many and extensive chapters about Iran's history in four hundred years, there is not a word about migratory

⁷⁾ M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history* (Cambridge 1971), p. 88, 140.

⁸⁾ "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane au moyen âge", *Arabica* VI, p. 49 f.

⁹⁾ See in my *Social and economic history*, p. 151.

¹⁰⁾ See *op. cit.*, p. 136 ff.

¹¹⁾ *Aḥsan at-taḳāsim*, p. 325.

⁵⁾ *Social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London 1976), p. 124, 165 ff.

⁶⁾ *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 228 ff., 235.

movements and about demographic trends. True, this work is not a social and economic history, but is it still possible to write general history without taking into consideration socio-economic factors?

Jerusalem, January, 1976

E. ASHTOR

* * *

E. A. GRANTOVSKIY, *Rannyya Istoriya Iranskikh Plemyon Peredney Azii* (The early history of the Iranian tribes of Western Asia). Moscow, 1970 (396 pp.). Price: 1R.9K. 1).

This book deals with the history of the Iranian tribes in northern Iran and the Armenian Plateau from the middle of the ninth century until the second half of the eighth century B.C. Although it was published in 1970, it was submitted to the press already in 1966 and its bibliography stops at the year 1964 (cf. p. 6). The book is based mainly on cuneiform sources of the period under discussion, Neo-Assyrian and Urartian, and on archaeological data, both of which Grantovskiy (henceforth: G.) thoroughly and competently analyses and compares with later sources. After a preface (pp. 3-6) there are two uneven chapters (pp. 7-66 and 67-333 respectively), then follow the Conclusion (pp. 334-379), a bibliography (pp. 380-392), a list of abbreviations (pp. 393-394) and a table of contents (p. 395). The absence of an index is very much to be regretted.

Chapter I is in fact an introduction "The problem of the early history of the Iranian tribes of Western Asia in the contemporary research" in which the history of the research into the subject is discussed at length.

Chapter II is the main part of the book. It consists of four sections. Section I is concerned with the treatment of Iranian names in Akkadian. One or more tables would have added to the clarity and usefulness of this section. Section II describes the chronological and geographical background. The third section deals with the personal names and the toponyms of the second half of the ninth century B.C. (Nos. 1-38) to be followed in the fourth section by the personal names and toponyms of the eighth century B.C. (Nos. 39-90). No maps are provided.

The historical results are presented in the Conclusion.

The book, although actually completed eleven years ago, will probably remain for years the basic work in

this field. Nevertheless, it calls for comment on the material included in it and additions from material published in the last decade. P. 133, No. 6 (*Parsua*). Dikakonoff still adheres to his own explanation of *Parsava* as "march, borderland" (see now *Henning Memorial Volume*, p. 110, n. 35). Note the spellings *Par-su* in the Nabonidus Chronicle (*BHT*, p. 90, ii: 1, 15) and *Par-su-ú* in an undated Babylonian document which may be pre-Achaemenian (Wiseman, *BSOAS* 30, 1967, p. 495, BM 82684 + 82685, ii: 5'). Both these spellings and *Par-su-maš(-a-a)*²⁾, which is possibly influenced by the Elamite form, render Iran. **Parsva*-. The form *Par-su* (etc.)³⁾ which renders Iran. **Parsa*- is not attested before the Achaemenian period. — P. 249, No. 54. *Da-i-ku* (Levine, *Stelae*, p. 72, ii: 47) is perhaps identical with *Da-a-a-uk-ku* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 48) whose political unit is not indicated. For the spelling cf. *Ra-ma-te-ia* and *Ra-ma-tu-a* discussed by G. on p. 234. — P. 253f. Also Levine (*stelae*, p. 50) is of the opinion that the correct reading is *Za-ar-du-uk-ku*, Iran. **Zrd-vahu-ka* "herzensgut"

(I. Gershevitch who refers to his explanation on Elamite *Turdu-mannuš* in *Studia Pagliaro* 2, p. 237). *Mašdai(a)-ukku*. The number of individuals who bore this name and the name *Mašdaku* was five. For the fifth, *Ma-āš-dak-ka* of *A-ra-ti-iš-ta*, see Levine, *Stelae*, p. 49 ad l. 58. *Mašdai(a)ukku* may render, according to Gershevitch (private communication) Iran. **Mazda-yauka* "Mazda's adherent" (cf. Sogdian *ywk*, *ywč*-, *GMS* § 591 and Bailey, *JRAS* 1951, p. 194)⁴⁾. Hence there is not a single certain example of the alleged *-uka*- suffix in NA⁵⁾ and the same applies for the Iranian names which are attested in LB (as will be demonstrated by me in *IEJ* 25, 1975, [forthcoming])⁶⁾. — P. 298, No. 64. Cf. also *Urza-na* in *CTN* 2, 243, r. 9', a fragment of a letter from the reign of Sargon, dealing with the Assyro-Urartian frontier, which also mentions the Cimmerians (cf. Postgate, *ibid.*, p. 228). — P. 312, No. 71. If in *KURÉ Ū-ar-gi* (Levine, *Stelae*, p. 72, ii: 48) the *-MA*- was not erroneously omitted, it may be etymologized as **Hu-arga*-. For NA *VmV* = foreign */v/* (viz. */w/*) cf. *la-man* which occurs along with *la-ū-na-a-a* (Parpola, *AOAT* 6, p. 186). — P. 316, No. 75. *yisk* in Elephantine (Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, 51: 8, Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Mus. Aram. Pap.*, 3: 24) may render Iran. **Aisaka*-, a hypocoristic of a name like **Xšaθraisa*- (<

²⁾ E. F. Weidner, *Mél. Dussaud*, pl. 1 (opposite p. 924): 12.

³⁾ E.g. Evetts, *Appendix*, 3: 23; 4: 20.

⁴⁾ Gershevitch also draws attention to Av. *ahura . tkaēša*- (*Air. Wb.* 294).

⁵⁾ Schmitt's discussion of this suffix in the Old Iranian onomastic (apud Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* [Vienna 1973], pp. 287f., 297f.) relies mainly on G.'s interpretations. This is not to say that such a suffix did not exist in Middle Iranian and later.

⁶⁾ Except perhaps the LB royal name *Ar'-si-uq-qa* (*BRM* 2, 51: 16, kindly collated on my behalf by M. Cohen) in a dating formula of an Arsacid king. I assume that this is a transcription of the Greek "official" form, whence the *s*. It does not render the original Iranian form which has *š* (only *št* can become *st* in LB, see Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, p. 99f.). My assumption becomes plausible in view of the *q* which is the usual LB transcription of Gk. *κ* (see W. Röllig, *OrNS* 29, 1960, p. 377, § 1, 380, § 6). Iran. *k* is never transcribed in LB by *q*.

⁷⁾ "Well worthy" (cf. Gershevitch *apud* Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, R 78).

**Xšaθra-(a)isa-*)⁸⁾. — P. 318, No. 86. *Bir-bu-ra-su/zu* (probably to be identified with *Bur-bu-a-su* of Urattus in the new Sargon stela according to Levine, *Stelae*, p. 51). The omission of the RA is probably a scribal error. The name is hardly Iranian as taken by G. It is possibly a Cassite name, a late variant of Burna-buriaš, a name still in use in Iran in that period⁹⁾. A name of a person from URUA-*pi-nu-nu*, is spelt *Bir-an-ba-ri-[ā]š* (Saggs, *Iraq* 36, 1974, p. 210, ND 2454 [= pl. 36]: 8, NA). The possibility considered by Saggs, that this name is identical with that of the Cassite king Burna-buriaš, becomes plausible in view of the various forms of the second name-component. Since this component is normalized as **Briyaš*, **Brariyaš* or **Priyaš* and **Prariyaš* (see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 104f. s.vv. *Bur(i)yaš*, *Ubriyaš(i)* and cf. p. 215, par. 40), it may be rendered also by *-ba-ri-āš*. Balkan (*Kassitenstudien*, p. 210, par. 17) observed that *s/z* is not found at the end of a word, but this does not necessarily apply to the NA transcription, as NA *s* may render foreign /š/. For *z* cf. *Me-bu-ri-ia-a-zi* (*ibid.*, p. 68, s.v.); it is not quite certain that final vowels were always pronounced in the MB period). For the first component cf. the forms *burna-*, *bur-* and *bu(r)na-* (for spellings see *ibid.*, p. 47f., s.vv. and for *n/r* interchange *ibid.*, p. 209, par. 15). There is no evidence for *i/u* interchange, but CVC signs like *BIR* can be indifferent to vowel quality (see Gelb, *BiOr* 12, 1955, p. 98)¹⁰⁾. — P. 322, No. 89. *A-ri-ia* is possibly the successor of *Ra-zi-iš-tu*. The latter was ruler of Bustuš in 716 B.C., according to Levine, *Stelae*, p. 73, ii: 58. It renders Iran. **Razišta-* "the most righteous" (it occurs also as a name of a goddess in the Avesta, see *Air. Wb.* 1515). Accordingly, *Ra-zi-da-tu* in l. 59, which refers to the same person and does not yield any Iranian etymology, is to be emended to *Ra-zi-iš-tu*; the sign seen on the photograph is not clearly *DA* and may be *IS*. — P. 323. *Sa-tar-pa-nu* (or *Sa-tar-pā-nu*) of Barikānu (Iran. **Bariyakāna-*?)¹¹⁾ may be, according to Levine, *Stelae*, p.

49, ad l. 61, identical with *Sa-tar-par-nu* in the prism (l. 34). One may assume that *Sa-tar-pā-nu* was originally the title (**xšaθra-pāna-* "ruler") of *Sa-tar-par-nu* (**Xšaθra-farna-*). — P. 331. Add now *Ši-dir-pa-šu-ra-a* of KUR*Ir-ni-sa* (Levine, *Stelae*, p. 74, ii: 64), possibly Iran. *Čiθra-pasu-sūra-* "the splendid (one) ruling over cattle" or "the splendid (one) rich in cattle" (with haplology), Gershevitch (private communication) compares Av. *gao-sūra-*¹²⁾. — To the toponyms one can add now KUR*Ra-ma-an-da*, which reminds one of medieval and contemporary Ramēnd south-west of Qazvin (P. Schwartz, *Iran im Mittelalter* 6 [Hildesheim 1969], p. 724)¹³⁾. But apart from the uncertain correspondence, this identification raises the problem of the eastern limit of Sargon's Median conquests. The stela was found west of Hamadan, and Levine (*Iran* 12, 1974, p. 119) points out that "there is no indication that Sargon ever crossed the Alvand range". — *Sa-ka-a* (Levine, *Stelae*, p. 73, ii: 62, cf. p. 50 ad loc.). It seems better not to rule out categorically any connection between this toponym and the Saka (Scythians), some of them are reported to settle in Media half a century later. — KUR*Da-ru-ū-e* and Nār *Da-ru-e* (*ibid.*, 56; p. 74, ii: 63 respectively, cf. p. 48 ad loc.) probably render Iran. **Dāru-* "wood" (possibly refers to an area with forests). Contemporary Daru may go back to a homonym. — B/Pir-na-ka-an (Levine, *Stelae*, p. 73, ii: 61). *-ka-* + *-āna-* is a common compound suffix in Middle Iranian toponymy (cf. also OIran. **Bariyakāna-* above). — *Pat-ta* (*ibid.*, p. 71, ii: 33) is perhaps Iran. **Pāta-* "guarded". — Nār *Pa-at-tu-us* (*ibid.*, p. 72, ii: 52) is an Iranian-looking name. — KUR*A-ru-us-sa* (*ibid.*, 51) and KUR*A-ru-sa-ka* (*ibid.*, 54) are possibly Iran. **Aruša-* and **Arušaka-* respectively, cf. Av. *auruša-* "white" (*Air. Wb.* 190f, cf. H. W. Bailey, *Memorial de Menasce* [Louvain 1974], p. 369).

Some individuals bearing Iranian names are mentioned in NA legal and administrative documents. A Mede (KUR*Ma-da-a-a*) appears in a document from Calah which was possibly issued in the early eighth century B.C. (see Kinnier Wilson, *CTN* 1, p. 91). *Mad-a-a* is mentioned after *Bar-zi-i*, i.e. Iran. **Brziya-* (provided that the reading is not *Par-zi-i*), in another document from Calah (*CTN* 2, 106) dated to 738 B.C. *Bar-zi-i* is mentioned with some individuals who bore Cassite names in a document which was issued in Imgur-Enlil in 734 B.C. (*Iraq* 25, 1963, p. 91, BT 106: 22). — *Pa-ra-ū-ū*, Iran. **Parva-* "first" (or short for a compound name with **parva-*, cf. Benveniste, *Titres*, p. 88, Gershevitch, *Studia Pagliaro* II, p. 209)¹⁴⁾, is mentioned in Birtu (probably in Zamua, see Levine, *Iran* 11, 1973, p. 18f. with n. 69). He was also connected with Mannai (*Iraq* 27, 1965, p. 16, No. 6, 81-2-4, 349 from 717 B.C., cf. Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 21, 72, 5). — *Par-ta-a-ma*,

¹²⁾ For the spelling of the first component cf. NA *Ši-dir-pa-ar-na/ni* for Iran. **Čiθra-farna-* (p. 326f.).

¹³⁾ For contemporary Ramēnd see Razmārā, *Farhang-e-jogh-rāfiyā-yē-Irān* 1 (Tehran 1950), map at the end.

¹⁴⁾ Iranian clusters of the *-CC-* type are sometimes rendered in Akkadian by the sequence CV-C, cf. *Uk-sa-tar* for **Hu-xšaθra-*, and other examples which are discussed by Diakonoff, *Henning Memorial Volume*, p. 111, n. 37.

Iran. **Fratama-*¹⁵⁾, is mentioned in a document which was found in Nineveh and is dated to 683 B.C. (*ADD* 122). Some Iranian loanwords are found in Akkadian already in the NA period. All of them are names of plants or breeds of animals: *aspastu* ("alfalfa" or sim., CAD A/2, 338f.) is attested in Babylonia already in the end of the eighth century B.C., Iranian is perhaps also *kurangu* "rice" which is attested in Assyria (see Rabin, *JSS* 11, 1966, pp. 2ff.). Cf. also sheep (*UDU*) from *Par-su-a* in *ADD* 1057: 4 (reedited by Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 333). The term *tu-a-nu* (*ABL* 466: 10, reedited by Postgate, *Taxation*, p. 279) designates a horse which occurs in a list of horses. Most of these horses (43 out of 45) are designated by colour¹⁶⁾. Yet, *tu-a-nu* is not necessarily a colour designation, since the horse which is designated as *tu-a-nu* is not listed among the horses which are designated by colour and not immediately after them, but after a horse who bears a geographical designation: (*Har/Hir/Hur/Mur/Wur-ša-a-a*, i.e. "H/M/Wa/i/uršian"). It may render Iran. **tuvāna-* "strong" (cf. NP *tuvān*), but such a meaning is too unspecified for an assumed loanword. It is more likely that *tu-a-nu* was a designation of a special picked breed of horses whose characteristic was strength and ability. The context may be in favour of this interpretation, since only one horse is designated as *tu-a-nu*, whereas most of the horses are designated by colour. This may indicate that *tu-a-nu* was a selected breed. The horses which are described in this list were given as tribute to the Assyrian king by the crown prince of Andia and were brought by the emissary of Mannai, a region which was located in the Iranian plateau (Andia was probably part of Mannai, see Levine, *Iran* 12, 1974, pp. 113ff.).

Cambridge, July 1975

R. ZADOK

* *

Gerhard DOERFER, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Band IV: *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Schluss) und Register zur Gesamtarbeit. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1975 (8vo, VI + 640 pp.) = Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der Orient. Kommission. Band XXI. Preis: DM 162.—.

Volume IV of this voluminous work contains 238 entries beginning with the letters *g, l, m, n, v, h, y*, numbered 1701-1945 and complemented by 190 additional entries numbered 1946-2135.

We will mention some of the most interesting etymologies to which the author devotes considerable attention:

1. *gilēm* گليم "carpet" passed even to other

¹⁵⁾ Cf. Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 180b. The reservations of Eilers (*ZA* 51, 1955, p. 230) are not justified since Iranian *fra-* is represented by Akkadian *pa-ar* in *Pa-ar-mar-ti-iš* and *Pa-ar-ū-mar-ti-iš*, OP *Fravarti-š* (for references see Weissbach, *VAB* 3, p. 153, s.v.).

¹⁶⁾ 16 red, 14 black and 13 *irginu* horses. The origin and meaning of *irginu* is unknown (it occurs only in NA, see CAD I/J, 176b), it is perhaps Cassite (Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 34). *Irginu* is translated by Postgate, (*loc. cit.*) as "grey(?)".

Iranian dialects, to Balkan languages (Bulgarian, Rumanian, New Greek, Macedonian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak). The author failed to mention Czech which has two forms, *kelim* and *kilim*.

2. *gömruk* گومرک "custom" is also very frequent in Balkan languages (Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, Macedonian, and as early as in Old Church Slavonic).

3. *lāčīn* لاجين "Wanderfalke, Falco peregrinus, falcon" the etymology of which is uncertain. However, the author considers (with Lewicki) this word to be a loan from Turkish, but also quotes the views of Poppe and Ramstedt. He regards this word as foreign even in Turkish because of the *l-* which does not occur in genuine Turkish words. He concludes that this word probably belongs to the same stratum as the Old Turkish *layzīn* "pig" and is, similarly as the latter word, a cultural loan from some extinct language, possibly Ruanruan, the language of the predecessors of the Turks in their rule over the steppe.

4. *lā* ل "draggon" has an uncertain etymology. Many scholars derive it from the apparently closer Tibetan word *klu*, most of them, however, accept its origin from the Chinese *lu*. Pelliot is right in pointing to the fact that this word appears as early as in runic Turkish, in a time when a loan from Tibetan is less probable in Turkish.

5. *nōm* نوم "the sacred Buddhist book", Greek *nomos* "law" which penetrated into other languages in four types. The meaning "book" developed as late as in Mongolian so that the Turkish evidence in the meaning of "book" may also be back derivation from Mongolian.

6. A very detailed attention is given to the word *yārgū* يارغو "(Mongolian) court of justice, judicial inquiry, hearing (or disciplinary punishment with torture), also lawsuit, court-attendant, prohibition, commandment". This word is a derivation from the Turkish *yār-*, which usually means "split, separate" but also occurs in a metaphoric sense "judge, criticize". By numerous evidence the author explains the meaning of this word which is so important in Mongolian law. Much room is given to phonological expositions, especially of the initial consonant in Turkish (*y-*) and in Mongolian (*j-*). The author assumes three loan "degrees" (or strata) of such Turkish derivatives in Mongolian which are neither Old Turkish nor Early Turkish nor entirely Modern but leaves open the question to which stratum (degree) the Mongolian *jarǵu* belongs. The derivation of the Persian *yārgū* from the Mongolian *jarǵu* as assumed by some scholars (e.g. Quatremère, Vullers, Blochet) is regarded by the author as impossible in phonetic respect; the word corresponds rather with the Turkish *yaryu*. In cultural and historical respect this is a nice example of the fact that the Turkish element in Iran outweighed the Mongolian one at least in the civil area: a special kind of judiciary, created by the Mongols, is marked by a Turk-

⁸⁾ For alternative explanations see W. Eilers, *AfO* 17, 1954/56, p. 332.

⁹⁾ There seem to be more examples of Cassite names in Iran in the Neo-Assyrian period, e.g. *Ta-an-da(-a-a)* (Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 230; Piepkorn *Assurbanipal*, p. 48, B, iii: 7) of K/Qirbit, cf. the component *Tamda/i* in Cassite names (Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 83) with *m > n* (for this shift in NA see von Soden, *GAG*, § 96h). Akkadian hypocoristic suffixes were sometimes attached to Cassite names (see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 44f.). Note that one toponym near K/Qirbit, *Ba-ab-sah*, is thought to be Cassite (*ibid.*, p. 91). If *Bit Kab/p-si* is an Iranian toponym (an alternative which is considered by G. on p. 233, n. 37) then *DUMU Kab/p-si* (for references see Levine, *Stelae*, p. 50) would be the only case where an Iranian is designated *mār* (*DUMU*) GN, like a Cassite (cf. Brinkman, *PKB*, p. 246f.). *Hu-um-bi-e* (p. 318 after No. 84) is probably non-Iranian. It is perhaps related to the Elamite divine name *Hum-ban* (cf. the toponym *Til Hu-um-ba/bi* in Parpolā, *AOAT* 6, p. 354). *Hu-um-bi-e* occurs also as a commoner's name, possibly an immigrant or exile, in *ADD* 752, r. 11 (undated, reedited by F. M. Fales, *Censimenti e Catasti di Epoca Neo-Assyria* [Rome 1973], No. 28), a document which was found in Nineveh.

¹⁰⁾ The *n* was dropped in *Bu-ra-bu-ri-aš* (see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 48). For *-ya- > -a-* cf. MA *Kaš-til-a-šu* for *Kaštilyašu* (*ibid.*, p. 62, cf. Weidner, *AfO Beiheft* 12, p. 61. *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Samsāš 13, 3, 61, see Balkan, *Kassitenstudien*, p. 49). For the disappearance of *y* cf. also the following note.

¹¹⁾ This is not impossible in view of the spellings *Ur/Ur-ri-ia/ak-ku* and *U-ri-ka-a-a* for the same toponym which is etymologized by G. (p. 266f.) as **Varyaka-*.

ish word, while in military tradition the Mongolian element was for a long time in foreground.

7. More than 9 pages are devoted to another juridical word, *yāsāq* ياساق "Jenghiz Khan's law, legal order; command, lawful punishment, etc.". The Turk. (Čag.) word *yasa*, *yasaq* belongs to not rare Chwarezm-Čag. loans from Mongolian, where Mong. *j* > Turk. *y*-. Instead of *yasar* the author recommends the reading *aisar* (according to the Turkish runic writing) and gives a number of reasons for this reading. This word can be found in many Turkish, Caucasian, and Balkan languages. The author rejects the Old Turkish or Tatar origin of the word *yasaq* (according to Fischer) as well as a direct borrowing from Mongolian, or the explanation of the cognate Mongolian *jasā-* and Turkish *yasa-*, which seems to the author to be improbable with such an explicit technical term and *mot savant*; moreover, *yasa-*, *yasaq* are attested in Turkish only since the Mongolian time.

8. To the most interesting loan words from the cultural-historical point of view belongs the word *yāsāl* ياسال "state order, battle array, phalanx; order in a procession, also of garlands, festoons". Here the author makes the reader acquainted with the battle-array of the Turks and Mongols and points out to the inaccuracy of the hitherto performed investigations.

9. An interesting cultural-historical background has the word *yām* يام "post station, postal service, post-horse" which is connected with the establishment of (state) post. It is a very ancient word which arose independently on more points of the globe out of the same needs. It was already Herodot who described in detail a road with postal stations from Sardes to Susa in the Old Persian Empire. Similarly the Arabs, Romans, East Romans. With the Chinese, post is not much younger than with the Persians and arose probably independently of them. It was the Old Turks who became familiar with the post from the Chinese and later established it in their state. In the Mongolian Empire the postal service was introduced during the reign of Jenghiz Khan and especially during his successor Ögedei. The author discusses in detail the origin of this word and comes to the conclusion that it is of Chinese origin.

10. Very interesting is the linguistic and cultural history of the words which designate titles. As an example we give the high Turkish title *yabǧū*, *yabyu* يبعو which appears in Old Turkish runic writing. In Persian sources this title indicates the rulers of the following nations: Töliš, Qarluq, Kimäk, Oγuz, Seldjuk. Further it appears with Tokhars and other East Indo-Europeans. In Arabian sources the word often occurs as a designation of Turkish rulers. The word offers a number of intricate problems of which the author gives a detailed analysis and evaluation of the opinions of particular scholars both as the sound aspect and the cultural-historical aspect are concerned (Pellicot, Markwart, Menander, Poppe, Zajaczkowski, Blochet, Pritsak, V. Thomsen, Ramstedt, etc.). The author comes to the con-

clusion that the title is probably non-Turkish, maybe East Indo-Germanic.

11. Very common is also the word *yasāvul* يساوول the designation of the rank of "supervisor, body-guard, adjutant, organizer" which, similarly as the word *yasaq* and *yasal* is derived from the Turkish *yasa-* (Mong. *jasā-*) "to order". It appears even in other Iranian languages, in Mongolian, Armenian and in East Slavonic languages.

12. Interesting in cultural-political respect is the word *yangičāri* ينگچري "janissary" from the Old Osman *yañni-čāri*, literary "the new army", which penetrated into most European languages.

13. A great diffusion has the word *yūrt* يورت "pasture-ground, appanage (especially of a prince); halting-place; post; cottage, yurt; dwelling-place; room". The word *yurt* designated formerly a pasture-ground of a tribe in which there was the summer and the winter camp along which the tribe, when changing the pasture-ground in spring and in autumn respectively, moved. The word was borrowed from Turkish into Russian and other European languages.

14. The etymology of the word *yīrau* ييراو "singer, also denotation of a bird" from the Turkish (Čag.) *yīrau*, from the basic Turkish word *yīr* "song", is complemented with a detailed bibliography of Turkish and Altaic music.

15. A very detailed discussion is devoted to the word *yīl* يیل "year" from the Turkish (Čag.) *yīl*. The author mentions the names of animals of the cycle of twelve animals in Turkish, Persian, Khotan Sakish, Sogdian, Krorayina Prakrit, Sanskrit, Kuchean and in a number of other languages. As far as the origin of the cycle is concerned, the author favours Barthold's thesis according to which the cycle is of western origin (or Indian eventually) and further spread to the east, to the Chinese and the Turks.

The 1945 entries are followed by supplementary 191 entries, mostly of smaller extent.

The section "Nachträge und Berichtigungen" comprises several chapters. In the first, "Bemerkungen zur Altaistik" the author reacts on the responses to the section "Bemerkungen zur Verwandtschaft der sog. altaischen Sprachen" of the first volume, further gives literature aimed against the Altaic thesis and again deals with the conditions which, in his opinion, are necessary for the proof of the Altaic (and, generally, of any) kinship. Dealing with the problem of kinship the author emphasizes that only quite certain cases should be considered as the proof of kinship.

If those certain cases render a satisfactory basis (and if kinship is thereby proved), it is possible to venture solving even more difficult cases. However, the second step should not be done before the first as otherwise we should come to a *petitio principii*. In the author's opinion

this is the only way how to face rationally the still imminent danger of "chance". The ground of all science is the struggle against chance. Chance cannot be overcome by denying it.

The author illustrates his original conditions mostly by convincing examples and remarks but, moreover, he adds some new conditions:

1. Words of two languages A and B, regarded as cognate should in language B show not directly typical dialectal features of language A. If it still shows them, the borrowing is much more probable.

2. The theses (for example the sound formations, statements) should not lead to contradictions in themselves.

3. Nominal systems are often borrowed, even not rarely the casus but, on the other hand, hardly ever verbal systems (temporal, modal and other similar affixes).

The author further criticizes the tendency of many modern linguists to end the controversy kinship — borrowing by proclaiming that there exists no kinship but that all common features go back to borrowings (older and younger, more and less intensive), cf., e.g., Pisani, Uhlenbeck, Trubetzkoy, Setälä, Ščerbak (*Sravnitel'naja fonetika tjurkskix jazykov*, Leningrad 1970, 15 f.). The author does not regard this as a fair solution. Naturally, there may arise a genuine kinship but in his opinion there is a qualitative spring between kinship and borrowing. Both extremes must be rejected. Commenting on the views of different authors (Pisani, Trombetti, Clauson, Ramstedt, Poppe, etc.), the author explains that his view is mediating between pro-Altaists (Ramstedt) and their opponents (Clauson) forming a genuine synthesis. The pro-Altaists accept kinship and old contact, Clauson accepts old contact and young contact, whereas the author accepts borrowing and old contact. Further, the author defends his theory especially against the objections of N. Poppe.

The following additions partly give older literature which the author overlooked before or which was inaccessible to him, more rarely also modern literature. He adds a list of all reviews of his work as well as a list of additionally collected literature. The latter list is rather incomplete which has, according to the author, a number of reasons. The additions include pages 369-489, predominantly complementing the literature not mentioned before; with some entries the etymological data are substantially increased and given precision. In the section "Schlussbemerkungen" the author argues with some reviewers (Clauson, Ligeti, Poppe, Spuler) who blame him for a considerable sharpness of his judgements on theses of other scholars. He particularly turns against Gandjei who charges him with not too deep knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

The last part of the book are registers: general, word, grammar, register of categories and register of variants. The register of categories gives information about whether some word is a foreignism or loan, whether it is documented in texts and of what origin it is. Under loans the author understands words which do not occur in a foreign language quotation, are not explained as

foreign words and also do not occur in macaronic texts. In the register of variants there are included Turkish and Mongolian elements in all forms in which they appear in Persian sources.

Appreciating the whole work we cannot but admire the meticulous care and assiduity of the author who succeeded in coping with such an extensive theme. This extensiveness makes it impossible to avoid errors and inconsistencies and doubts which the author, after all, tried to do away with in Additions or to strengthen his arguments respectively. In any case the book under review considerably enriches the inquiry into the languages concerned.

Prague, November 1975

JIRÍ KRÁMSKÝ

VARIA

A. ALFÖLDI, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1974 (226 Seiten, 4 Abb. im Text, 16 Kunstdrucktafeln) = Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, NF 1, Band 5. Price: DM 142.

In JRS 57 (1967), 211, A. D. Momigliano began his review of Alföldi's *Early Rome and the Latins* (ERL) with the words: "ERL is the boldest book Alföldi has so far produced (...). It studies the early political relations between Rome, the Latin league and the Etruscans, and it touches only incidentally on the social and constitutional organization of early Rome which will be the subject of one or more further books. To judge from various hints in this book and from previous works, what Alföldi has to say about constitutional problems will be even more unconventional and provocative than the present book". With this new book, announced many times, *inter alia* as a study on the *Lupercalia*, this prophecy has been fulfilled. The book can be regarded as the final result of studies and publications the first of which date from fifty years ago. Already in 1926 Alföldi had proposed the thesis that the invasion of Mongolian Avars and the Turkish-Hunnish peoples into Europe had been preceded by I.E. tribes such as the Rhoxolani, the Iazyges, the Scythians and the Cimmerians, and in a series of studies he postulated a profound influence of the Eurasian culture upon the I.E. civilizations both as to their way of living (he assumes them to be rider herdsmen) and their social organization. One of the common features is a theriomorphic view of life, which is coupled with a characteristic form of organization: a tripartite system proper to the shepherd-tribes of the Ural and Altaic area. The reflection of this constitutional and social tripartition Alföldi had recognized in the Roman system of the three *tribus* and thirty *curiae* and a preliminary account of his findings can be found in ERL. But besides the tripartite system a bipartite structure, often attended by a double kingship, is discernible. This bipartition not only occurs in total tribes but also in smaller parts, particularly in the so-called "Männerbünde". Alföldi is inclined to connect the tripartite structure, including the theriomorphic view of life, with a matriarchal system and the bipartite form of organizat-

ion with a patriarchal and (consequently) later stage. Finally, A. discusses the position and political role of the smith as the exponent of the growing influence of crafts and craftsmanship. He discovers remnants of a smith-kingship in myths and legends of I.E. peoples. His explorations bring him from China to Rome and from Persia to Norway.

The main object of the book is to disclose these features in pre-republican Rome. The title "*Die Struktur* (...)" is, however, not very fortunate. For, as Alföldi himself more than once emphasizes in his work, the above elements represent different and chronologically distinct stages of an age-long evolution and, of course, bipartition and tripartition will not go together. In the case of Rome it is not always easy to find out to which particular period the various phenomena should be attributed. This much is certain that not one structure emerges but a kaleidoscopic mixture of elements belonging to several distinct structures. What may be said of the structure of Rome is, in a different way, also true for the structure of the book: it is extremely difficult to discover. One of the causes is the fact that the book consists of a series of studies, some of them dating from decennia ago, translated but not revised, brought together with recent studies and new and original investigations, which two categories have not been composed and coordinated into a coherent book. There are numerous repetitions, it occurs that extensive quotations from antique texts are repeated literally two or three times — especially in the case of the *hirpi Sorani* —, the rich literature-notes show too many iterations, there are references to plates not to be found in the book (p. 85 Abb. 14 and 15, evidently literally translated from an older study). Worse are frequent references to previous argumentations and results ("wie wir sahen"), where in fact the reader has not seen anything at all (e.g. p. 42). There is, however, another and more fundamental reason why the reader does not always see what the author wishes him to see, and this type of optic variance results from the *kind* of argumentation that characterizes the book.

In order to demonstrate the existence of practically the same social and constitutional structures in early Rome and in Eurasian cultures, Alföldi resorts to a "Vergleich mit der analogen Entwicklung verwandter Völker und ihrer einstigen Nachbarn" (11). It is necessary to realize that this implies a comparison of three unknown or scarcely known factors. One is the supposed influence of the Eurasian cultures upon I.E. peoples. The book does not give any comprehensive substantiation of this theory and a glance into the various investigations concerning the original home-land of the I.E. (A. Scherer, *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*, Darmstadt, 1968) confirms that in this field questions outnumber answers. The second factor is the extremely lacunary source-material as regards both these culturegroups, and the third the scantiness of our knowledge of early Rome. Small wonder that A. has to resort to a strongly intuitive, comparative method in which sometimes Mongolian data must fill up lacunae in the Roman tradition, another time Roman data are explained by supposed Sumerian prototypes. The adagium: *exempla illustrent sed non demon-*

strant is set at naught throughout the book; indeed, to a great extent the examples produced by A. even fail to illustrate, since too often they are either not relevant or plainly misinterpreted. Nobody will expect or demand conclusive evidence that might prove the vistas of A. But in my opinion the main theses of this book cannot even lay claim to probability. The importance of the subject, the great and deserved authority of the author and the immense learning he displays demand an ample substantiation of this negative verdict. Since, however, a real confutation of all the theories and suggestions proposed by A. would necessitate the writing of another book, I shall by necessity restrict myself to the most controversial issues and in doing so follow the lines the author has drawn.

I. *Die theriomorphe Weltbetrachtung*

The theriomorphic view of life, characteristic of hunting and stock-breeding cultures, implies the idea that man by clothing himself with the skin of wild animals not only shares in the animal's force and energy, but actually is transformed into the animal himself. This idea, according to A., is usually coupled with totemistic beliefs. Man (or the group to which he belongs) feels himself related to a particular kind of animal, which also represents the creator-god of tribe or nation and is considered to be the ancestor of the king's dynasty. Groups of warriors often called themselves wolves, bears etc., and a helmet made of the animal's skin increased their vigour and brought about an identification with the animal. The *Männerbünde*, whose existence and importance were defended by Meuli and especially by O. Höfler (A. does not take into consideration the criticism by specialists such as F. Ranke. Cf. now the reaction by O. Höfler, *Verwandlungskulte, Volkssagen und Mythen*, Österr. Ak. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Sitzber. 279 Abh. 2, Wien, 1973) serve as argument, as do the theories of G. Dumézil, who long ago interpreted the *centauri* as mythical projections of adolescents, roaming through field and wood during the period preceding their initiation. (This theory has met with fierce opposition. M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I, 231: "ein luftiges Hypothesengebäude"; see the recent treatment by G. Kirk, *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in ancient and other Cultures*, Berkeley, 1971, 152-162).

Of course, A. produces many interesting and thought-provoking ideas, but there are serious errors, too. For the notion of totemism A. refers to L. Sternberg, *ARW* 8, 1905, 258 f. and J. Frazer's famous works on totemism and exogamy. Without suggesting that *le dernier cri* is also *le meilleur cri*, I would point out that since the time these studies appeared work has been done in this field, which has considerably changed the views on totemism and what it implies. (See for instance: C. Lévi-Strauss, *Le totémisme aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1962; A. Closs, *Die "Unwirklichkeit" des Totemismus*, *Anthropos* 60, 1965, 816-822; E. Leach, ed. *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism*², London-New York, 1968; and especially on Eurasian and I.E. totemism: H. Miyakawa-A. Kollautz, *Zur Ur- und Vorgeschichte des Schamanismus. Geweihekrönung und Vogelkleid und ihre Beziehung zu Magie und Totemismus*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*

91, 1966, 161-193; A. Closs, *Das Heilige und die Frage nach einem germanischen Totemismus in: Festschrift Baetke*, 1966, 79-84). We have learned (but Frazer knew already) that a theriomorphic way of thinking is not necessarily connected with an organization in totemistic groups, that totemism, being a sociological term for the classification of a community in different groups with generally exogame structures and belief in a common ancestor (either animal or plant) certainly occurs in large parts of the world, possibly also in I.E. civilizations, but that the grouping of young men or warriors under the sign of ferocious animals is *not* to be listed under the head "totemism". (A psychological explanation of this kind of "transformation" into animals can be found in: R. Eisler, *Man into Wolf*, New York 1951). When K. Meuli in connection with warriors that give themselves names of wild beasts, remarks: "man ist ganz auf dem Holzweg, wenn man zur Erklärung dieser Namen totemistische Vorstellungen heranzieht" (*Handbuch d. deutsch. Aberglauben* V, 1932-33, 1846), he is right and A. should not have ignored this. One problem of A.'s book is that he continuously treats true totemism of clans and moieties and various forms of theriomorphism as if these phenomena were identical. This is a crucial problem since A. assumes a "Verklammerung der für uns fassbaren ältesten sozialen Struktur mit dieser uralten Denkweise" (32). In his opinion theriomorphism, matriarchy and tripartition belong together. This, however, is contradicted by modern research: possibly totemism originated in matrilinear tribal systems, but it generally functions in *dualistic* systems. See e.g. J. Lindsay, *The Question of Totemism reopened, in: Hommages à Marie Delcourt*, Bruxelles, 1970, 20-30, and below.

Armed with these concepts A. starts exploring Greek and Roman antiquity for relics of totemistic/theriomorphic views. He might have felt warned by scholars of divergent nature: Nilsson, *GGR* I², 45: "Insbesondere sind alle Versuche, den Totemismus bei den Indo-germanischen Völkern, auch den Griechen, nachzuweisen, vergeblich gewesen" and K. Meuli, *Griechische Opferbräuche*, in: *Phyllobolia von der Mühlh.*, Basel, 1946, 232, on I.E. sacrifice-ritual: "Nirgends, ausser vielleicht bei den eben genannten Paleosibiriern, ist etwa Heiligkeit des Tieres, totemistischer Abstammungsglaube oder Ähnliches Ursache so eigentümlicher Behandlung". These remarks do not necessarily deny the existence of theriomorphic ideas in the restricted sense of the word. But even in this connection A. does not seem able to prove his case without forcing or misinterpreting his sources. Plut. *Pyrr.* 32, 9 and Paus. II, 19, 3 do not identify Danaos and Gelanor with a wolf and bull respectively, but *compare* them with these animals (30). The numerous tales in which women try to escape the amorous attentions of gods have nothing to do with North-European stories of duels fought by two heroes in animal-forms. If A. lists Nemesis in the shape of a fish in this category, why should he not include Proteus also? But this god changes into *various* kinds of animals *and* into a tree *and* into water, which is understandably not helpful to A.'s totemism. These metamorphoses, however, together with the majority of Ovid's tales, do illustrate the essentially fairy-like and playful atmo-

sphere of these products of human fantasy. A. overlooks the simple fact that man, in order to metamorphose, has only a choice out of three possibilities: animal, plant or thing. And since *animalia* are the nearest relatives of man, they are mostly but *not exclusively* selected. See on this subject: A. Sauvage, *Étude de thèmes animaliers dans la poésie latine*, Bruxelles, 1975, 153-157. And when A. emphasizes the case of a girl in a Finnish epic, who wishes to change herself into a fish in the deep sea, an ermine under the rocks and a lark in the sky, this is a typical example of *adynaton*-tales summing up the three possible elements and their inhabitants. One may compare Vulg. Prov. P.L. 28, col. 1272: *Tria sunt difficilia mihi et quantum penitus ignoro: viam aquilae in caelo, viam colubri super petram, viam navis in medio mari, et viam viri in adolescentia*.

From myth to history. The helmet of the Homeric Greeks, called *κυνέη*, that is: "made of dogskin", suggests to A. that the dog was the original totem-animal of the Greek people ("Möglichkeit", 33). But since the dog is not the most venerable beast among the Greeks, A. suspects ("Vermutung" *ibidem*) that in origin the totem was a wolf. (We do not get an answer to the question why in that case the Greek "Elitekrieger" did not wear a wolf-skinhelmet, as fashionable *Männerbünde* would do.) This suspicion becomes certainty ("Sicherheit" *ibid.*) by the fact that *λύσσα* is the frenzy of these warriors and that consequently they are "wolves". My objection is that even if the latter statements were true they would not explain the dog-helmet. But it is not true that Homeric warriors are identified with wolves simply because their frenzy is called *λύσσα*. They are sometimes compared with wolves, but far more frequently with lions — not useful for totemistic ideas of North-Europeans —, and *λύσσα* may be derived from *λευκός*: "white rabies". See: H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, Heidelberg, 1970, s.v. Of course the Romans, too, know a rage of the warrior: *rabies, furor*, but in this terms there is certainly no reference to wolves and it will not do to bring in all instances of word-play that compare Romans with wolves, such as Liv. 10, 27, 8-9 (Lycophron, *Alex.* 1248 f. and Festus, s.v. *Lucumo* have no relevance whatsoever).

All this is characteristic of A.'s method, not leaving any room for spontaneous analogy, the metaphorical uses of language, creative fantasy and tracing back every formal resemblance to a common, preferably I.E. origin. A particularly illustrative example closes the first chapter, namely an excursus entitled "Das Wieselvolk". Roman soldiers wore helmets called *galea*, which term is borrowed from Greek *γαλή* and means "weasel-helmet". In the opinion of the author this is an instance of theriomorphic thought amongst the Romans, notwithstanding the decidedly *late* introduction of the term from Magna Graecia. This datum is connected with North-Eurasian cultures, where — A. must admit — there is no trace of a weasel-totem, but a distant relative, the wolverene, indeed occurs as totem-animal of tribes and clans. The problem for the reader is: which people exactly has A. in mind when he speaks of "Wieselvolk"? It cannot be the Romans who borrowed the *galea* only in the third century B.C. and, moreover, were already identified as

lupi, neither can it be the Greeks. But in Eurasia even A. has not been able to find a weasel-totem.

The crux of the matter is of course, that one can allow for the idea that the wearing of an animal-skin may give the wearer a share of the animal's particular strength and qualities. That, for instance, is the reason why some Roman priests had to wear leather head-gears or woollen *velamina* (collected by H. Freier, *Caput velare*. Diss. Tübingen, 1964). This does, however, not imply that these priests belonged to the totem-group of the sheep, neither were *galeriti* a "Wieselsvolk", or wearers of the *κυνέν* a dog-clan, nor did Hercules with the lion-skin belong to the totem of the lion. On the interpretation of the Etruscan Hades with the wolf-cap see the review by A. J. Pfiffig in: *Latomus* 34, 1975, 1143-1150, who mainly deals with the Etruscan issues in A.'s book.

II. Matriarchale Gesellschaftsordnung und Dreiteilung

This chapter is partly a translation of a study first published in 1936, partly a new additional section with illustrations from the Roman material. The Latin and Roman social organization is typically tripartite. This structure is a relic going back to I.E. prototypes (Dumézil) and in spite of a later patriarchal system among the I.E., the original tripartite structure is linked with matriarchal ideas common to I.E. and Turkish-Mongolian peoples. The development of the matriarchal structure passed through three phases: the theriomorphic, the anthropomorphic, during which the (female) animal-god received human traits, and the phase in which the crafts were introduced or invented (from which the smith-god and smith-king will come forth). The connection between matriarchy and tripartition appears *inter alia* from the fact that some Northern hunting tribes worshipped three bear-skins, which are, in the end, the prototypes of the later three *matronae*-goddesses of the Germans, protectors of three social groups. The same idea underlies the trimorphous Hekate and her Latin pendant Diana. The tripartition appears to exist in many I.E. civilizations, especially in Greece and Rome, the latter being an outstanding case in point in view of the three *tribus* and the thirty *curiae*.

Again some fundamental objections must be raised. If we leave aside the use and misuse of the term matriarchy and take it to indicate matrilinear or possibly matrilinear structure of relations with a consequent emphasis (that is not identical with predominance or even sovereignty) on female and female-functions, there remains an unwelcome difficulty: a glance into the anthropological literature shows that matrilinear institutions are often attended by a totemistic organization *but* in the majority of cases in a *bipartite* moiety-system. Indeed, bipartition, quadrupartition etc. prevail everywhere in totemistic societies (see e.g. J. Haekel, *Der heutige Stand des Totemismusproblems*, *Mitteil. Anthropol. Gesellsch.* Wien 82, 1953, 33-50; *idem*, *Zum Problem des Mutterrechtes*, *Paideuma*, 5, 1950-54, 298 ff. and 481 ff.) W. Schmidt, *Das Mutterrecht*, (Studia Instituti Anthropos, vol. 10), Wien 1955, has even endeavoured to explain the connection between "Mutterrecht" and a bipartite totemistic organization from the original function of

women in a predominantly semi-nomadic hunting society, for which different explanations have been suggested by J. Haekel, *Die Dualsysteme in Afrika*, *Anthropos* 45, 1950, 13 ff., J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *De oorsprong van de goddelijke bedrieger*, Amsterdam 1929, and C. Tj. Bertling, *La totalité comme notion politique et comme symbole religieux chez les peuples de l'Asie*, in: *Actes du IV^e congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques*, Wien, 1954-56, II, 137 ff. These studies — and many more on dualism — might have helped A. in the "bipartite" part of his book, but a connection between tripartition and "matriarchy" in I.E. peoples has still to be *proved*. And no proof can be found in A.'s treatment of the matter. There are, of course, the obligatory references to Dumézil. However, as the author is well aware, Dumézil defends a theory fundamentally different from Alföldi's. Dumézil assumes a *functional* tripartite division of a people into a group of priests, to which also the king as sovereign belongs, a second group of warriors and a third of the masses of tillers responsible for the production of victuals. This tripartition is supposed to be typically Indo-European. It has been opposed that similar triadic functional divisions occur everywhere, for instance in the society of the bees. An over-enthusiastic pupil of Dumézil saw the same tripartition in Japan, and another follower recently proved that five = three (cf. Sterckx, *Le "Panthéon théorique" des Indo-Européens et le nombre cinq*, *Latomus* 34, 1975, 3-16), but all this is of secondary importance, since A. depicts a completely different division, not based on diverging functions but, if I understand him well — he is not too explicit on this point — intended primarily as a means of cooperating in war and hunting-expeditions.

Now A. thinks that the three Germanic goddesses "offenbar Beschützer oder Hüter derselben dreifach gegliederten Geschlechterorganisation bzw. des Stammes sind" (48). Why? First, it should be noted that the *male* trimorphous gods of the Celts and Thracians plainly challenge A.'s connection of "Matriarchy" and tripartition but there is a more fundamental point. A. has not acquainted himself with the literature on the notion "three" in religion. He mentions Usener's *Götternamen* but not his *Dreierheit. Ein Versuch mythologischer Zahlenlehre* (Rep. Hildesheim 1966 = 1903), where Usener has pointed out the universality of triads of gods or trimorphous gods (naturally not restricted to female deities). A. mentions Déonna, *Ant. Cl.* 23, 1954, 403 ff., but does not relate that this very scholar has coined the expression "la répétition d'intensité" for triads in religion, where Weinreich speaks of "Steigerungstrieb". A good survey is given by R. Mehrlein, *Drei* in: *RAC* IV, 1959, 269 ff. Everywhere one distinguishes a predilection for the number three in myth and ritual and it is absurd to recognize a reflection of social circumstances in all these cases. The three heads of the Celtic "Hermes" are just another illustration of the magico-religious importance of the number three (cf. P. Sarasin, *Helios und Keraunos. Versuch einer Erklärung der Trias in der vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte*, Innsbruck, 1924) P. Lambrechts, *Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques*, Brugge, 1942, 33-42. has shown the strong re-

lation with the three Germanic goddesses. Neither group reflects a sociological classification.

In the same way Hecate's triformity has nothing to do with A.'s subject. He even admits that in this case the tripartition originates in her function as goddess of the three-forked roads and yet he tries to connect her triformity with her leadership of the raving armies of witches (the same idea should be represented by the imperial *Matres Campestres*, who according to A. are not the protectors of the camps as everyone believes, but witch-like goddesses of the battle-field). His attempt to interpret the Latin triple Diana (who is no other than the Greek Hecate) as patron of the Latin tripartite structure (*AJA* 64, 1960, 137 ff.; *ERL* 48 ff.) has been criticized before. R. M. Ogilvie in: *CR* 16, 1966, 96. has shown that the main argument of A. *viz.* the existence of a statue-group of three linked figures cannot be earlier than c. 400 B.C., which clearly is too late for an integration into Latin tripartite ideology. That triplication of gods may imply quite different ideas than "ursprünglich mythische Archegeten dreigeteilter Organisationen" (57) can be shown in an exemplary way by some instances A. refers to in this connection: Geryon and Caeculus. Their triplication is a typical symbol of immortality or regeneration and they are to be compared with the well-known pictures of the reborn or rejuvenated Mars-children on Etruscan mirrors, as has been amply argued by U. W. Scholz, *Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos*, Heidelberg, 1970, and before him by H. Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion*, Leiden, 1956, 193-233. This is confirmed by the discovery by S. Ferri, *Rend. Linc. cl. mor. stor. phil. ser. VIII*, 24, 1969, 133 ff. (cf. G. Puccioni in: *Mythos. Scripta in honor. M. Untersteiner*, Genova 1970, 235-239) that the mysterious *Recaranus quidam* in *Origo gentis Rom.* 6, 1 ff. (mentioned by A. p. 143) and *Serv. Aen.* 8, 203, is no other than Herakles *Trikaranos*.

A. has not given any proof for the coherence of "matriarchy" and tripartition — which coherence is highly improbable in itself witness the anthropological literature. (For some modern views on "matriarchy" in the ancient world I refer to P. Vidal-Naquet, *Esclavage et gynécocratie dans la tradition, le mythe, l'utopie. Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique*, Paris, 1970; S. Pembroke, *Last of the matriarchs: a study in the inscriptions of Lycia*, *Journ. of the Econom. and Soc. Hist. of the Orient*, 8, 1965, 217-247; *idem*, *Women in charge: the function of alternatives in early Greek tradition and the ancient idea of matriarchy*, *J.W.C.I.* 30, 1967, 1-35.) He has not proved that the Roman tripartition is a relic from I.E. prototypes (again I would opt for spontaneous analogy in various cultures) and so his remark on p. 61 is surprising to say the least. There one reads: "Kein Wunder, dass diejenigen, welche von sozialen Idealzuständen träumen, sowie Schreibtischgelehrte, die glauben, die römische Gesellschaft sei auf den Sieben Hügeln sozusagen aus dem Nichts geschaffen worden, den dreiteiligen Aufbau der Familienverbände ignorieren". For which type of investigators may rightly be labelled "armchair-scholars with belief in ideal situations?". The historians who leave

room for the whims of HISTORY and allow for new creations and development? (It is of course not necessary to mention names, but it is certainly noteworthy that R. E. A. Palmer, *The archaic Community of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1970, who tried — not always convincingly — to explain the Roman *curia*-system as a more or less accidental historical development and who was severely censured for this by A. in *Gnomon* 44, 1972, 787-799, is not referred to at all in a book entitled "Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates".) Or the type of structuralist Alföldi is, who thinks he discovers an *ideal* I. E. tripartition and imposes this "Idealzustand" upon any I.E. civilization he can find? A scholar who goes so far as to provide the *fascies* of the lictors of the *curiae* with a hypothetical axe in order to argue that this axe belonged to the *Standesinsignien* of the *equites*, who originally formed the aristocracy, whereas it is practically certain that the *fascies cum securibus* were borrowed from Etruria (cf. the recent investigations by B. Gladigow in *ANRW* I, 2, 1972, 295-313 and literature cited there). Alföldi, who proclaims the female bear to be the ancestor of the Greeks (just as she is the mother of Eurasian tribes), espec. of the Arcadians, and in this connection relates Artemis with the word *ἄρκτος*, but does not mention the fact that Artemis is not only the goddess of the bear but also of horses and bulls, that she was not only venerated by "bear-maidens", but also by "bee-maidens" (cf. I. Chirassi, *Miti e Culti arcaici di Artemis nel Peloponneso e Grecia centrale*, Trieste, 1964; I. Kontis, *Arch. Delt.* 22, 1967, 156-206; T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia found in Athens*, Stockholm, 1972; G. Maggioli, *Artimide-Calisto*. In *Mythos Scripta in honorem Marii Untersteiner*, Genova, 1970, 179-185; W. Sale, *The Temple-Legends of the Arkteia*, *Rh. Mus.* 118, 1975, 265 ff. for information on the nature of the bear in the cultus of Artemis). There cannot be any doubt that Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν* is a Mediterranean goddess and not a Northern immigrant. (Cf. W. Fauth, *Artemis* in: *Kleine Pauly* I, 618 ff.) Is it, finally, scientific to recognize in Zalmoxis a bear because Porphyry says of him that his name means "unknown man" (not right: the text says *ξένος ἀνὴρ* or to claim that Zalmoxis originally was a woman, because Suidas after a long digression clearly describing a male god or man, adds another gloss with the indication Zalmoxis (sic): *θηλυκῶς, ὄνομα θεᾶς*, evidently induced to this interpretation by the feminine ending of the name? (Cf. the ample discussions by M. Eliade, *De Zalmoxis à Gengis-Khan*, Paris 1970, and *idem* in: *History of Religions* 11, 1972, 254-302).

III. Der Mythos von der Wölfin-Urahnin

The Roman myth of the twins and their foster-mother, the *lupa*, is a variant of a Eurasian pattern. The wolf as ancestor of a tribe or nation or as foster-mother of exposed king's-children is a wide-spread theme. Here and elsewhere A. makes ample use of the collections of G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*, Meisenheim, 1964. The legend can among others be found in Mongolian culture, where the wolf occurs as "Totemtier des Herrscherhauses" (73). A.

supposes that the original thirty Latin tribes each worshipped an animal totem of this type. Alba and Lavinium worshipped the wolf and Rome inherited this totem from them, as is shown by various early statues of wolves in Rome. The problem that a foster-mother is not identical with a natural ancestor A. tries to evade by speaking of "Abschwachung" (75). The totem-animal often manifests itself in the name of the tribe and is frequently considered to act as guide and leader of the tribe during its search for new places to settle. There are well-known examples: such as the *picus* of the Picentes, the *hirpi* of the Hirpini etc. The sow with the thirty young is also in a way "Ahnentier" of the Latins, which view has been accepted by P. T. Eden, *Virgil Aeneid VIII*, Leiden, 1975, 28, with reference to W. Ehlers, *Die Gründungsprodigien von Lavinium und Alba Longa*, M. H. 6, 1949, 166-175 and cf. E. Mayer, *Das Sauprodigium und sein religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund* Act. Ant. 16, 1968, 197-208. Cf. however, the different interpretation of B. Grassmann-Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*, München 1966, 54-63.

At this point criticism starts. For one should remember that the founding of cities in antiquity at least required a preceding consultation of an oracle or the observation of *auspicia* or *omina*. One widely attested founding-omen is an animal which by some unusual behaviour indicates the place for the future settlement. For Thebes this was a cow, for Aegae of course goats and there are many more instances: (See: L. Gierth, *Griechische Gründungsgeschichten als Zeugnisse historischen Denkens vor dem Einsetzen der Geschichtsschreibung*, Diss. Freiburg 1971, 57, 62, 87-94 and add: Page, *Selected Papyri* III. 499). Now littering thirty young certainly is unusual behaviour and as such it is typical aetiological prodigy (based, I think, on the existence of thirty Latin cities). There is nothing that indicates a totem-animal in this case and I would suggest only consideration of the possibility of "Ahnentiere" when there are stronger arguments to be found, for instance the fact that a people named itself after a divine animal-guide (even in this case there is room for scepticism, witness e.g. G. Radke in *Gnomon* 44, 1972, 560, whom I do not follow) or that it selected the animal as "Fahrentier", if such cases are indeed existing. As regards the latter subject A. is positive concerning Rome and other Italic tribes following Binder 45 ff. But there is no certainty. In republican times before Marius there were several animals represented on *vexilla*, each symbolizing a god: the eagle for Jupiter, the wolf for Mars, the wild boar for Quirinus(?) etc. These have, according to A., succeeded "die Wolfsstandarte des ältesten römischen Heeres, deren Existenz uns die angeführten Analogien nahelegen" (80). Looking for these analogies one finds one *Turkish* instance on p. 80, followed by the phrase: "Ei-nige italische Analogien dazu haben wir schon genannt". Continued research produces one other example (p. 77) where one finds: "Dass die Picenter eine Spechtfahne hatten, bestätigt Festus (Paul. Fest. 235, 16 L): *Picena regio ... dicta, quod Sabini cum Asculum proficicerentur, in vexillo eorum picus consederat*. Far from being proof of the existence of a standard-animal, this is another version of the guide-animal and as a prodigy it

can be compared with the raven that helped Valerius Corvus against a Gaul (explained by H. Bloch, *CRAI*, 1964, 388 esp. 394, as a kind of *evocatio* of the typically Celtic animal).

The *picus* may guide us from accidentia to substantia. There are many guiding animals in Italic and other legends. We have met the wolf and the woodpecker in this function in what the Itali called *ver sacrum*, a kind of ritual colonization (cf. P. M. Martin, *Contribution de Denys d'Halicarnasse* (1, 16) à la connaissance du *ver sacrum*, *Latomus* 32, 1973, 23-38). In this quality they are, however, generally regarded as the animals of the god Mars, who is predominantly the god that leads Italic tribes to their new territory, witness e.g. the Mamertines who received their name from this deity (J. Heurgon, *Trois Études sur le ver sacrum*, Bruxelles, 1957... U. W. Scholz, o.c. 49-52; W. Eisenhut, *RE*, 2e Reihe 15, 1955, 919). This is confirmed by ancient data stating that not only the wolf, but also the woodpecker is a typical animal of Mars (*picus Martius*, *Martis*). It is then somewhat surprising to notice that A. considers the *picus* to be the "hilfreiche Vogel des Ahnentiers", analogous to similar themes in other cultures, and that he regards the independent role of the *picus* as the animal of Mars as "eine spätere religiöse Stufe" (85). Why? The answer must be sought in his tendency to concentrate on the one animal he finds as "Ahnentier" in Eurasia and in Rome: the wolf, and that all other animals are felt to be annoying complications. This appears also from the emphasis on the Hirpini with their guiding wolf and the supposedly related *hirpi Sorani*, priests of Dis Pater, who maintain a cult around a cave in Mount Soracte and who walk bare-footed through fire. According to A. these are the remnants of "Schwurbrüderschaften erlesener Krieger" (78), who — just as the Scandinavian "Männerbünde" discussed by O. Höfler — act in the shape of wolves and trace back their origin to an ancestor-wolf. Also in Northern legend we hear of touching red-hot-iron with the hands.

A. expresses himself very carefully here (later on he will be more daring) and that is laudable. For Pliny, *n.h.* 7, 2, 15 relates that there are only *paucae familiae* able to perform the trick and therefore *perpetuo senatus consulto militiae omniumque munerum vacationem habent*, which fact does not exactly argue for a character of "Männerbünde". More serious is the fact that A. once again has to ignore the *communis opinio*: the Apollo-Dis Pater of Mount Soracte which lay on Etruscan territory, is no other than the Etruscan Hades who is pictured with a wolf-cap himself and who (or whose demonic representatives) rises from a pit or *mundus* clothed with a wolf-skin (the connection was recently underlined by Erika Simon, *Die Tomba dei Tori*, *Arch. Jahrb.* 88, 1973, espec. 38 ff. Cf. G. Pugliese Carratelli in: *PP* 158/159, 1974, 305-308). And it may be true that the wolf can be an "Ahnentier" in I.E. (and many other!) civilizations, it is equally true that in Etruria the wolf — demon is a "divinité de l'au-delà" (P. Defosse, *Génie funéraire ravisseur* (Calu) sur quelques urnes étrusques *Ant. Cl.* 41, 1972, 487-499; cf. the thorough study by W. Fauth, *Der Schlund des Orcus*, *Numen* 21, 1974, 105 ff. And more generally: M. Lurker, *Hund und Wolf in ihren*

Beziehungen zum Tode, *Antaios* 10, 1969, 199-216). Later on (82 f.) A. tries to settle the matter by pointing out (in connection with the wolf-heros of Temesa) that gods of the underworld frequently are also ancestor-gods. But his spare references do not bear out the universality of the thesis. (The *indiges*-gods treated in *ERL* 252 ff. certainly have chthonic traits but that does not make them typically demons of death and cruelty, as the Etruscan demons are.) And the conclusion "So muss es auch bei den Etruskern gewesen sein" (83) is neither born out by Lycophr. *Alex.* 1248 nor by the Bologna-stele (cf. Pfiffig, o.c. 1145).

There is no denying: the Etruscan wolf-demons are prototypes of gods of death and underworld (cf. Olta, *Plin.*, *n.h.* 2, 43, 150) and at the same time the nearest relatives of the wolf-demon of Mount Soracte, who dwelt in a cave which formed, also in the view of A., the entrance to the underworld. Walking through fire is a universal phenomenon. Sometimes, but not always, it is characterized as an ordeal (E. Benz, *Ordeal by Fire in: Myths and Symbols, Studies Eliade*, 1969, 241-264). In antiquity another instance is mentioned by Strabo 12, 537: In Cilicia priestesses of Artemis Perasia walked bare-footed through coal-fire. No "Männerbünde" in this case. For a modern case of fire-walking see: G. M. Forster, *The Fire Walkers of San Pedro Manrique*, Soria, Spain, *Journ. Amer. Folklore* 68, (1955), 325-332, with a sound interpretation. May-be the lustration ritual of the *Parilia* may be compared. Moreover, walking through fire of coal or wood is not the same as touching glowing iron with the hand.

Manoeuvring between wolves as ancestor-animals of warrior-groups ("Männerbünde") and as totem-animals of tribes, A. has suggested that collegia of priests such as the *Salii*, the *Fratres Arvales* (!), the *Fratres Atiedii* and the *Luperci* all originated from comparable "Männerbünde". One of them is the subject of the next chapter.

IV. Das Luperkalienfest

About this festival R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and their Gods*, London, 1966, 77 says: "We do not know the name of the god in whose honour it was held, we do not know its real origin and we do not know who or even how many people were officially involved ...". Such circumstances allure scholars. Alföldi gives a full page of modern literature about this insoluble problem and this does not exhaust the list. (One finds a survey of the literature in A. W. J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Luperalia*, Diss. Amsterdam 1974.) Holleman had written on the *Luperalia* before: *Historia* 22, 1973, 260-268 with daring hypotheses. Comparable theses have been proposed by D. Porte, *Le devin, son bouc et Junon*, *REL* 51, 1973, 171 ff., who attributes some features to Ovid's phantasy. G. Piccaluga, *l'aspetto agonistico dei Luperalia*, *SMSR* 33, 1962, 51-62, might have been useful for the interpretation of the contest of the two groups of *Luperci*. A reference to K. W. Welwei, *Das Angebot des Diadems an Caesar und das Luperkalienproblem*, *Historia* 16, 1967, 44-69, should not have been omitted, since this author has revolted against the interpretation of the *Luperalia* as a yearly-kingsfestival, to which interpretation, after Binder, Burkert and Dobesch, Alföldi

adheres enthusiastically. (Cf. also O. Murray in *CR* 81, 1967, 331.)

A. starts from the attractive idea that in order to explain the various feats of the festival one should abandon the conviction that the festival is one historical unity. According to him there are several stages, the oldest of which is supposed to be a wolf-festival concentrating on the God Mars (who — it must be added — is neither in myth nor in ritual expressly prominent in this context). Witness their names, the *luperci* must represent wolves and accordingly fall into the category of the "Werwolf-Männerbünde". At the same time it is a festival of the founding of Rome. This rather surprising statement (the founding-festival is the *Parilia* on 21 April, as still any modern Roman might affirm) is based upon two testimonia. One is D.H. 1, 80, 1 ff. where nothing is found, the other Val. Max. II, 2, 9 who explains the *Lupercalia* as an expression of joy *quod ... avis Numitor ... urbem condere permiserat*. That is not the celebration of the founding itself. Any action of Romulus and Remus has been connected with their task to found Rome and there is no special reason to connect the *Lupercalia* with the foundation-act.

The *Luperci* being wolves, Faunus becomes a problem. He is certainly the central god and not to be explained with Altheim as the "strangler-wolfdemon". He is the he-goat, which fits quite well in the nature of the festival since the *Luperci* are also he-goats (*creppi*) and their clothing (goat-skins) confirms this. Here, of course, a contradiction emerges which, however, according to A., we should not try to reconcile. Wolves and goats belong to different strata and myth-complexes, but they certainly amalgamated before the Itali immigrated into Italy, since a similar connection can be found in Arcadia, namely in the connection of the legends of Zeus Lykaeos and the werewolf-metamorphoses on the one hand, and the existence of a Pan (Lykaeos) on the other. The comparison of Arcadian Pan and Roman Faunus dates from antiquity. However there is no trace of an essential connection between the *Lupercalia* and the complex of the Arcadian Pan (G. Piccaluga, *Lykaon. Un tema mitico*, Roma, 1968, referred to by A. (91. n. 52) does not defend such a connection). The two "testimonia" Pausan. 8, 30, 3 and Porphyry, *de antro nymph.* 20, merely indicate the existence of a cult of Pan on Mount Lykaon. Of course such a cultus of the national Arcadian God exists on the national Arcadian mount (cf. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 444 n. 2), but he has nothing to do with wolves.

In admitting a double identity of the *Lupercalia* A. is more honest than the scholars who try to explain away one of the two sides (Binder o.c. 96 ff. keeps practically silent on the possibility of the *Luperci* being goats and ignores the datum of the goat-skin-skirts of the *Luperci*. Cf. E. Gjerstadt, *Legends and Facts of Early Rome*, Lund 1962, 11, who denies that anything in the rites points to a wolf. For other solutions see Holleman and Porte in the works mentioned above and the suggestion by O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, Frankfurt, 1934, 64) but A.'s own solutions are less than convincing. On p. 92 A. states: "Die Kombination stammt aus einer sehr alten gemeinsamen Wurzel, die

wir nicht mehr genau erfassen können". We have seen that the wolf-component must be "uralt" since it belongs to the totemistic phase, but on p. 106 we learn that the goat-component is also "uralt" since it is connected with "die ziegengestaltigen Gottheiten der im Frühjahr aufstehenden Natur". In this way one can of course, explain everything. I must confess that A.'s demonstration is in my opinion not an improvement on earlier investigations, especially since A. has to admit that there is a third complicating factor: the goddess Iuno is also involved (the *amiculum Iunonis*). Here A. sees his chance to prepare his main thesis, elaborated in the two following chapters. Iuno is "Anführerin der Jungmannschaften" (93). "Uns interessiert hier die Verbindung der kriegerischen Iuno mit den göttlichen Zwillingsahnen der zweigeteilten römischen Gesellschaftsordnung der archaischen Zeit" (94). For — it is announced here — the *Luperci* were remnants of these "Jungmannschaften", as had been earlier proposed by many modern scholars. The subject will be dealt with in a later chapter and for that reason as a reviewer I restrict myself to two remarks.

First, the relation of Iuno with a *bipartite* structure of warriorgroups is about the most unfortunate combination imaginable. For as a "Warrior" — or protective goddess Iuno is known under the name of Curitis and whatever the etymology of that name may be, she is linked with the 30 *curiae* of Rome and therefore with the *tripartite* system defended by A. (he admits this on p. 97, apparently without observing that this brings him into the greatest difficulties). Another objection is that it will not do to minimize the one and only connection of Iuno with the *Lupercalia*, viz. the *februatio* with the *amiculum Iunonis*. Whether Iuno is regarded as a typical goddess of the women (Radke and many others), or is taken as "the deity or spirit of youthfulness (including men and women) as R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire*, Philadelphia, 1974, 3-56, with weak arguments suggests, the relation with the *Lupercalia*, must be based on the phrase of Paul Fest. 75-6 L: *mulieres februantur a lupercis amiculo Iunonis id est pelle caprina*.

Second, one important argument for the interpretation of the *Luperci* as "Männerbund", put forward by several scholars, is the assumed fact that they are masked. A. bases this assumption on two ancient testimonies. One is Gelasius (Collect. Avellana 100; CSEL XXXV 453-464). The same testimony is put forward by Binder, o.c. 40 n. 4 and quoted p. 114. The word *persona* in this context does not mean "mask", but "rôle". The other testimony is a passage of Lactance, *Div. Inst.* I, 21, 45. Here I doubt very much whether the *personati* mentioned here are the *Luperci*. Substantiation of these objections would require an ample argumentation which I cannot give here. I hope to present the reasons for my scepticism elsewhere. If I were right, this would certainly not be the end of the *Luperci* as "Jungmannschaften" (in fact I believe this is about the sole chief motif of A.'s book that really deserves serious consideration). But the *Luperci* would be unmasked for once at least.

V. Hirtenkriegerum und Männerbund

Building on the results of work of Meuli, and especial-

ly Binder, who, for his part, was inspired by earlier studies by Alföldi, A. again enters the lists against the sceptics who consider the Roman twins late creations after Greek literary models. The arguments are by now fairly well known: early archaeological data on statues of a wolf in Rome, remarkably exact parallels of the exposition- and foster-animal motifs in other cultures, references to the pastoral atmosphere characteristic of the way of life of primitive "Männerbünde" who are, during their adolescence compelled to live "en marge" and behave like *latrones*, just as the band of Romulus and Remus: in short Binder's chapter on the *Luperci* with many amplifications. It is evident that A. has noticed what in his view cannot be but a weakness in Binder's work. Binder has collected a great many stories containing the elements of exposition, foster-motherhood, slaying of the tyrant, enthronization, city-founding etc. (though very few twins!), but he found these themes not only in I.E. civilizations but also amongst the Semites, the American Indians and elsewhere. That obviously indicates a creation by analogy and not a tradition, let alone a specifically I.E. tradition. And here A. has some real problems. For in order to maintain his I.E. traditional theory he must assume that the theme of the founding-king (or part of it) may have originated among the Sumerians and has been borrowed by the Iranian and Western I.E. nomads. In this connection he makes also the *lituus* come from Sumer, of course via Etruria, but it cannot be doubted that fundamentally different, widely separated cultures had similar legends and myths concerning the birth of kings and it may be useful to reread O. Rank, *The myth of the Birth of the Hero*, New York 1964 (= 1914).

There is more. On p. 116 A. admits that the name Romulus is related to Roma, yet defends the idea that Romulus actually is the original name of the ancestor king and as such an "uralt Erbstück". Assuming that in this book "uralt" means at least pre-Etruscan, I must point out that it is now as good as certain that A.'s opinion is wrong. In Orvieto M. Bizarri has found an architrave (SE 30, 1962, 108) with the inscription (*mi*) *rus rumelnas*. The latter word is certainly a *-na* derivation from *Rumele* (= *Romulus*). The editor remarks: "Diese altetruskische Inschrift von Orvieto liefert uns heute damit den ältesten Beleg (wohl VI Jhdt. v. Chr.) des Romulus-Namens und gleichzeitig den unwiderlegbaren Beweis seiner etruskischen Herkunft (*Glotta* 53, 1975, 135, where further literature on the Etruscan origin of the name Romulus is referred to (p. 108)). This does not detract from the I.E. origin of the twins but from now on it would be wiser to keep the name out of these arguments.

Another deviation from Binder's tracks is the emphasis A. lays on the twins as representatives of double kingship and a bipartite social structure (hints in this direction: Binder p. 74 f.). The *casa Romuli* situated by some writers on the Capitoline, is according to A. older than the well-known hut on the Palatine. Why? "Es ist sehr wichtig, dass diese Strohütte am Kapitol stand, ausserhalb des *pomerium* sowohl der Palatin als auch der Quirinalsiedlung" (117). The two groups of the *Luperci* viz. the *Luperci Fabiani* (Remus) and the *Luperci*

Quinctilii (Romulus) belong to the Quirinal and the Palatine respectively. Whoever asks for proof is referred to ERL 45 and 315. Whoever looks up these references is referred to the forthcoming book. Fortunately we have Wissowa, *R.u.K.* 2 559 f., who at the same time gives the only acceptable solution to the problem. For it is out of the question that the *Luperci*, in whose ritual everything was concentrated on the Palatine, had in origin any connection with the Quirinal. Moreover it was Romulus, not Remus who later became identified with Quirinus!

As I have said, I deem it not totally impossible to consider the *Luperci* in the light of "Jungmannschaften" comparable with the Spartan youngsters roaming the fields during the period of adolescence. (Cf. now J. Ducat, *Le mépris des Hilotes*, *Annales*, 1974, 1451 ff.; for comparable institutions in Attica: P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir et l'origine de l'éphébie attique* *Annales* 23, 1968, 947 ff. and on both A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* I, Roma 1969, all sharing the same audacity.) But Plautus calling mercenary soldiers *latrones* (121) does not strike the reader as a strong argument, neither does the honorary title of an imperial legion "Rapax". Worse are emendations to prove a case. Corrections of *Λυδοί* into *λύκοι* in Plut. *Arist.* 17, 10 are not only unnecessary, they are blatantly beside the mark (123). On p. 126 the *βουκόλοι* of Dionysos, who, as anyone knows, appears himself *βοῶν ποδὶ θύων*, fall outside the pastoral scheme of A. So do the *Bassarai*: female followers of the god. A serious and fertile argument is the case of the Lucani (129), but with the assertion that the *asylum Romuli* situated *inter duos lucos* "muss eine spätere Entwicklungsstufe gewesen sein" (133) A. is again begging the question. He wishes at all costs to prove that there were two groups each under the leadership of one of the twin-founders, a bipartition he thinks he recognizes also in the priestgroups of the *Ara Maxima*: the Potitii and the Pinarii, whom A. regards as patrician successors of the king in his priestly functions. A. thinks there are similarities between the legends of the *Lupercalia* and those of the *Ara Maxima*. In my opinion they are completely accidental. (See R. Rebufat, *Tite-Live et la forteresse d'Ostie*, in: *Mélanges de philol., litt., et hist. anc. offerts à P. Boyancé*, Ec. fr. Rome, 1974, 631-652, on the historical role of the Potitii and Pinarii.) In all this there is, however, a real problem, which has escaped the attention of A. In the case of the Potitii and the Pinarii the winners of the legendary "contest" became the historical priests, the other party was punished and that is the way it is in life and aetiology. But in the case of the "contest" of Romulus and Remus described in the legend of the *Lupercalia* it is not the later survivor and founder-king that wins but the other, who will loose in the end. Why is this so? I think it is possible to suggest a solution but not within the schemes proposed by A. (One solution has already been proposed by R. Schilling, *Romulus l'élú et Rémus le réprouvé*, *REL* 38, 1960, 182-199, who connects the "victory" of Remus with his untimely death. Cf. also: J. Beaujeu, *Le frère de Quirinus*, in: *Mélanges de philosophie litt., hist. anc. offerts à P. Boyancé*, Écol. Fr. Rome, 1974, 57-72, on the rehabilitation of Remus in the first cent. B.C.)

Why had one brother to kill the other? Because later history knew only of a single kingship and so had to dispose of one of the first two kings? Was it in that case the most elegant solution to make the founder a fratricide? (Cf. P. Drossart, *La mort de Rémus chez Ovide*, *REL* 50, 1972, 187.) Who will believe this presentation of facts?

VI. Zweiteilung und Doppelmonarchie

In an article of 1933, reprinted in translation here, A. has pointed out traces of double-kingship in Northern Eurasian rider-tribes, often characterized by an important, older or stronger king and a younger and subordinate one, each ruling over their own part of the people, often marked by different colours, numbers or animals and boasting two mythical founders. This, according to A., is a typical "Vaterrechtliches Zweiklassensystem" (155). The force of argument and data can not be evaluated by the present reviewer and not only because of the lack of foot-notes with references. It is to be hoped that they are stronger than A.'s arguments in the case of Rome, where A. discerns a comparable bipartite structure with attending double kingship. The procedure is again typical. On p. 165 A. states: "Wir haben bereits genügend Beweise dafür angeführt, dass in Rom einst ein Zweiklassensystem existierte". This is surprising enough since this is the issue A. promised to demonstrate in this very chapter. In the fore-going chapters not one "proof" has been given. There have been only references to two groups of *Luperci* and two founder-heroes. That these were mythico-ritual reflections of a social structure must still be shown. The former result, however, "berechtigt uns auch schwache Spuren der Doppelherrschaft als Zeugnisse zu verwenden" (!).

Parallels from Greece are put forward to prove an I.E. double kingship. Sparta is of course a good help, but Aesch. *Agam.* 40 ff. and Soph. *Philoct.* 1023 can not possibly be used as sources for a Mycenaean double kingship and Herod. 5, 75 and 6, 52 does not say or even implicate that the Dioscuri were seen as "Ahnen der beiden dortigen (i.e. Spartan) Königshäuser" (164). For Italy Hesiod's famous Agrios and Latinos appear once again. A.'s previous attempts to identify these "double" kings with Aeneas and Latinus have been rightly refuted by Weinstock in *JRS* 49, 1959, 170 ff. and the identification of these two figures on coins of the second Punic war (A. in *RM* 78, 1971, 1 ff. and earlier publications) has been convincingly opposed by J. Bleicken, *Coniuratio*, *Jahrb. Num.* 13, 1963, 51-70; H. U. Instinski, *ibid.* 14, 1964, 83-89.

In order to support his views A. presents a list of 11 instances of bipartition, which I have not the space to discuss extensively. Again the Potitii and Pinarii appear; so do the *Luperci* without any substantial enlargement upon things said before. Ianus is "das Sinnbild des zweiköpfigen Staates" (166). "Hauptgott der Römer, höher im Rang als Iuppiter" (!), with the impossible etymology *Dianus cf. Diana. There is a discussion of Mars and Quirinus as leaders of the two parts of the early Roman society: the Palatine and the Quirinal. This compels A. to a definite rejection of Dumézil's central

theory of the I.E. triad of gods: Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus. According to A. Quirinus is not the god of the *curiae* < *co-viria* (because Iuno had already that function) but he is the patron of the *Quirites*, who together form "das römische Aufgebot der Speermänner" (169). On this point A. definitely contradicts his own theory. If Quirinus is the god of all the Roman warriors (and this is A.'s explicit conception), then it is no longer possible to conceive him as one of the two gods, representatives of the bipartite structure: Mars-Palatine and Quirinus-Quirinal, the first being the wolf, the second the boar (note that on p. 80 these standard animals did not belong to the earliest stratum of Roman totemism). There is much more to criticize (the contest around the head of the *Equus October* is neither fought by "Jungmannschaften" (166), nor has it anything to do with a Palatine-Quirinal controversy). We must return to the main point.

A. has not furnished any sort of proof of a social and political bipartition of early Rome. Indications of dual systems exist but they may have quite divergent origins. One of them might be a historical *synoikismos* of two different tribes (The idea has its own history). A. tries to work the Sabines and Titus Tatius into his scheme but the foggy and internal contradictions in this part of his argument condemn themselves. If Remus was killed because the monarchy had made his person superfluous, why had Tatius to take his place? If there is no indication of a social duality, Romulus and Remus cannot have been the representatives of such a bipartition. This is all independent of the problem of the connection of the twins with the *Luperci*. Whether one accepts this connection depends upon one's judgement of Roman literary tradition. But one bipartite *collegium* does not prove a bipartite social structure.

Concerning the I.E. twins A. could not make use of two articles that were published after the publication of his book: B. Lincoln, The Indo-European Myth of Creation, and J. Puhvel, Remus et frater, both in *History of Religions* 15, 1975, 121-145 and 146-157. These authors elaborate ideas on the I.E. creation-myth that had been suggested before. The assumption that in this case the theme is indeed originally I.E., is based upon the remarkable resemblances of the names of the creator-twins in various I.E. civilizations. The authors have reconstructed an I.E. creation-myth of the following type. At the beginning of creation there is a pair of twins, the senior of which is called "Twin" and the junior "Man". The latter, the first human being, creates the cosmos and all living beings and inanimate things out of the body of his twin-brother, who has to undergo a sacrificial death. So the beginning of the world is marked by a ritual murder of one brother by the other. The authors argue convincingly that in Rome the cosmogonical myth has been substituted by a legend of the founding of the city. Many difficulties can now be explained, among which the eternal question why the Romans tolerated a fratricide in their early history. Puhvel also points out that in Roman literature it is not Romulus but Remus who appears to claim seniority over his brother. Now we know the reason. In all this there is no trace of bipartition. On the contrary: in Germanic legends Mannus (the "Man")

is the father of three Germanic tribes "which are in reality a tripartite set of social divisions" (Puhvel 154)(?). I think this is a theory that deserves serious consideration since it furnishes very attractive solutions for problems not solved so far. (It should be noted that apparently the creator-twins in I.E. myth should be distinguished from the other type of I.E. twins, who are the divine saviours and healer-gods, like the Dioscuri. The latter type is discussed by D. Ward. *The Divine Twins. An I.E. Myth in Germanic Tradition*, Berkeley, 1968, (Folklore Studies 19), in which Romulus and Remus are mentioned three times only, and which book (consequently?) is not mentioned by Lincoln and Puhvel. Cf. also: R. Schilling, Les Castores romains à la lumière des traditions indo-européennes *Hommages G. Dumézil*, Bruxelles 1960, 177-192. Things are, however, complicated: J. Schwabe (Die kosmogonischen Zwillinge und das Säulenpaar im Tempel, *Symbolon* 6, 1968, 25-56, argues for the universality of twins, being both creators and saviour-gods, in cultures all over the world).

VII. Der königliche Schmied

In 1932 A. published a paper in which he pointed out that in various civilizations the black-smith has a special place in legend and history. Mongolian and Persian kings, so A. contended, trace back their dynasty to a legendary smith-king, traces of which can be seen for instance in the kings-standard. He concluded that his specific semi-magical craftsmanship provided the primitive black-smith with a halo of wisdom and in some societies he was raised to kingship. Subsequently similar theories were defended by F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen*, Baden-Baden, 1951, 96 ff. Nobody will be interested in the assent or disapproval of a non-specialist, so I shall pass over this part of the chapter to turn to the two remaining parts: the divine smith as father of kings in Rome and the Hittite origin of the divine or kingly smith.

A. thinks he recognizes a divine smith, father of kings, in the well-known myths of the conception of virgins by means of the hearth-fire in Italic myth and legend. A. has collected the evidence and concluded that the stories of the divine impregnation by the fire from the hearth are nothing else than the old story of the smith-god who impregnates the virginal mother of a future king (they have been differently interpreted — not without difficulty — by U. W. Scholz, o.c.). Basic to the argument of A. is the identification of the legendary hearth-fire with Vulcanus and the identification of Vulcanus with the smith-god. The first link of the chain may be accepted (though I am certain that it is a late interpretation), the second must be rejected.

In the Servius Tullius legend it is only Ovid who says: *Namque pater Tulli Vulcanus*, which can be easily identified as a case of metonymy, side by side with Pliny, who calls the father the *Lar familiaris*. More instructive is the case of Caeculus, who is indeed sometimes called son of Vulcanus. Why? The sources tell us with all desirable clearness: Cato fr. 59: *Caeculum virgines aquam petentes in foco invenisse, ideoque* (my italics) *Vulcani filium eum existimasse*. Serv. *Aen.*

7, 678 the same story: *unde Vulcani dictus est filius*. And so the other testimonies in A. 185 n. 13. It appears that Caeculus is born from fire (just as the other kings) and by that very event is "fiery". He is also metonymically called son of Vulcanus but neither these newly-born kings nor their mythical father have anything to do with *forging*. Vulcanus is the god of fire. For that reason he is kept *extra pomerium*, for that reason the *spolia* of the enemies are dedicated to him (and to *Lua*!) and not because he was the smith. There is no necessity to go into this matter again. Fire-gods have a habit of becoming smith-gods. So it happened to Hephaistos, who was in Homer already the divine smith. But Vulcanus had to await Greek influence in Italy before becoming the smith-god. No scholar doubts this. No identification with an Etruscan Velchans (totally incorrect) can help. If one had to indicate a Roman divine smith, one should think of Mamurius Veturius, which person indeed presents A. with some problems. He declares him to be Etruscan (wrongly so) and ends up with two smiths in Rome: Vulcanus and Mamurius! The fire-walk of the Hirpi Sorani is referred to once again: they are *no* smiths. Where smoke is is fire. The same automatic connection cannot be maintained for fire and metal. It is impossible to discuss in any detail the regrettable mistakes in this particular part of A.'s study. An exemplary — though cautiously phrased — suggestion may round off the picture: "Cacus ist, wie Caeculus, ursprünglich ein Gott des Feuers. *Kakeu* heisst der *χαλκεύς* im mykenischen Griechisch, also der Schmied — was ein zufälliger lautlicher Gleichklang sein kann, aber vielleicht Erwähnung verdient" (186).

This latter remark takes us to the final theory defended by A. He thinks the origin of the king-smith must be sought in the Eastern Mediterranean area, more specifically in Hittite culture. From there metal-working has spread to the North and North-East among I. E. and finally also among Mongolian peoples. The title of a Turkish dignitary *Tarchan*, resembling a Mongolian *Darchan* = smith, and compared with Etruscan *Tarchun*, reflects the common memory of the former majesty of the smith.

A. starts with a limitation imposed by the existence of sources on political and constitutional circumstances: his starting point is the iron-age. This is legitimate on one condition: that no conclusions will be drawn on original or early conditions of the smith in I.E. and other societies. For, as Lucretius has it: *et prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus* (5, 1287). Hephaistos was *χαλκεύς*, as was his human pendant the *kakeu* in linear B. The arms of the *Salii*, made by the first smith of Rome, Mamurius Veturius, were of bronze and, as A. naturally is well aware, in the second millennium B.C. "fochten die eurasischen Viehzüchter mit bronzenen Waffen" (209). Now, it is of primary importance to realize the consequences of A.'s restriction to the iron-age. They imply the possibility to concentrate on Commagene, "ubi ferrum nascitur" (216); this facilitates a connection with the Hittites, whose political influence in this region is well-known; this connection leads to the assumption that two symbols on Hittite kings-representations might represent wealth existing

in iron, which assumption gives rise to the idea that the Hittite ideogram for king might mean "Herr des Eisens" (214). And so, together with the spreading of iron, the king's name "Tarchu-"(?) came to the Mongolians. (A. conveniently overlooks the fact that there is a difference between a *possessor* of iron, supposedly the Hittite king, whom even A. does not picture as a smith, and the *craftsman* who has the semi-magical knowledge of working iron, which, being quite a different thing, is highly unlikely to have had the same name). Passing over details (the Hittite weather-god on the bull is characterized by a hammer "also als göttlicher Schmied" (216). Is Donar a smith because of his hammer?), we must observe that this whole card-house of hypotheses would not have been constructed if the starting-point had not been the iron-age but the bronze-age, which began in the Near East before 3000 B.C., and in which the Hittites participated only much later. This excludes connections with early Italic circumstances and for these and other reasons the final sentence „Wir hoffen (.....) demonstriert zu haben, dass die Vulkanssohnschaft der Mythenkönige Roms der Widerhall einer Institution der frühen Metallzeit(!) ist" (219), is symbolic of the whole book. The main theses defended by A. have not been "demonstrated". What is more, they are mostly improbable and often evidently based on dubious sources. A "structure" of early Rome does not emerge, neither a tri- nor a bipartite one. The interpretation of the *Luperci* deserves consideration on some points, but in this case nothing strikingly new has been added to our knowledge. I hope both the author and the general reader of this review will accept the sincerity of the feelings I found worded in the book under discussion (168 n. 54) and which in this situation I venture to adopt: "Diese prinzipielle Differenz zu den Ansichten eines Gelehrten, dessen frühere Forschungen mir so viele Belehrung (...) brachten, ist für mich schmerzlich".

Oegstgeest, March 1976

H. S. VERSNEL

* * *

Hermann BENGTON, *Herrschergestalten des Hellenismus*. München, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1975 (8vo, X + 343 S. mit 12 Abb.) = Beck'sche Sonderausgaben. Preis: Leinen DM 34.—.

Wie der Autor hervorhebt (S. 5), hat die Erforschung des Hellenismus in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten nicht nur in zahlreichen ergiebigen Einzelstudien, sondern auch in wertvollen zusammenfassenden Werken die verschiedensten Aspekte des hellenistischen Zeitalters aufgeklärt. In diesen neueren Darstellungen scheint ihm jedoch der biographische Aspekt zu kurz gekommen zu sein, obwohl gerade die hellenistische Zeit sehr viele überragende Persönlichkeiten hervorgebracht hat. Und er hat recht. Nur fünf der dreizehn von ihm beschriebenen Herrschergestalten haben einen modernen Geschichtsschreiber gefunden, und für vier gibt es sogar keinen antiken Biographen.

Professor Bengtson versucht diese Lücke auszufüllen

und dies ist ihm im ganzen ausgezeichnet gelungen: Die antiken Quellen mit Einsicht prüfend und die Taten der Herrscher im Rahmen der eigenen Zeit betrachtend hat er seine Figuren und auch ihre Gegenspieler sehr annehmlich gemacht. Ausserdem hat er versucht die Auswahl der Lebensbilder so zu treffen, „dass die Darstellung einen Überblick über die ganze Geschichte des Hellenismus bietet“. Jedoch mehr als ein wohl sehr oberflächlicher Überblick ist es nicht geworden. Manche Unterschiede und Ähnlichkeiten scheinen mir im Versuch stecken geblieben zu sein. Ein zusammenfassendes Schlusskapitel wäre vielleicht dazu geeignet gewesen, u.m. über die Frage warum die Seleukiden sich zu der Gründung griechischer Städte ganz anders als die Ptolemaier verhielten.

In Einzelpunkten kann man natürlich bisweilen mehr oder weniger uneinig sein, z.B. über das Problem, warum Antiochos III. nach der Niederlage bei Magnesia, als er noch fast sein ganzes Reich besass, nicht versucht hat den Krieg gegen die Römer kräftig fortzusetzen. Der Autor sucht die Ursachen besonders „im psychologischen Bereich“ (S. 206): „Antiochos war hier auf eine Welt gestossen, für die ihm alle Massstäbe fehlten“. M.E. soll man die Ursache auch darin suchen, dass er wusste, dass er seine Untertanen nicht hinter sich hatte, dass sein Reich bei Fortsetzung des Krieges zerfallen würde: Warum sollten die Untertanen sich für einen König einsetzen, der nur eigener Macht nachstrebte, der nicht einmal aus dem Reiche selbst stammte, sondern Nachkomme eines Fremden, eines erfolgreichen Abenteurers, war? Das seleukidische Reich hatte keine Seele und was dies bedeutet, kommt ans Licht, wenn wir es mit Karthago vergleichen, das wohl eine Seele hatte und dessen ganze Bevölkerung von Liebe für die Freiheit und von Hass gegen die Römer erfüllt war. Auch ein Vergleich mit der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie drängt sich hier auf. Diese wurde gleichfalls nur von der Person des Fürsten, dem Beamtenapparat und dem Heer zusammengehalten mit allen deren Folgen.

Schliesslich noch zwei kleine Bemerkungen: Die Behauptung anlässlich der Ehe von Ptolemaios II. mit der etwa zehn Jahre älteren Arsinoë II.: „Allein schon der ungewöhnliche Altersunterschied zeigt Jederman, dass von einer Neigungsehe nicht die Rede sein kann“ (S. 117) braucht in ihrer Allgemeinheit bestimmt nicht richtig zu sein.

Dass Octavian im sexuellen Bereich abweichend war, hat in seinem Verhältnis zu Kleopatra (S. 137) aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch eine Rolle gespielt.

Zusammenfassend darf ich sagen, dass dieses Buch durchaus zuverlässig ist. Ausserdem ist es lebhaft geschrieben, sodass es gewiss nicht nur im Kreise der Fachleute, sondern auch in dem der interessierten Laien seinen Weg finden wird.

Velp (G.), März 1976

E. J. JONKERS

* *

B. C. DIETRICH, *The Origins of Greek Religion*. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1974 (8vo, XVII + 314 pp.). DM 128.—.

“Indeed, one could point to a number of other instances where the manners of the ancient Hellenic world are very similar to the manners of foreigners today”.

These words of Thucydides (I 6, translation of Rex Warner, Penguin Books 1972) are the motto of this book, and a warning to the reader. While Thucydides deals with weapons, clothing and the using of olive oil, the modern scholar brings the enormous field of religious customs and beliefs under this quotation. His aim is obvious, his method often applied. The question asked is this: Where did the religion of the Greeks come from? Look towards the East, and all will be revealed.

Two questions have to be asked first. What is the scope of application for archaeological data, and how the evidence of archaeological research has to be interpreted? These questions are all the more important because the author has to start from a period of illiteracy, without written records.

(1) The importance of the first question may be illustrated by the works of one of the most respected scholars of late Mycenaean art, V.R.d'A. Desborough¹). It is impossible to deal with the very many problems raised by his books, but one problem, formulated by C. G. Starr, is essential. According to Desborough the shift from Sub-Mycenaean to Protogeometric has been caused by Cypriote influence. Starr rightly remarks that careful analysis will show that the theory is far from compelling. “If a Cypriote duckvase and Attic tripod bowls both have circular vertical handles the cause is surely functional. Desborough continues to believe firmly in a wave of invaders to produce the Sub-Mycenaean style itself”²). If one transfers this in my opinion valid sort of reasoning from archaeological to religious phenomena, the problems are even greater. How can we be sure that the same varieties of religious life did not occur in different parts of the world? We know, for instance, that the mutilation of Uranos by his son, and the separation of heaven and earth have been combined in ancient mythologies from many parts of the world, without any evidence of contact between the different tribes³). In these matters I am sceptic because the easy ‘explanation’ of ‘borrowed from’ is a comfortable *panacée* which explains nothing.

(2) The second question is even more embarrassing. Students of prehistory sometimes reconstruct the meaning of funeral rites of neolithic man with startling assurance, nevertheless with results that are diametrically opposed. The dead are buried near the hearth which according to some scholars indicates a reliance on the

¹) Over the past twenty years: *Protogeometric Pottery, The Last Mycenaeans and their successors, An Archaeological Survey c. 1200-1000 B.C.*, and *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972).

²) *AJP*, 1974, 414 ff.

³) W. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde. Ein vorgriechischer Schöpfungsmythos bei Hesiod und den Orphikern*, Tübingen 1942.

protection of the dead; others, however, maintain that it is the very dead who need protection and are therefore buried near the hearth as it was hoped that the heat of the fire would restore to the corpse the warmth of life. This divergence in the explanations can well be understood, but many students of prehistory think (or have the firm belief) that from mere material remnants spiritual concepts may be gleaned⁴). We shall have to agree with M. P. Nilsson, who summed up the results of the so-called comparative Mythology in the following way “Die Ergebnisse sind ziemlich hypothetisch ... Vor allem tragen die Ergebnisse zu einem besseren Verständnis der griechischen Religion kaum etwas bei”⁵).

It would be unfair, however, to give expression to one's doubts about a study on ‘Origins’ (and their interpretation) without drawing attention to definite merits of this work. First of all, it gives a good survey of what has been gained since the second edition of M. P. Nilsson's *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (1950). Secondly it gives an up to date survey of some Neolithic Anatolian data, based on the masterly works of J. Mellaart (1962, 1965, 1971), although I don't think that what has been found at centres like Çatal Hüyük and Haçilar has served as model of Cretan practice (the author himself is very careful in his Preface).

The two chapters which impress me most are the third and the fourth, on individual deities and their functions, and on the gap of the Dark Age. In the difficult area of Greek and prae-hellenic religion where so much is dubious, the author does not make unjustified claims, and that is already a great advantage.

Most welcome is his Appendix III: Greek Mythology in the Mycenaean Age, a defence of Nilsson's *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932). I think that the author and his reviewer who differ on many points⁶) share the same admiration for this great scholar whose book has got the highest rank of all the Sather Lectures, “Best of the Best”, in the attractive book of Sterling Dow, *Fifty Years of Sathers* (1965).

Leiden, April 1976

W. DEN BOER

* *

R. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire*. Quantitative Studies. Cambridge, At the University Press, 1974 (8vo, XVI, 396 p.). Price: £ 7.60.

This is a book about “wealth in the Roman world, with its economic context, and with its social applications” (6). It starts from the valuable common-place that wealth was a necessary prerequisite for political power and high social status. Roman society was very timocratic and very ‘vertical’. The gap between the thin layer of *honesti* and the rest of the population was wide but inside the group of the *honesti* there was also a

thorough verticality. Taking the civilian wealth qualifications as a starting-point we see that the ratio between the wealth of resp. a town-councillor, an equestrian jurymen, a knight and a senator is 1 : 2 : 4 : 12 (HS 100.000; 200.000; 400.000; 1.200.000). But within the senatorial elite the size of private fortunes grossly exceeded the minimum of HS 1.200.000. D.-J. does not pretend to offer new theories about the structure of the ancient economy. Instead he enables us to say not merely that Roman upperclass landlords were wealthy but also how wealthy they were. He does the arithmetic based on the collection and the study of the data provided by thousands of inscriptions and dozens of isolated passages in the literary sources, and so builds a solid rock under the often intuitive judgments of colleagues.

This book has 7 chapters and 17 appendices. Five (1, 3, 4, 6 and 7) chapters have appeared in an earlier form in periodicals and are reprinted here with some additions and modifications which, however, do not affect D.-J.'s main theses. Chapters 1 and 2 deal with ‘The finances of a senator’ (= Pliny the Younger) and with the problem of “agricultural investment and agricultural profits” in general. From chapter 1, in combination with a number of appendices (1, 7) we learn how wealthy Pliny was and how his wealth compared with that of other senatorial colleagues. In the later 2nd century A.D. “a fortune of HS 20 million [= ca the size of Pliny's fortune] could be considered moderate, at any rate by Galen, whose practice lay among the highest circles in Rome” (32). In a list of private fortunes under the Principate Pliny's HS 20 million are on the twentieth place (344). Chapter 2 is a fundamental attack on Columella's exceedingly rosy figures about the profitability of vineyards and brings down his 33,8% (on a six year basis) to ca 7%! Columella omits overhead expenses (esp. amortisation costs!), underestimates the capital outlay necessary for his estate and overestimates the yield and the price of his wine. Though D.-J.'s attack may be somewhat too severe — for details cf. my forthcoming review in *Gnomon* — it remains true that Columella's mentality does not in the least resemble Weberian economic rationalism. In this chapter there is an excellent passage (37/8) on the ideal of self-sufficiency fostered by Columella. It is useful to realize that this ideal is not at variance with a market-oriented production. A good estate-owner must not be *emax* but *vendax*, as good old Cato has it. Varro's recommendation of price-speculation (D.-J. 38) may serve as an explanatory footnote to Cato's *vendax*. Self-sufficiency cannot be invoked as the decisive explanatory factor for the absence of interest in and application of those technological devices which increased the productivity and the profitability of agriculture.

In a book about wealth it is essential to say something about the purchasing power of the monetary wealth. In two long chapters (3 and 4) D.-J. explores what the epigraphic sources tell us about prices in Italy and North-Africa. The nature of the sources weighs heavily on the sort of costs and prices we get information about: statue-prices, tomb-costs and the *summae honorariae* to be paid for the decurionate and urban magistracies loom

⁴) See my remarks in *Mnem.* Q.S., 2 (1949) 259 ff.

⁵) *Gesch. der griechischen Religion I*² (1955) 5-6.

⁶) Cf. *Acta Classica* 10 (1967) 138-142.

large. Those interested in the size of foundations and of gifts (cash or in kind) of benefactors to fellow citizens will not be disappointed. A short chapter on prices in Latin novelists (5) concludes this section of the book. D.-J. frankly admits that the conclusions of this chapter are disappointing for the economic historian: there is little to no realism in the use of prices in Petronius c.s.; we are in the realm of caricature.

Two chapters (6, 7) deal with demographic problems. In chapter 6 the author tries to derive reliable figures for the population of a number of Italian and African cities from what epigraphic sources say about "large-scale gifts for feasts or distributions" (262). A table shows (273) how the absence of fully reliable constants leads to estimates which vary widely. An interesting paragraph on the size of town-organization, the so-called *curiae*, concludes this chapter. As to the problem what these *curiae* were, D.-J. correctly rejects Kotula's view that they were comprehensive units of the citizens but he does not seem to pay enough attention to G.-C. Picard's theory about their elite-character. His own solution, that they were 'plebeian associations' (277, 282), somewhat similar to the numerous Italian funerary and dining clubs, is not convincing. In Gnomon I suggest, with due caution, that the African *curiae* should perhaps be compared with the *phylai*, attested in Greek cities in Hellenistic-Roman times and probably consisting of those privileged citizens who were entitled to speak and vote in the popular assembly, the rest of the population restricting itself to shouting and acclamations.

A chapter on the *alimenta*-inscriptions closes this demographic part of D.-J.'s study. D.-J. holds not unreasonably that the purpose of the imperial *alimenta* was demographic, viz. to bring about a rise in the birth rate among the poor rural classes in Italy, rather than economic (viz. to provide cheap credit to poor farmers). The fact that owners of estates under HS 50.000 were ineligible for the *alimenta* loans in Veleia, clearly militates against the latter view (297). As to the question whether among the borrowers decurions are attested, D.-J. does not commit himself any longer to a clear statement. Prosopographical arguments do not clinch the matter in his view. He cautiously suggests that the fact that a decurion probably acted as local administrator of the *alimenta* scheme is an argument in favour of the view that the loans have been placed outside the *curia*; corruption was a regular phenomenon and the reliability of local government was so uncertain that precisely in the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. the government began to appoint *curatores* for direct supervision over city-affairs. However, arguing along these lines is not to be recommended. Decurions have always been both taxpayers and tax collectors. Corruption was endemic but the central government held the decurions responsible for the collection of taxes. The case may have been similar with the decurions who collected interest from the landlords. Moreover, the interest-rate was a relatively low constant (5%; the normal rate was 6%); true, the local administrator could be tempted to allow reduced interest payments but the central government certainly was in a position to interfere when the *alimenta*-scheme produced less money than had been

planned. There remains the general argument that decurions, i.e. by definition members of the local land-owning elite, are likely to be present in a list recording a large group of precisely local, well-to-do landowners. Not all borrowers need to have been decurions (some of them were senators or knights) but decurions are not likely to have been absent altogether among those borrowers.

In his appendix on estate-size in Italy D.-J. could have stressed somewhat more the fact that, when land-owners were in favour of the aggregation of enormous single land units, the *pulchritudo iungendi* was more important than the concern with economies of scale (cf. M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (1973), 111). In his appendix (nr 8) on Prices at Rome, D.-J. points out that in Rome, next to the distribution of free grain to the *plebs frumentaria*, there always has been a free market where people, not entitled to free corn, bought corn at commercial rates, which were higher than elsewhere in Italy. It is not clear whether the free market was the realm of *negotiatores*, buying corn where they could and selling it at Rome, or of the government who had tribute grain sold on the Roman market through *negotiatores*. D.-J. feels that "the Roman grain supply was largely provided by tribute from the provinces" (347) which means that the government could control the price. The problem deserves further study, cf. P. Baldacci, *Negotiatores e mercatores frumentarii nel periodo imperiale*, Rendic. Ist. Lomb., Class. Lett. e Sc. Mor. 101 (1967), 273 ff.; id, *Commercio e Stato nell'eta dei Severi*, *ibidem*, 729 ff. (not in D.-J.'s otherwise exhaustive bibliography); Cf. also J.-M. Carrié, *Les distributions alimentaires dans les cités de l'Empire romain tardif*, MEFR 87 (1975), 995 ff., esp. 1047 ff. The appendix on The price of Land in Africa (nr. 9, 347/8) is a nice example of the pressure, exerted by the sub-title of the book (*Quantitative Studies*) on its author. His starting-point is Apuleius' analysis of Pudentilla's wealth. Gratuitous assumptions follow each other rapidly. Of P's HS 4 million 3 million are supposed to have been invested in land; P is said by Ap. to have given inter alia 400 slaves to her relatives. D.-J. assumes that her total labour force was not less than 600 but adds "the figure may be too low". In my view the figure is arbitrary. He further assumes that two-thirds of these slaves, i.e. 400, were agricultural slaves, i.e. labourers (or tenants?). However, R. MacMullen has recently warned us not to believe too rapidly that all North-African slaves were agricultural workers; many were accountants and overseers and domestic slaves; moreover "there is no doubt that the rich and the very rich mixed slave labor with free on their lands" (*Peasants, during the Principate*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, II, 1 (1974), 253 ff., esp. 255/6). Consequently there is no point in saying that "the ratio of slaves to land is 400 slaves to HS 3 million worth of land" and in assuming that these 400 slaves were the entire labor-force. Needless to say that D.-J.'s calculations concerning the size of Pudentilla's estate are not much more than a charming game rather than "a rough indication of a possible order of size".

The final appendix (17, p. 366/9) is a good example of what quantification can do in ancient history. Everybody knows that land transport was expensive but D.-J. exactly calculates *how* expensive it was in comparison with sea transport but also in comparison with 15th/16th century English transportprices. The figures are revealing: the cost for transporting wheat by sea is 1.3% of the value of the wheat per 100 Roman miles; for land transport we have 36.7-73.4%; in England wheat cost ca 25% per 100 miles to transport by road. English harnessing techniques were considerably better than Roman.

Summing up: a very learned book, not revolutionary in its overall views on the structure of the Roman Economy but welcome for its courageous and mostly successful attempts to make those calculations which the evidence (above all epigraphic and massive) enables us to make. Precision and soundness are the main characteristics of this study. A full bibliography and an index (subjects, place-names, personal names and sources all in one) conclude the book.

Leiden, October 1975

H. W. PLEKET

* *

Christoph ELSAS, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Weltabkehrung in der Schule Plotins*. Berlin, de Gruyter, 1975 (8vo, XVI + 356 pp.) = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band 34. Price: DM 92.—.

The aim of this book is summed up in the first paragraph of the preface: "In dieser Arbeit soll der Versuch unternommen werden, die bisherige Erforschung der Gnosis auf die neueren weiterführenden Untersuchungen zum Neuplatonismus, insbesondere zu Plotin hin auszurichten, von denen sie sich gerade dann entfernt hat, als gewisse Strukturverwandtschaften zwischen gnostischem und neuplatonischem Denken aufgewiesen worden waren". Such an undertaking, in these days of specialisation, can only be welcomed, although it must be recognised at the outset that it makes heavy demands upon the author: he must make himself familiar not merely with one field of research but (at least) with two, and inevitably the field of his primary concern tends to take precedence, so that those approaching from another side may find something lacking in his work.

Elsas takes as his starting point the work of Hans Jonas, who raises the question, "ob nicht sogar letzten Endes Gnosis, transformierter gnostischer Mythos, den innersten Impuls für die plotinische Neuinterpretation Platons hergegeben habe". Later Jonas was to modify this to the extent of speaking rather of "such a community of spirit and of basic premises that it was possible for thinkers who thought in very different terms ... nevertheless to evolve spontaneously converging doctrines", but even so Elsas pertinently notes the danger of "ein Schluss von typologischen Ähnlichkeiten auf historische Abhängigkeit". So he formulates his task as "die Jonasche Phänomenologie um einen historischen Aspekt zu bereichern".

A second task emerges from consideration of Plotinus'

anti-gnostic treatise: "eine nochmalige Überprüfung und Präzisierung der Lehren und der Stellung der Gegner Plotins in Enn. II, 9", and a third from observation of certain inner tensions within Plotinus' own work: "die Thesen zu einem teilweise auch positiven Verhältnis Plotins zum Gnostizismus bzw. zu Lehren, die er in II, 9 bei den Gnostikern bekämpft, zu präzisieren und die Frage einer Entwicklungsgeschichte des plotinischen Denkens zu überprüfen". The first section closes with the demonstration that Enn. II, 9 belongs to a larger complex (treatises 30-33 of the original sequence), and must be interpreted as such.

The second main section of the book is devoted to "philosophiehistorische Aufschlüsse über die Gegner Plotins". This section may appear somewhat disjointed, a series of unconnected special studies which seem to lead nowhere, unless it is realised that Elsas here is following up the clues in Plotinus' treatise and in Porphyry's *Vita*, and collecting such information as may be available about the various groups and personalities involved. A prominent feature here is that all seem to stand in some relation to Numenius of Apamea.

The third main section deals with "Die Entfaltung des plotinischen Denkens in der Polemik der Schriften 30-33". Here Elsas traces the main lines of Plotinus' argument in the four treatises, singling out a number of points to which he refers back later. Each is separately numbered, with reference to the original text in the footnotes. The way is now clear for the longest section of the book: a systematic comparison of the evidence relating to Plotinus' opponents, extending to some 150 pages. This comparison is based on a *Schema* designed to bring out both the parallels and the differences between the various systems. Under each head the opinions of Plotinus' opponents are indicated, using the numbered points already mentioned for convenience of reference. Then Elsas reviews in turn the views of the Corpus Hermeticum (esp. the Poimandres), the *virii novi* of Arnobius, Zosimus and the Chaldean Oracles, Numenius, the Christian gnostics, and the Neo-Platonists, Amelius, Porphyry and Plotinus himself.

The book is rounded off by two final sections, one on "Numenius und die Numenius-Gnostiker" which underlines the importance of "die Kategorien Askese und Mystik als Scheidungskriterien zwischen numenianischem und gnostischem Dualismus" and also discusses the syncretism of Plotinus' opponents. The other, "Die Abwehr des Gnostizismus als Element zur Ausformung der plotinischen Organismus-Metaphysik", is likewise divided into two sub-sections, and here Elsas decides against Jonas' thesis that the decisive impulse for some aspects of Plotinus' thought was provided by the gnostic myth. Rather was Gnosticism "weniger positive als vielmehr negative 'Bedingung' des Neuplatonismus".

Even so bald a summary may serve to show that this is a very solid and thorough piece of work. The fifteen-page excursus devoted to Dietrich Roloff's book on Plotinus is however a reminder that other points of view are possible, and indeed there are numerous places at which one might differ from Elsas' opinion, or at least wish to reserve judgment. For example, it is open to question whether enough is known about the Elchesaites

to justify some of his conclusions. Again, the Apocalypses of Zostrianos, Messos and Allogenes may indeed be attributable to a "weder christlich noch hermetisch beeinflusste Gnosis", but if it was Sethian or Barbelognostic the question arises whether this Gnosis was originally non-Christian or the product of de-Christianisation. Some extant texts from these groups in their present form show clear Christian influence.

Elsas' major field of interest is clearly Neo-Platonism, and the gnostic specialist, as already hinted, will find points for criticism. It is not strictly correct to speak of two "versions" of the Apocryphon of John in Codex II and Codex IV from Nag Hammadi (p. 32). These are parallel copies of a "long" recension, as compared with a "short" recension in the Berlin Codex and Codex III. More important, the reference to Zoroaster does not occur in the short recension; it comes, in Codex II, at the end of a section regarded by Giversen (*Apocryphon Johannis*, Copenhagen 1963, pp. 254, 280f.) as an editorial insertion, and therefore belongs to a late stage in the history of this document. Another inaccuracy relates to the fourth treatise from the Codex Jung: according to Elsas the Logos in this text "wird dann im Stadium des Abfalls Sophia genannt (nach Zandee...)" (p. 164 n. 557). This rests on a misunderstanding, as will appear from three sentences in Zandee's paper: "Auch im Vierten Traktat des Codex Jung kommt die Sophia vor. Es fällt aber auf, dass sie dort männlich ist und als Logos bezeichnet wird. ... Im Vierten Traktat ist der Aon also nicht selber die Weisheit (Sophia), hat aber die Sophia als wichtigste Eigenschaft, die ihm vom Vater verliehen ist" (my italics). Reference to the published text will show that the loan-word *σοφία* occurs eleven times in Part I and a further four in Part III, but never as the name of this aeon — who however is unmistakably the Sophia of the Apocryphon Johannis and Valentinian thought.

The book has developed out of a dissertation submitted in 1971, and the preface is dated 1974, which may account for some (but not all) of the bibliographical omissions. Giversen's book (see above) is not listed, nor is D. M. Scholer's *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969* (Leiden 1971) with its annual supplement in *Novum Testamentum*. Several texts adduced only at second hand are now directly accessible: the fourth treatise from the Codex Jung in *Tractatus Tripartitus*, ed. Kasser et al., Berne (Pars I, 1973; Partes II-III, 1975); the Apocalypse of Dositheus (the Three Steles of Seth) in *Christentum am Roten Meer*, ed. Althelm/Stiehl, Berlin 1973, vol. ii, pp. 181ff.; the Authentikos Logos in Krause-Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI* (ADAIK Koptische Reihe 2), Glückstadt 1971. The six volumes of the Facsimile Edition so far published cover Codices II, IV-VII, XI-XIII, with further volumes approaching publication.

In short, this book may be welcomed as a serious contribution to research, although some points are open to criticism and on some topics another opinion is possible.

St. Andrews, December 1975

R. McL. WILSON

* * *

Alan B. LLOYD, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975 (8vo, xv + 194 p.) = *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, tome 43. Prix: Hfl 64.

Plus de quatre-vingts ans après A. Wiedemann (*Herodots zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzig 1890), Alan B. Lloyd s'est mis à publier un nouveau commentaire du livre II d'Hérodote, qui constitue une des parties les plus riches de l'oeuvre du *pater historiae*, tant comme source historique que comme témoignage de la pensée d'Hérodote. Nul ne contestera qu'il était temps d'entreprendre un tel travail, compte tenu, d'une part, des nouvelles acquisitions de l'égyptologie et, d'autre part, de l'évolution des idées sur les débuts de l'historiographie grecque.

Le premier volume du commentaire, qui en comprendra trois, est entièrement consacré à une introduction composée de cinq chapitres: 'The Greeks in Egypt from the Bronze Age to the Time of Herodotus' (p. 1-60), 'Herodotus' Travels in Egypt' (p. 61-76), 'Sources' (p. 77-140), 'Herodotus' Attitudes and Intellectual Affinities' (p. 141-170) et 'Chronology' (p. 171-194). Cette introduction ne contient pas de bibliographie, celle-ci étant réservée au troisième volume; mais disons tout de suite que les références au bas des pages permettent de retrouver les ouvrages cités sans la moindre difficulté.

Vu le nombre impressionnant d'études récentes sur la place d'Hérodote dans l'historiographie grecque (voir par ex. F. Hampl, *Herodot. Kritischer Forschungsbericht nach methodischen Gesichtspunkten*, Grazer Beiträge 4, 1975, p. 97-136, on pourrait se demander s'il était opportun d'examiner une nouvelle fois des questions d'ordre général, comme les sources d'Hérodote, ses idées morales et scientifiques, son emploi de la chronologie. Emprisons-nous de dire qu'à notre avis M. Lloyd n'a certainement pas fait de travail inutile et que, par contre, on trouve dans les pages de cette introduction des mises au point judicieuses et parfois très originales de plusieurs problèmes concernant l'apport spécifique d'Hérodote dans le domaine de l'histoire.

Tout d'abord, ce fut une excellente idée de prendre comme point de départ un exposé consacré aux contacts des Grecs avec l'Egypte, des origines jusqu'à la période d'Hérodote. De cette façon, on peut situer la rencontre d'Hérodote avec la civilisation et l'histoire de l'Egypte dans un cadre plus réel. La présence de mercenaires et de commerçants grecs en Egypte a évidemment contribué en large mesure à l'établissement de relations plus ou moins permanentes entre les deux peuples. Il en est de même pour l'aide que les Athéniens ont apportée aux insurrections d'Inarus et d'Amyrtaeus contre le pouvoir perse.

Un tout autre phénomène constituent les voyages de personnalités importantes, dont Diodore a dressé une liste impressionnante (I 96-98). Après un examen critique de plusieurs cas, e.a. celui de Solon et de Pythagore, M. Lloyd arrive à la conclusion que les prétendus voyages de ces personnalités ne peuvent être qualifiés d'historiques. En fait, ils constituent une illustration frappante de l'attrait exercé par la prestigieuse civilisation égyptienne sur les Grecs: c'est dans le contexte de ce 'mirage égyptien' que le logos hérodotéen doit être situé.

Après cet exposé d'ordre général, nous entrons en contact plus direct avec Hérodote et son oeuvre. En premier lieu, l'auteur aborde le problème du voyage d'Hérodote en Egypte, au sujet duquel il se pose trois questions: peut-on fixer la date de ce voyage, la saison pendant laquelle Hérodote visitait l'Egypte et, enfin, l'itinéraire que l'historien a parcouru?

On sait que le témoignage d'Hérodote sur les vestiges de la bataille de Papremis, qui eut lieu vers 459 av. J.-C., fournit le seul critère explicite de datation, sous la forme d'un *terminus post quem*. Bien sûr, on pourrait reporter ce terminus à une dizaine d'années plus tard, en argumentant qu'Hérodote, à cause de son passé plutôt antiperse, n'aura pas circulé en Egypte avant la conclusion de la paix de Callias (449/8). Mais on doit bien se rendre compte — ce que fait d'ailleurs M. Lloyd — que, de cette façon, on s'engage dans le domaine de la probabilité, d'autant plus que l'historicité de cette paix reste toujours très débattue (voir l'étude récente de C. Schraeder, *La Paz de Calias*, Barcelone 1976).

La situation n'est pas plus favorable en ce qui concerne le *terminus ante quem*, puisqu'aussi bien la date de la 'publication' de l'oeuvre d'Hérodote que celle de sa mort restent douteuses, comme c'est d'ailleurs le cas pour sa participation à la colonisation de Thurii. Le seul point d'appui est constitué par l'absence de toute référence explicite à des événements postérieurs à 430, ce qui incite M. Lloyd à dater le voyage d'Hérodote en Egypte 'entre 449 et 430'.

En ce qui concerne la saison pendant laquelle Hérodote visitait l'Egypte, l'auteur fait également preuve d'une sage circonspection. Il a eu le courage de remettre en question les résultats de l'étude que C. Sourdille publia en 1910 sous le titre *La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Hérodote en Egypte* et qui a fait date dans les recherches sur cette matière. Comme M. Lloyd le signale (p. 69 n. 34), des savants comme F. Jacoby, W. Spiegelberg, Ph.-E. Legrand se sont tous basés sur le livre de Sourdille; on pourrait y ajouter d'autres, par ex. K. von Fritz (*Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung I*, Berlin 1967, p. 128-157).

En partant d'un nombre de textes dans lesquels il voyait le résultat d'une observation directe d'Hérodote, C. Sourdille a essayé de démontrer que l'historien doit être arrivé en Egypte après le début de la crue du Nil et qu'il a dû la quitter avant le retrait des eaux. On voit immédiatement le problème: quels renseignements d'Hérodote reposent effectivement sur l'autopsie, de sorte qu'ils puissent fournir une preuve de sa présence en Egypte pendant telle ou telle saison? C'est ici que les chemins de Sourdille et de A. B. Lloyd se séparent. Dans les principaux textes invoqués par C. Sourdille, Hérodote peut aussi bien s'être servi, de l'avis de M. Lloyd, d'une information orale, ce qui leur enlève toute force probante.

Après avoir rejeté la thèse de Sourdille, M. Lloyd est-il capable de présenter une autre suggestion sur la saison du voyage d'Hérodote? Non, répond l'auteur: "It is impossible to replace it by anything but nihilism" (p. 72). On peut s'imaginer que certains ne seront pas heureux de ce qu'ils peuvent considérer comme un retour en arrière. Mais, d'un point de vue méthodologique, la

prise de position de M. Lloyd présente au moins l'avantage de nous rappeler ce qu'il y a d'hypothétique dans certaines interprétations, qui se traînent de publication en publication...

En mentionnant l'alternative autopsie-information orale, nous voici passés de plain-pied dans la question épineuse des sources d'Hérodote, à laquelle M. Lloyd a consacré le chapitre le plus long de cette introduction. Le livre II constitue en effet la partie la plus intéressante pour l'appréciation des méthodes d'enquête qu'Hérodote a pratiquées: ici, son *ιστορίη* joue un rôle primordial.

L'auteur a eu raison, nous semble-t-il, d'avoir fait une distinction entre les sources mentionnées explicitement par Hérodote ("stated sources") et les sources non mentionnées ("unstated sources").

Dans la première catégorie, M. Lloyd a pris comme base de classification les termes qu'Hérodote lui-même emploie pour indiquer ses différents moyens d'information, notamment *ᾠδῆς*, *γνώμη*, *ιστορίη*, *ἀκοή*.

Quant aux sources non mentionnées, c'est aux oeuvres littéraires grecques qu'il faut songer en premier lieu, plus particulièrement à des auteurs comme Anaximandre et, surtout, à Hécataée.

Il est impossible, dans le cadre de ce compte rendu, d'analyser à fond l'exposé de M. Lloyd, d'autant plus qu'on y trouve de nombreuses références à son commentaire, qui n'a pas encore paru et qui fournira une argumentation plus détaillée dans plusieurs cas discutables. C'est pourquoi il nous semble préférable de mettre en évidence quelques idées générales qui se dégagent de ce chapitre sur les sources d'Hérodote.

En premier lieu, il importe de souligner que l'auteur prend au sérieux les références d'Hérodote à ses sources. Après l'étude de D. Fehling, qui a essayé d'interpréter toutes ces références comme un procédé de technique littéraire tendant à présenter une matière fictive comme réelle (voir *Die Quellenangaben des Herodot*, Berlin 1971), cela nous paraît un retour au bon sens. En ce qui concerne par ex. les *ἱπῆες* mentionnés à mainte reprise dans le livre II, l'auteur est d'avis qu'il s'agit réellement de prêtres égyptiens et non pas de personnel subalterne des temples égyptiens.

Ensuite, M. Lloyd insiste tout au long de son exposé sur la façon autonome dont Hérodote a procédé dans ses recherches. Devant la tradition orale, Hérodote n'apparaît pas comme un auditeur passif, mais comme un enquêteur qui pose des questions précises au sujet de problèmes qui l'intéressent. Bien sûr, les techniques modernes de sondage d'opinion nous ont appris tous les dangers que peuvent cacher des questions dirigées. C'est pourquoi il faut envisager la possibilité que les informateurs d'Hérodote ont parfois infléchi leurs réponses dans le sens des préoccupations de l'enquêteur, ce qui explique d'ailleurs le contenu plus grec qu'égyptien de certains renseignements qu'Hérodote prétend avoir reçus de source égyptienne.

Cette autonomie, M. Lloyd la retrouve également dans l'attitude d'Hérodote à l'égard de l'oeuvre d'Hécataée. Les relations entre ces deux auteurs ont toujours été appréciées de façon fort divergente. Sans pour autant adopter la position extrême d'un W. A. Heidel, qui considérerait tous les renvois d'Hérodote aux prêtres égyptiens

tiens comme des emprunts faits à Hécatee, plusieurs commentateurs modernes ont toutefois eu tendance à surestimer l'influence de ce dernier sur Hérodote. Passant en revue tous les passages d'Hérodote qui pourraient être rapprochés des fragments d'Hécatee, M. Lloyd arrive à la conclusion que l'importance du Miletien se situe avant tout dans l'élaboration de techniques et de principes servant de base à des études généalogiques et à l'établissement d'une tradition dans le domaine géographique et ethnographique.

Qu'il y ait des ressemblances frappantes entre certains fragments d'Hécatee et le texte d'Hérodote n'est pas tellement surprenant et ne prouve pas nécessairement un emprunt d'Hérodote à Hécatee. Tout d'abord, les deux auteurs voyageant en Egypte avec des préoccupations analogues, ils ont dû être frappés, en partie au moins, par les mêmes particularités; ensuite, dans plusieurs cas, où il y a possibilité de contrôle, Hérodote paraît avoir gardé son indépendance vis-à-vis des données d'Hécatee. Citons un exemple, que nous considérons comme très illustratif de la relation entre Hérodote et Hécatee (voir aussi notre étude *De historisch-kritische methode van Herodotus*, Bruxelles 1971, p. 129-130).

Il s'agit du passage où Hérodote parle de la fameuse 'île flottante' de Chembis (II 156). Il y mentionne les Egyptiens comme source de son exposé (λέγεται δὲ ὑπ'Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἢ νῆσος πλωτή), mais il y ajoute, plein de scepticisme, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε κινηθεῖσιν εἶδον· τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀλλήθως ἐστὶ πλωτή.

Par un heureux hasard, Stephanus Byzantinus nous a conservé un fragment du texte d'Hécatee consacré au même sujet (*FGrHist* 1 F 305). A côté de la même localisation (ἐν Βούτοις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Αἰγυπτῆς), on retrouve les verbes περιπλεῖ et κινέεται, qu'Hérodote a employés également.

Il y a près d'un siècle, H. Diels défendit la thèse qu'Hérodote aurait en fait repris les données d'Hécatee, mais en les attribuant à des informateurs égyptiens (*Herodot und Hekataios*, Hermes 22, 1887, p. 434). Sans doute, tout le monde sera d'accord pour admettre qu'Hérodote connaissait le texte d'Hécatee — c'est le contraire qui serait étonnant. Ce qui nous paraît plus important, c'est qu'il a essayé de contrôler les renseignements d'Hécatee en interrogeant les Egyptiens et qu'il a adopté une attitude indépendante envers cette source. En se référant aux Egyptiens, Hérodote a préféré mentionner la source originale au lieu de la source dérivée (le récit d'Hécatee), ce qui est resté, d'ailleurs, une règle incontestable de la critique historique.

Dans un cas pareil on constate que l'autonomie d'Hérodote vis-à-vis d'Hécatee se situe sur deux niveaux: d'abord, l'aspect technique de l'exposé scientifique (les références aux sources); ensuite, l'attitude critique, basée sur l'argument de vraisemblance, ce qui nous donne une curieuse inversion de la représentation traditionnelle du crédule Hérodote en face d'Hécatee le rationaliste.

Le chapitre IV, où M. Lloyd examine les conceptions morales et intellectuelles d'Hérodote, peut être considéré comme un complément indispensable à l'exposé sur les

sources. En effet, puisque Hérodote nous est apparu comme un enquêteur actif, il est de première importance de s'interroger sur les questions qui retenaient son attention et sur les principes critiques qu'il mettait en oeuvre en scrutant les sources et en rédigeant son texte.

Il va sans dire que M. Lloyd n'a pas voulu fournir une étude exhaustive sur la personnalité d'Hérodote, mais qu'il s'est limité aux aspects qui se manifestent le plus clairement dans le livre II. Ainsi, l'auteur passe en revue, en sept paragraphes, la prédilection d'Hérodote pour τὸ θαύμασιον, l'application du principe 'post hoc ergo propter hoc', la tendance à la schématisation, une curiosité exceptionnelle, e.a. pour des problèmes d'ordre technique, l'attitude favorable à l'égard de la civilisation égyptienne (Hérodote φιλοβαρβαρος), le jugement esthétique d'Hérodote (peu prononcé, d'ailleurs) et les rapports d'Hérodote avec la pensée présocratique.

Pour l'évaluation de ce qu'on pourrait appeler, avec un anachronisme, le caractère scientifique de l'oeuvre historique d'Hérodote, ce dernier paragraphe est indiscutablement le plus important. Non seulement M. Lloyd nous donne-t-il une idée de la façon dont Hérodote s'était familiarisé avec la science de son époque (médecine, géographie, ethnographie, généalogie), mais il s'attarde avant tout aux différentes sortes d'argumentation dont Hérodote s'est servi dans son *logos* sur l'Egypte. Il s'agit successivement du raisonnement inductif, de l'argument de vraisemblance (εἰκός), de l'emploi de sources archéologiques, de l'argument κατ'ἀναλογία, de la *reductio ad absurdum*, de la référence à la tradition (λόγοι), de l'argument chronologique.

Cet ensemble contient des éléments très disparates. Il aurait peut-être été possible d'y mettre plus d'ordre, par exemple en groupant tout ce qui se rapporte à l'appréciation des différentes sources (sources archéologiques, tradition orale). Ensuite, on peut se demander pourquoi l'auteur mentionne les sources archéologiques sans référence à l'*opsis*, dont elles ne constituent qu'un aspect. Les sources archéologiques et épigraphiques, l'observation de rites et de coutumes permettent à Hérodote, pour ainsi dire, d'appliquer l'*opsis* au passé.

Mais même dans sa forme actuelle, cet exposé nous donne une excellente idée de l'habileté d'Hérodote dans l'art de l'argumentation, qui constitue d'après M. Lloyd "one of the most impressive features of Book II" (p. 160).

Le dernier chapitre est consacré à un autre aspect très controversé de l'oeuvre d'Hérodote, sa chronologie. Tout comme H. Strasburger dans son article fondamental "Herodots Zeitrechnung" (*Historia* 5, 1956, p. 129-161), l'auteur de la présente étude s'attache à souligner les mérites d'Hérodote dans ce domaine. Surtout la chronologie égyptienne est qualifiée de "surprisingly accurate".

On aura déjà remarqué que, tout au long de cette introduction, M. Lloyd adopte une attitude très favorable à l'égard de ce qu'Hérodote a réalisé dans son *logos* sur l'Egypte. Si l'on compare son exposé avec d'autres études récentes (nous songeons, par exemple, à celle de W. Kaiser, "Zu den Quellen der ägyptischen Geschichte Herodots", *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 94, 1967,

p. 93-116, où s'élève une voix beaucoup plus réservée et que nous n'avons pas retrouvée parmi les ouvrages cités), on constate que l'évaluation du livre II d'Hérodote est loin d'avoir atteint un stade définitif. C'est une des raisons pour laquelle nous regrettons que M. Lloyd n'ait pas esquissé dans cette introduction l'état actuel de cette question. Il aurait pu également renvoyer le lecteur à l'aperçu très utile de F. Oertel, *Herodots ägyptischer Logos und die Glaubwürdigkeit Herodots*, Bonn 1970, p. 8-18 — étude qui ne se trouve, pas non plus, sauf erreur de notre part, parmi les ouvrages cités.

Mais restons positif. Cette introduction de M. Lloyd contient tant d'éléments intéressants quant à l'interprétation de l'oeuvre d'Hérodote, qu'on attend le commentaire, non seulement avec impatience, mais surtout avec confiance.

Leuven, avril 1976

H. VERDIN

* *

Robert E. A. PALMER, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire*. Five Essays. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974 (8vo, X + 291 S.) = The Haney Foundation Series, Vol. 15. Preis: \$ 25,—.

Die römische Religionsgeschichte ist allmählich so ausgedehnt und kompliziert geworden, dass ich mich trotz der erstaunenden Gelehrsamkeit und des Scharfsinns des Autors frage, ob hier kein teamwork notwendig sei. Diese Frage ist um so zutreffender, weil schon 1918 Vendryes auf das Phänomen hingewiesen hat, dass viele Begriffe religiöser Art im Latein und in den indo-iranischen Sprachen eine verwandte Benennung besitzen, sodass sich hier auch wohl eine sachliche Verbindung vorfinden müsse. Ungefähr dreissig Jahre später verkündigte Duzénil die Ansicht, dass man die Deutung der römischen religiösen Bräuche besonders in der indo-europäischen Vorgeschichte suchen solle. Und etwa zur selben Zeit versuchte Wagenvoort einen Volksglauben der Ahnen der Römer, der eine vorwiegende Rolle gespielt haben soll und der als der *Manabegriff* — ein den austronesischen Sprachen entlehntes Wort — bezeichnet wird, zu erforschen. Schliesslich erschien 1973 ein Aufsatz des schwedischen Gelehrten Gjerstad *Veiovis — a Pre-Indoeuropean God in Rome?* (*Opuscula Romana* IX).

Professor Palmer beschränkt sich meistens auf den traditionellen Bereich der philologischen Interpretation — besonders der Inschriften — und kraft dieser zieht er seine Folgerungen oder macht oft sehr scharfsinnige und annehmbare Hypothesen, wobei er immer von dem Grundsatz, dass wir uns von unseren eigenen heutigen Anschauungen über „what religion and its gods must be“ losmachen sollen (S. IX), ausgeht.

Ausserordentlich einladend finde ich z.B. die Ergänzung einer in der Gegend von Arpinum gefundenen Inschrift (S. 130): IOVI AIRAI(O) ET DIS INDIGETIBUS. Der erste und der fünfte Buchstabe von Iupiters Epitheton sind beschädigt und können ein I, E, L oder T gewesen sein. Zahlreich und alle gleich unbe-

friedigend sind die vorgeschlagenen Lösungen. Palmer liest: ATRATO, d.h. schwarz gemacht, was zu dem unterirdischen Aspekt der *di indigetes* zusammenpasst. Er weist daraufhin, dass viele Götter gänzlich oder teilweise übermalt waren und spezielle Kleider trugen. So könnte Iuppiter in Verbindung mit Göttern der Unterwelt einen schwarzen Anlitz und (oder) schwarze Kleider gehabt haben. Angenommen, dass dies tatsächlich zutrifft, so frage ich, ob hier vielleicht auch eine Linie nach den verschiedenen schwarzen Madonnen in West-Europa (z.B. in Chartres und Turin), deren Ursprung noch unbekannt ist, weiterzuziehen sei. Es gibt mehrere solche Linien zum Christentum (z.B. S. 165).

Eine an sich schon auffallende Leistung ist Palmers erneute Interpretation der *Lex Tiburtina* mit manchen scharfsinnigen Funden (S. 57 flg.), und die Hypothese anlässlich des Kindes in Vergils vierter Eklog: „The poet alludes to the (Julian) clan's patron deity Vediovis, Child-Jupiter“ ist bestimmt einer sehr ernstlichen Erwägung wert (S. 151).

Bei der Behandlung der *paelex* rächt sich jedoch der zu beschränkte Forschungsbereich: Dass "the later professional opinions do not yield a unanimous definition" (S. 36), soll daraus erklärt werden, dass die zitierten Texte auf Verhältnissen und Begriffsbestimmungen der griechischen Welt, dem Orient entlehnt, beruhen. Bemerkt doch ein griechischer Scholiast anlässlich Euripides Andromache 216, dass dieses Phänomen aus dem Orient herrührt. Hier möchte ich auch noch auf die Bestimmungen des Familienrechts in dem Codex Hammurabi hinweisen.

Über den Phalluskult (S. 187; 199) könnte m.E. die indische Religionsgeschichte uns manches lehren.

Weiter wird bei dem von Cato (*Agr.* 141) überlieferten Gebet (S. 93) dem uralten weit verbreiteten Ziehen eines magischen Kreises zur Abwehr der bösen Geister keine Aufmerksamkeit verwendet, und anlässlich der Ausdrücke *auliquoquibus* und *aulicocti* in der angeblichen *Lex sacra* von Lavinium und der Liturgie der *fratres arvales* hätte noch auf die uralte Verwendung des *aulus* (irdener Topf) hingewiesen werden können.

Schliesslich noch eine kleine Ergänzung zu der Auseinandersetzung über Faunus und besonders Picus (S. 80; 93 flg.): Ovid (*Fasti* III, 291 flg.) erzählt, wie Numa auf Anraten der Egeria mittels Faunus und Picus die bösen Erfolge des Blitzes abzuwehren versucht: Um ihm Rat zu geben werden sie überwältigt, während sie nach ihrer gewohnten Trinkstelle gehen. — Aus der Weise, in der dies erzählt wird, könnte man schliessen, dass hier eine verschwommene Erinnerung an Tiergötter zugrunde liegt (vgl. auch Valerius Antias bei Arnobius V, 1; Plut. Numa 15; *Fasti* III, 303). — In dieser Geschichte liegt der Nachdruck auf der Aussöhnung des Blitzes. War doch Iuppiter der Gott des Blitzes und von Numa wird erzählt, dass er mit dem Blitz bekannt war und sogar eine gewisse Macht über ihn hatte (Liv. I, 20, 7; Plin. N.H. II, 140). Faunus und Picus waren Orakelgötter (Dion. Hal. I, 14, 5). Kein Wunder also, dass Numa sie zu Rate ziehen wollte. Ausserdem soll man in Betracht ziehen, dass der Specht (*picus*) bei vielen Völkern mit Donner und Blitz in Beziehung stand. In der germanischen Mythologie ist der Specht sogar das

Sinnbild des Blitzes. Wenn Picus, der mit Faunus in einer festen Beziehung steht, also eine ausserordentliche Einsicht in Sachen den Blitz betreffend hat, so passt dies vollkommen zu seiner Natur als Specht.

Jedoch Ergänzen und besonders Kritik-Üben ist ziemlich leicht bei einem so vielseitigen, so viel Neues bietenden Buch wie das vorliegende, das sich durch kühne Anschauung und originelle Gedanken auszeichnet und zahlreiche ungeahnte Perspektive gewährt.

Velp (G.), März 1976

E. J. JONKERS

* *

Jaroslav PELIKAN, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1974 (8vo, VI + 329 pp.) = *The Christian Tradition*, 2. Price: £ 8.25.

The Spirit of Eastern Christendom is Jaroslav Pelikan's second volume of his comprehensive study "The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine" in five volumes, which traces Eastern and Western theological thought from the beginning of the 2nd century to the present day. In this volume, the eminent Sterling Professor of History and Religious Studies at Yale University, well-known through his studies of Roman Catholicism and the Lutheran Reformation, draws from some of the principal primary sources of the Eastern Orthodox Churches to discuss the major theological issues from the 7th to the 18th century.

This scholarly volume begins with a brief summary and restatement of the theological issues of the first six centuries as understood by the Byzantine theologians of the 7th century. Pelikan's chief theological representative for his first chapter on "The Authority of the Fathers" is Maximus Confessor, "whom modern historians have acclaimed as the most universal spirit of the seventh century and perhaps the last independent thinker among the theologians of the Byzantine church" (H. G. Beck). The importance of the thinking of the fathers in Orthodox theology cannot be exaggerated, since the superior theologian is "he who has inserted nothing of his own, but has collected everything from the Holy Scriptures and from the fathers". Quoting extensively from the writings of St. Maximus and St. Theodore of Studios the author sets forth the doctrine of salvation which the Orthodox East understood in terms of man's deification, because of the incarnation of the divine Logos. "The gift of deification was achieved by the incarnation of the Logos". The norms of traditional doctrine are found "in the dogmas of the evangelists, apostles and prophets". Indeed, so intimate was the connection between the Scripture and the fathers that in one sentence the holy Apostle Paul and Gregory of Nazianze could be invoked together, and the difference between the Apostle and the Church Father was one of degree rather than of kind. In addition to the Scriptures and the Fathers, the decisions of the seven oecumenical councils were held as normative, of which the first four councils occupied a special place in the structure of dogmatic authority, symbolically corresponding to that of the four Gospels.

Authority in Christian doctrine is simply the authority "of a council or of a father or of Scripture" (Maximus). The Holy Scriptures held the first and the last word in determining doctrine; but even in accepting the words of Scripture one had to keep in mind that every word of God written for men according to the present age is a forerunner of the more perfect word to be revealed by Him in an unwritten way in the Spirit.

The second chapter "Union and Division in Christ" restates the monophysitic, monergistic and monothelete christological doctrines as expounded by the Nestorian and Jacobite fathers. Again, using primary sources, Pelikan relies upon the 7th century Nestorian theologian Babai of Kaškar and the 13th century Nestorian prelate Abdiša or Ebedjesus. His discussion of the "Duality of Hypostases" centers around the theological issues of the third and fourth oecumenical councils (431, 451), while in his essay on the "One Incarnate Nature of God the Logos" we are introduced to the christological thinking of the 7th century monophysite Jacob of Edessa and the 6th century monophysite bishop Severus of Antioch. The Chalcedonian replies by the dyophysites are cited from the writings of John of Damascus, Maximus Confessor and the 9th century Arabic theologian Theodore Abū Qurra. It is noteworthy that both monophysites and dyophysites claimed and still claim the authority of Cyril of Alexandria, and the argument was and still is maintained to this day that the monophysites were using some of the phraseology of Cyril, but were in fact teaching contrary to Cyril's fundamental intent, as the famous statement of the "one incarnate nature of God the Logos" illustrates.

The iconoclastic controversies of the 8th and 9th centuries were peculiar to Byzantine theology. During these centuries theologians and churchmen, monks and simple believers, and not least emperors and empresses, all were engaged in a dispute over the propriety of the use of images in Christian worship and devotion. The inspiration for the arguments against the worship of images was traced by the defenders of images to Jewish and Muslim influences. Using the reasoning of such iconophiles as Theodore of Studios, Nicephorus of Constantinople and John of Damascus, Pelikan introduces the subject under the heading "Images Graven and Ungraven". At the root of the iconoclastic controversy was the concept that material objects can be the seat of divine power, and that this power can be the case in the Divine Mysteries. But the main authority for both the iconoclasts and iconophiles was always the appeal to antiquity, and authorities were quoted by the respective parties to substantiate their preconceived theological ideas. For the iconoclasts, the Eucharist was the only true and legitimate image, while Theodore of Studios asserted that the "one faith and adoration among us Christians ... not only permitted, but required the worship of icons". — The sub-chapter "The Melody of Theology" does not belong, strictly speaking, to the iconoclastic debates, and yet, the discussion of the developments of the Divine Liturgy completes the presentation of this particular era. For the Orthodox liturgy determined and was determined by the Church's doctrinal confession, and when the liturgy spoke of praising God

in ceaseless theologies, this specified the content of the theology as doxology.

"The Challenge of the Latin Church" treats of the 11th century schism and its consequences, when in 1054 the legates of the pope of Rome excommunicated Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople. The theological orthodoxy of Old Rome was well established by the insistence upon doctrinal purity over the centuries, in spite of such exceptions as the monotheletic views of Pope Honorius I. Also the Petrine foundation (Matt. 16: 18; Luke 22: 32; John 21: 17) was well recognized by orthodox theologians and emperors. However, as time went by and New Rome or Constantinople became the capital of the empire Byzantine theologians transferred the apostolic claims of the Old Rome to the New Rome, thus, e.g. for Nicephorus of Constantinople the New Rome presided and held primacy because of its imperial prerogatives, and by the 12th century the Byzantines had advanced the theory that Old Rome had lost its primacy to the new capital. Parallel to this thinking ran the theory of the pentarchy, that apostolic polity was to be maintained through the cooperation between the five patriarchal sees: Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, and Peter III of Antioch even compared the five patriarchates to the five senses. But also unavoidable theological differences aided the schism. As Ph. Sherrard pointed out, "from the intellectual point of view, the breach between the Latins and the Greeks arose from the fact that each side came to regard as absolute and irreconcilable certain differing representations, differing mental images, of the Truth". The principal clash between East and West in the realm of pure dogma was the question of the *Filioque*, i.e. whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, as the Latins taught. Yet, Pelikan sees the causes of the dogmatic schism on even deeper levels. "Opposed to each other were not only two conceptions of tradition and two methods of formulating theological distinctions, but, beyond and beneath all of these, two conceptions of the Godhead".

The chapter "The Vindication of Trinitarian Monotheism" is one of the most useful and helpful contributions of the author as he deals with the dialogue — or better lack of dialogue — between the Jews and the Eastern Christians in the period under discussion. Trinity and Schema or rather Trinity or Schema is the subject of the debate, and any reader, aware of the traditional Byzantine anti-Semitism, discovers the deep-seated theological prejudices based upon an almost unpardonable lack of understanding of the basic premises of the theological positions, and Arians and iconoclasts receive the epithet as Judaizers. Christians and Jews disputed at length Old Testament exegesis, and repeatedly the Jews are identified as Christ-killers or God-killers. The Orthodox polemics with the manichean Bogomils are discussed under the heading "Evil and the God of Love".

The student of the Christian-Islamic dialogue will discover the material under the title "The One-God and His Prophet" most informative, for anti-Islamic polemics figured prominently in Byzantine theology during most of the period covered in this volume, from John of Da-

mascus and Theodore Abū Qurra to the emperor-theologians of the late Byzantine empire, John VI Cantacuzenus and his grandson Manuel II Paleologus. Christians claimed to have mastered the contents of the Koran, and even to possess an autograph copy of it in the Church of St. John the Baptist in Damascus. Contention with Islam produced in Byzantine apologetics two different views, the extreme or negative attitude, which considered it a form of paganism, and the more moderate one, which recognized in Islam the common allegiance with monotheism. The first of these was by far the more typical. Pelikan's choice of illustrations of Islamic Biblical exegesis is particularly interesting and helpful since some of these early medieval arguments are still advanced in Islamic-Christian apologetics.

The discussion on "The God of the Philosophers" is an attempt to show the profound feelings which Byzantine theologians entertained towards their philosophical ancestors. As spokesman for his presentation Pelikan selected the 11th century Michael Psellus, who taught at the university of Constantinople, and was a typical representative of the Christian Hellenism of his age. To illustrate the close ties which these philosophically oriented theologians maintained with the ancients, some choice passages are cited. Psellus was willing to see in Plato's *Phaedrus* a parallel to the dogma of the Holy Trinity, and he maintained that this was not reading 'our doctrine' into the text, but 'following Plato himself and the theologians among the Greeks'. This very useful discussion — also for our days — is unfortunately limited to a study of the views of Psellus.

The sixth and final chapter "The Last Flowering of Byzantine Orthodoxy" treats of the theological issues from the 12th to the 15th century, centering first around the monastic theological movement of Hesychasm, which found in its practices of devotion and prayer a new resource for Christian doctrine. The principal spokesman for this Byzantine mystical theology was the 11th century Simeon the New Theologian. In Hesychasm the imitation of Christ and identification with Christ became a summons to a life of holiness and love. The task of articulating this new theology of the vision of God as light, however, was undertaken by the 14th century monk and mystic theologian Gregory Palamas, the systematizer of Simeon's teachings. The theological issues leading to the final break with Western doctrine centered heavily around the question of the authority of the papacy, which, so it was felt, made the statements of the blessed fathers ultimately useless and superfluous. It was the refusal of the West to submit matters of controversy to a general oecumenical council, the refusal to arrive at a solution in accordance with the ancient practice of the fathers. Moreover, the old question of the *Filioque* had arisen as a liturgical issue, new at the 15th century Council of Florence was the Western doctrine of purgatory, anticipations of which were found in St. Augustine and Gregory the Great. Whereas Western theology, both Roman Catholic and later Protestant, had stated and restated its doctrinal position, Byzantine theology depended entirely upon its traditional statements of doctrinal authority. An interesting case of anomaly was the 17th century Patriarch of Constan-

tinople Cyril Lucaris with his *Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith*, in which the patriarch made many concessions to Protestant doctrine. Already in 1643 the Synod of Jassy, Moldavia, condemned the confession for adhering to the Calvinist heresy. In the concluding paragraph Pelikan outlines the transfer of spiritual authority from Constantinople to Moscow, the third Rome. In the words of Philotheus of Pskov "two Romes have fallen, and the third is still standing, and a fourth there shall not be".

For the student of oecumenical theology, the Latin-Byzantine dialogue, the Christian-Jewish dialogue as well as the Christian-Islamic dialogue, Pelikan's book serves as a most welcome source of reliable information of primary sources. His strictly theological approach, praiseworthy as it is, ignores, however, the interaction of non-theological with theological factors in the development of Christian doctrine. In fact, hardly a reference is made to the political, social and economic circumstances which contributed to the theological encounters, e.g. the iconoclastic controversies, the confrontation with the Jewish theologians in the Byzantine empire and the constant threat of Islam to Church and State. Unfortunately, no references are made to the theological developments among the "other Orthodox" communities, the Copts, the Jacobites and the Nestorians, except for the issues pertaining to their peculiar christological positions, and the reader gains the impression that Eastern Orthodoxy was and is limited to the theologies of Constantinople. Therefore, a more descriptive title for this volume would have been "The Spirit of Byzantine Christendom".

Professor Pelikan has mastered a wealth of patristic literature, which he has set forth in an intelligent and intelligible manner. This in itself is a major achievement for which he must be congratulated. Author and publisher have produced a welcome addition to the literature of Byzantine theology.

Paros, Cyclades, July 1975

OTTO MEINARDUS

* *

D. E. RHODES, *Dennis of Etruria*. London, Cecil & Amelia Woolf, 1973 (8vo, 186 S., 1 Frontispiz, 19 Tafeln). Preis: £ 4.95.

Selten hat jemand auf mehr faszinierende Weise geschrieben über etruskische Städte und Nekropolen als George Dennis (1814-1898). Dieser vielseitigen Persönlichkeit hat Dr. Rhodes eine sehr detaillierte und gut lesbare Biographie gewidmet, die zum grössten Teil aus Briefen an Freunde, Gelehrte und seinen Verleger in London, J. Murray besteht.

Sechs Jahre vor der Erscheinung seines weltberühmten Buches *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848) besuchte Dennis in drei Reisen etwa dreissig etruskische Orte mit seinem künstlerischen Freund Samuel Ainsley der zahllose Zeichnungen und Skizzen machte. D. wird 1849 Privat-Sekretär des Gouverneurs von Britischem Guinea. Diese Zeit, die bis 1863 dauert, betrachtet er als eine Periode von Verbannung aus der zivilisierten Welt. Er passt sich jedoch an, wird eben Unterrichtsinspektor,

heiratet eine zehn Jahre ältere Frau Nora, die eine sehr unauffällige Rolle in seinem Leben spielt. Kurze Zeit verweilt er auf Sizilien, wo er sich an Ausgrabungen in Gela und Agrigento beteiligt. 1864 wird er Vizekonsul in Benghazi. Auch in diesem ihm nicht sehr angenehmen Ort verbindet er das Angenehme mit dem Nützlichen. Er gräbt in Cyrene, Tokra und Ptolemäis. Auf seinen Wunsch folgt Versetzung nach Smyrna.

Dennis ist vor allem interessiert an Lydien weil er der Theorie anhängt, dass die Etrusker aus diesem Gebiet nach Italien gekommen seien. Mit dem Aufgraben wird es nichts, weil er als Konsul von Kreta angestellt wird. Er zieht aber bald Sizilien Kreta vor. Dann, 1879, zurück nach Smyrna, aber jetzt als Konsul. Bis 1888 macht er viele abenteuerliche Züge in der südlichen Türkei und er gräbt z.B. in Sardes, sei es auf wenig wissenschaftliche Weise. Noch vor seinem Tod bekommt er ein Ehrendoktorat von der Oxford Universität. Dennis hatte kein einseitiges Interesse. Für seine Umgebung hatte er einen scharfen Blick. So schrieb er ein übrigens niemals veröffentlichtes Buch über napolitanische Misswirtschaft auf Sizilien. Bevor er in Italien arbeitete, publizierte er in jugendlichem Alter „A Summer in Andalusia“ und „The Cid“, ein Buch das von der frühen spanischen Poesie handelt.

Rhodes hat eine tiefgehende Studie von Dennis gemacht. Sein Buch gibt uns ein präzises Bild der Zeit in der so viele wichtige Denkmäler der Vergangenheit im Mittelmeergebiet gefunden wurden.

Leiden, Februar 1976

L. B. VAN DER MEER

* *

Carl SCHNEIDER, *Die Welt des Hellenismus. Lebensformen in der spätgriechischen Antike*. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1975 (8vo, 366 S. mit 26 Abbildungen) = Beck'sche Sonderausgaben. Preis: DM 34.—.

Wie andere Bände dieser Reihe ist auch dieser eine für einen breiteren Leserkreis bestimmte Zusammenfassung einer umfangreicheren wissenschaftlichen Ausgabe des selben Autors, die in diesem Fall unter dem Titel *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* gleichfalls von dem Beck'schen Verlag ins Licht gegeben wurde.

Das Buch zerfällt in zwei Abschnitte: I. *Die Grundlagen des hellenistischen Lebens*, II. *Der Alltag*. Zweck des Autors ist ein Bild des hellenistischen Menschen als eines epochal-typischen zu zeigen. Er ist sich aber dessen, dass man ihn nicht von der eigentümlich seelischen Grundhaltung des griechischen Menschen loslösen darf, und dass es griechische Wesenszüge gibt, die durch die ganze griechische Geschichte hindurch zu verfolgen sind, bewusst. Diese starben auch im Hellenismus nicht, sondern lebten oft in neuen Modifikationen fort. Darum untersucht er erst die allgemein griechischen Grundzüge und dann deren eigentümliche Abwandlungen (S. 11).

Allein gegen Ausdrücke wie der hellenistische und der griechische Mensch empfinde ich Bedenken. M. E. ist Generalisieren gefährlich. Ausserdem hat der Autor oft die Gefahr einer gewissen Einseitigkeit nicht vorbeugen können. Zu viel wird vor allem das Leben der

obersten Schichten der Gesellschaft hervorgehoben. Zu viel hängt hier die Geschichtsschreibung von der Quantität der Quellen ab. Zwei Beispiele um dies zu verdeutlichen: S. 36 lesen wir: „Denn Leben hiess Lebensgenuss, und man jagte ihm in jeder Weise nach. Der Hellenismus war eine der genussfreudigsten Epochen der Weltgeschichte“. Für die oberen Schichten mag sein, aber wie steht es um das Leben der unteren Schichten? Ich denke hier an die Bilder der alten betrunkenen Frau und des alten Fischers (Glypt. München), an die Bilder des dornausziehenden Gassenjungen (St. Mus. Berlin), der Bauernfrau, die zum Markte geht (Metr. Mus. N.Y.). Für sie war das Leben gewiss nicht genussfreudig!

Viel zu ausführlich werden die Ehen in den höchsten und höheren Kreisen besprochen. Dass die Ehen von Attalos I, Phokion, Hieron II und Demetrios Poliorketes „alle überstrahlten“ (S. 65) scheint mir unbedeutend, und die Grabinschriften scheinen mir lange nicht immer zuverlässig (S. 64). Betreffs der Ehen in den niederen Ständen sagt der Autor nur, dass wir „nicht den geringsten Einblick in die innere und geistige Struktur solcher Ehen haben“. Dennoch möchte ich auf Lond. Pap. I, 42 und Oxy. Pap. IV, 744 hinweisen. Und die Behauptung: „Es ist selbstverständlich, dass auch der ärmste Sohn für seine Mutter sorgt“ (S. 68), ist an sich wohl richtig, muss jedoch in breiterem Zusammenhang betrachtet werden: Bei den niederen Ständen bildeten nicht nur in der hellenistischen, sondern auch in der Blütezeit die Kinder eine Art von Altersversicherung (Vgl. z.B. Xen. Oec. VII, 12 und 18; Lysias XIII, 45; Isokrates XIV, 48; Demosthenes LX, 36; Dinarchos II, 8). Die wirtschaftlichen Umstände brachten dies mit sich. Merkwürdig mutet mich auf der selben Seite eine Bemerkung über Mutterliebe an: „Selbst die Hetaeren lieben ihre Kinder“. Ist Mutterliebe denn an Rang und Stand gebunden?

„Dass man sich bei Wohnbauten im allgemeinen nur mit einer möglichst geringen Dicke der Mauern begnüge“ (S. 122), ist nicht speziell hellenistisch und hängt mit der südlichen Wohn- und Lebenskultur zusammen. Schon Thukydides erzählt, wie Bürger von Plataiai, als dieses Städtchen von den Thebanern besetzt worden war, sich verschwören um den Feind zu überfallen. Sie beschlossen die gemeinschaftlichen „Mauern“ ihrer Häuser durchzugraben um sich so heimlich zu sammeln (II, 3, 3). Und nicht nur in den ptolemäischen Gerichtsurkunden lesen wir von Dieben, die Wände durchbrochen hatten, aber auch schon bei Aristophanes (*Nub.* 1327; *Ran.* 733) und Plato (*Rep.* 344B; *Leg.* 831E).

Fraglich scheint mir was der Autor über die Humanität der hellenistischen Kriegsführung schreibt (S. 31 flg.). Dürfte das Nützlichkeitsprinzip hier nicht eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt haben? Die Realität mag die hellenistischen Könige in dieser Hinsicht Vorsicht gelehrt haben und vielleicht darum vernichteten sie nur die Städte derjenigen, von denen sie künftig keine Repräsentanten zu erwarten hatten. Denn grosse Menschen-schlachtungen könnten bei bestimmten mächtigen Gegnern zu grosse Rachegefühle hervorrufen, vor denen sie ihre eigenen Untertanen schützen wollten. Weiter

konnte das Wirtschaftsleben zu grosse Massen von Sklaven nicht aufnehmen und war es für den Sieger gefährlich zu viele Sklaven aus einem feindlichen Nachbarland im eigenen Land zu haben.

So könnte ich noch mehr Bedenken anführen und Fragen stellen, denn ich vermisse besonders im zweiten Abschnitt gediegene Kenntnisse über das Alltagsleben in der Blütezeit, infolge dessen eine Verbindung zwischen der klassischen und der hellenistischen Zeit manchmal fehlt.

Velp (G.), November 1975

E. J. JONKERS

* *

Elmar SEEBOLD, *Das System der indogermanischen Halbvokale*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Verlag, 1972 (8vo, 360 pp.) = Indogermanische Bibliothek. Price: DM 76.—.

Seebold's monograph about the syllabic structures of Indo-European commonly referred to as Edgerton's law represents a traditional, scholarly exercise of considerable weight. In its 360 pages the author offers a detailed history of the question from Sievers' first treatment in the 1870's to the contemporary accounts of Lehmann, Lindeman et al.

In accordance with tradition, Seebold sees the language of the Rgveda as the vastly predominating base of all lexical matter relevant to the issue; only one fifth of the volume covers the appropriate matter in the entire rest of Indo-European. (The author's Wortregister consisting of Vedic only runs to some 1800 bases.) There is also a detailed morphological breakdown (for Vedic) of the distribution of these syllabic structures.

Yet the work seems to fall flat in terms of any advance with reference to contemporary structural linguistics; it appears to remain wholeheartedly within the critical and methodological framework of neo-grammarians "atomism". It can hardly be found surprising, then, that the author's Zusammenfassung und Auswertung is not, as one is more or less accustomed to-day, a conclusion in any recognizable and compact sense of the word, but rather a (continued) flow of detail ending nowhere in particular.

Seebold dismisses the significance of the Indo-European laryngeal theory as a means of explaining the disyllabicity of this problem (e.g. *yo = i-+o-, but *iyo- = i-+Ho- etc.) in a mere page and a half. This inevitably throws him back onto archaic descriptive means of analysis, which can perhaps be blamed for the lack of a definite outcome. After rejecting Burrow's laryngeal theorems relating to sonants (i.e. IE i/ū- *iH/uH-) which have not been seriously treated in literature since 1951, Seebold finds it impossible to present an alternative of sufficient abstraction to be of interest here. Thus, his assumption of the pattern IE *CIYA = CIHA, where H = schwa (which may, only accidentally, be the zero of a laryngeal sonant), leads into inextricable ambiguity, quite apart from the fact that the upshot of all works touching upon the laryngeal theory since Kurylowicz (1927) is that schwa primum = zero of a laryngeal

(by definition), including also set and anit bases, whereas schwa secundum, not to consider further varieties, is not found in comparable prosodic positions (cf. *quartus*). More proof, without explicit reference to Brugmann's law, is found in Gamkrelidze, Hetskiy Yazik i Laringal'naya Teoriya, Tbilisi 1960, with his patterns:

*gen-H, causat. genH-eio- Vedic: *janaya-* (short),
zero = *jāta-* (long).

*men-, causat. moneio- Vedic: *mānaya* (long),
zero = *māta-* (short).

Seebold's rejection of Burrow's laryngeal theory leads him into further incomprehension of Lehmann's phonology: ... (p. 343) "Sie (long i- and u-) werden also zu den Sonanten gezählt, obwohl bei den übrigen Sonanten (!) a/ā-, e/ē-, o/ō-, Länge und Kürze in den gleichen Klassen stehen ...".

The concept of a (fundamentally) fortuitous lengthening of sonants (i.e. i- into ī-breaking into iy-) is notoriously uninformative and the author doesn't persist with it; coincidentally, Seebold treats at some length the IE adjectival morphs -īni and -ino, the problematic nature of which was shown recently in J. L. Butler: *Latin-inus* etc., (University of California publications Linguistics 68.) On the contrary, at least in one case of such sonantal discrepancies, Kuiper's "compositional lengthening", a laryngeal origin was demonstrated (e.g. IAr *sūnuh* reducing to a form like *sūtah* by suffixal selection etc.).

The best part of Seebold's conclusions is shrouded in unstructural complexities which defy review. However, apart from his formidable effort in marshalling the vast material involved in the treatment of Sievers' law, the author, in his meticulous evaluation of all the literature on the subject (commencing, no less, with Bopp's and Benfey's preoccupation with Vedic scansion), provides unwitting testimony to the death of pre-structural reasoning in linguistics.

Monash, November 1973

R. SLONEK

* * *

Sarantis SYMEONOGLOU, *Kadmeia* I. Mycenaean Finds from Thebes, Greece, Excavations at 14 Oedipus Street. Göteborg, 1973 (4to, 106 pp., 274 figs. on altogether 93 plates) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*. Volume XXXV. Price in 1973: 100 Swedish Crowns.

In this excellent work, the Greek archaeologist Sarantis Symeonoglou, who is now a staff member of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, conveys the reader a truly admirable report on the excavation which he conducted himself in 1964-1965 in Boeotian Thebes.

The *Kadmeia* I *opus mirabile* came out as a dissertation, and was published by Professor Paul Åström of Göteborg University, as Volume XXXV in the series *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, for which the sensible abbreviation SIMA is stipulated, right at the beginning of the book (p. 2). On p. 3, the term Washington University, used without localization, seems to be less practical. It even works out to be downright mis-

leading to so many non-American readers of the book. Regrettably so.

The acknowledgments of the author, on p. 7, are beautifully and concisely done. But one should read Jürgen, not Jürgend von Beckerath, and Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen, not just Peter von Blankenhagen. Here the big, central power-plant for the publication, which is at Göteborg, Sweden, should, perhaps, have seen better to the Herculean labour of final proofreading of the book. It should be said even *a fortiori* for the quite enormous apparatus of footnotes and references to literature: pp. 77-102 of the book.

The subject of the book is the heart, conventionally called Kadmeia, of the small Mycenaean town of Thebes, Boeotia, Greece, in all its dazzling wealth and splendour, which may well be termed surprising in this tucked-away corner of Greece. For establishing the Late Helladic III = Mycenaean chronological assessment of the small place, which could have accommodated about 5000 people, or so, the pottery evidence is all-important.

The ceramic materials then, all of which have been meticulously well studied by Dr. Symeonoglou, seem to permit of putting the final destruction of Mycenaean Thebes at some date near 1250-1240 B.C.

Yet careful examination of the pottery series falls down to sheer drudgery, however obligatory to any branch of science, if compared to the delight, nay, even the real kick, that we get from looking at the other materials that have been excavated. E.g., ivories, gold, lapis lazuli, amber, rock crystal, shells and more.

The big haul of ivories, meaning a small amount of fairly complete relief-decorated plaques, figure-of-eight shields, lilies, and a repetitious multitude of fragments, nay, occasionally mere debris, have been described and illustrated by the author in considerable detail. To the reviewer's mind the publication errs rather on the side of giving too many illustrations, even for establishing the probability of there having been active workshops in Boeotian Thebes itself, which could have turned out the majority, if not the full hoard of ivories, whole or broken, that were found on the occasion.

A date of ca. 1300 B.C. is advocated for the ivories on p. 62. Now to the present reviewer's mind, it seems sort of unwise to lump things together. And it's reckless indulging into the fallacy of *ad annum* dating, in merely suggesting a ca. 1300 B.C. approximation for all those ivories as a whole.

After all, those ivories are very much of a variegated lot. To a point to make us believe, that they rather range in date, and cover a considerable lapse in time, say, some good hundred years, or so.

It may well be true, as the author-excavator suggests, that most, if not all, of those ivories were locally made in Thebes, Boeotia. As a matter of fact, the Theban ivories look sometimes rather as a by-product of glyptic art, if put next to an ivory cosmetic box from the Athenian Agora, let alone the swell and swing of bodical forms in an undoubtedly earlier, i.e., more Minoan-like ivory group from Mycenae.

See Sara Anderson Immerwahr, *Early Burials from the Agora Cemeteries*, Princeton, New Jersey 1973 =

Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book no. 13, figures 14 and 17 respectively.

Our next point is, that something as serious as a principle must be raised in going through the ostracism of minimal bits, as are being conveyed to the reader in plates 88-93, at the very end of the volume which is under discussion here. Those scrappy bits, apart from a pleasant bunch of shells (plate 93, figure 273), are wrought of gold, inlays, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, glass-paste, amber, steatite, amethyst, agate and finally bronze too.

Even in the captions to those excellent illustrations, the word "scraps" has rightly fallen twice. Now, it may be asked, what's the real use of such tiny morsels being illustrated in such numbers and detail, as they are lining up on the plates? I have some gloomy idea that the majority of them are reproduced to no use at all really. The only thing that matters being just to name the stupendous array of materials, in which this kind of micro-archaeological plankton was made anyway.

The immense task of bringing out preliminary and final excavation reports up to the top-flight standard of *Kadmeia* I, is unfortunately doomed to become a prohibitively expensive affair. Meaning a real threat even, in terms of high finance and human labour alike.

Even granted the fact, that the SIMA series of Göteborg ranks as a succession of miracles, as far as the publishing and the scientific side of the matter is concerned. And yet, a word of warning must be raised, as to the quite excessive amount of cost and time, required for enjoying the scholarship and apparatus of learning, that have all gone into the SIMA volumes. E.g., Sarantis Symeonoglou's quite outstanding *Kadmeia* I achievement. But let any archaeologist try to name just one or two public libraries in his neighbourhood, which have the means for acquiring those much too expensive and rather over-specialized SIMA volumes. I am afraid it will be a depressingly small percentage of archaeological libraries in any country. And there will be found very few archaeologists who can actually study those admirable volumes to a maximum of profit and delight, i.e. as they deserve to be digested indeed.

Leiden, Holland, November 1974

J. H. C. KERN

MEDEDELING

The University of Chicago

The Office of Public Information

Two federal agencies have combined to award \$ 139,900 to a University of Chicago scholar, Dr. Ignace J. Gelb, to compile a source book on the social and economic history of the ancient Near East.

Gelb's book will demonstrate for the first time the wide range of sources available to teachers interested in Mesopotamian history. It will contain prints and illustrations of original documents with their English translations. Gelb will add his interpretations and commentary.

Sociologists, anthropologists, historians, and others involved in the social and economic development of the earliest historical stages of civilizations, should find the

book useful to their work. For those who have mastered the language, the book will serve as an introductory to the special character of economic and administrative texts.

The texts selected for the book will contain information about social groupings such as clan and family structures; governmental services, and regulations involving the military and the tax, judicial, and tariff systems; class stratification, social mobility, and social classes; the various industries including agriculture, horticulture, and commerce; land tenure and such administrative duties as bookkeeping and accounting.

When completed in late 1978, the manuscript for the volume will include several appendices with charts on chronology and measurements, and listings of commodities and their respective prices and proper names. An English index will provide a cross reference and a digest of interpretations of cited texts.

Gelb expects the volume to contain approximately 450 pages, excluding illustrations.

Over the past 15 years, Gelb has collected about 100 texts suitable for inclusion in the book. He hopes to include these and as many more as he can finish in the next two years.

A portion of the grants will finance the travel of the text staff to museums in Europe and Asia. There they will study documents, mostly in the form of clay tablets, which are not available to them at the Oriental Institute.

Because of his contact with the Russian scholars, Gelb set out to improve his background in the social sciences, particularly by reading about the development of civilizations in China, India, Greece, Rome, and pre-Columbian America.

Having completed this preliminary review of some 200 publications, Gelb returned to the ancient texts to gain a greater appreciation of Mesopotamian history. Since then, he has written two volumes and nine articles on the subject and has prepared a 500-page manuscript on the social classes in Mesopotamia.

ONTVANGEN BOEKEN VI

EGYPTOLOGIE

Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Doppelband XXIV/XXV, Hrsg. von R. Koerner, W. Müller, K. Treu, F. Uebel. Leipzig, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1976 (17.6 x 25 cm., 334 S., 21 Abb.). 175,— M.

Alexander Badawy, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem'ank-Ptah and Kaemnofert at Giza. London, University of California Press, 1976 (4to, X + 36 pp., 36 pls.) = University of California Occasional Papers Number 9: Archaeology. \$ 10.00 - ISBN 0 520 09544 8.

Roger S. Bagall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, Ostraka in Amsterdam Collections. Zutphen, Uitgeverij Terra, 1976 (21.4 x 28.5 cm, X + 102 p., 17 pls.) = Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia IX - ISBN 90 6255 201 3.

Roger S. Bagnall & Alan E. Samuel, *Ostraca in the Royal Ontario Museum*. Toronto, Samuel Stevens Hakkert and Company, 1976 (23 x 31 cm., XVI + 147 pp., 98 figs.) = *American Studies in Papyrology*, Vol. IV - ISBN 0 88866 015 4.

William M. Brashear (Ed.), *Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 239 pp., 14 pls.) = *Ägyptische Urkunden* (St. Museen Berlin) Griechische Urkunden XIII. Band.

John D. Cooney, *Glass*. London, British Museum Publications, 1976 (Folio, XVI + 180 pp., 900 pls., 8 colourplates) = *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum IV*. £ 35.— - ISBN 0 7141 0918 5.

Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Ramsès le grand*. (Catalogue) *Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais*. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1976 (4to, XLVI + 48 pp. de pls. en couleurs et 325 pp. avec des illustrations en noir et blanc).

Rosemarie Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*. Wiesbaden, Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (21.6 x 30.8 cm., XII + 169 S., 59 Abb.) = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Band 31. DM 88.— - ISBN 3 447 0175 7.

Enchoria, *Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie*, VI, 1976, Hrsg. von E. Lüddeckens, H.-J. Thisen, K.-Th. Zauzich. Wiesbaden, In Kommission bei Otto Harrassowitz, 1976 (20.8 x 29.6 cm., IV + 195 S., 11 Tafeln). DM 48 - ISBN 3 447 01824 0.

Wolf-Peter Funk, *Die zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V*. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1976 (16.5 x 23.8 cm., XVI + 246 S.) = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 119. 50.— M.

Robert Hari, *Repertoire Onomastique Amarnien*. Genève, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, 1976 (21 x 29.5 cm., XXII + 335 p.) = *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 4, 1976.

Jill Kamal, *Luxor. A Guide to Ancient Thebes*. 2nd. Edition. Harlow, Longman Group Ltd., 1976 (12 x 18.7 cm., 181 pp., Illustrations and map). £ 1.40 - ISBN 0 582 78065 9.

Peter Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 1976 (8vo, 113 pp., 25 Tafeln, 4 Abb.).

Allyn L. Kelley, *The Pottery of Ancient Egypt. Dynasty I to Roman Times*. Ontario, Royal Ontario Museum, 1976 (21.5 x 28, IV + 55 pp., 103 pls.). \$ 16.00 - ISBN 0 88854 189 9.

Ludwig Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*. Meisenheim, Verlag Anton Hain, 1977 (15.4 x 22.9 cm., X + 114 S.) = *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*, Heft 56 - ISBN 3 445 01255 5.

Lise Manniche, *Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun*. Warminster, Aris & Philips Ltd., 1976

(4to, VIII + 15 pp., XII Pls.) = *Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series VI*. £ 4.00 - ISBN 0 900416 05 X.

Eva Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*. Hildesheim, Verlag Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1976 (8vo, XX + 246 S.) = *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 1. DM 29.— - ISBN 3 8067 8008 0.

Karol Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*. Varsovie, PWN, Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1976 (20.2 x 25.6 cm., 160 pp., 471 figs. sur CLIV planches) = *Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, Tome 18.

E. A. E. Raymond (Editor), *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum, Part 1. A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis*. P. Vindob. D. 6257. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1976 (20.6 x 29.6 cm., 304 pp., VII pls.) = *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) Neue Serie, X, Folge.

Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz, *La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie*. Warszawa, Polish Scientific Publishers, 1976 (4to, 72 pp., 34 pls., 63 ill.) = *Alexandrie I*.

Helmut Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien. Die Partikel ir. Das Tempussystem*. Wien, Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften, 1976 (20.7 x 29.5 cm., 326 S., Abbildungen und Skizzen) = *Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Band 6. öS 595.—.

Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT „Königsohn“*. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1976 (14.6 x 20.6 cm., XII + 371 S.) = *Habelts Dissertationsdrucke: Reihe Ägyptologie*, Heft 2 - ISBN 3 7749 1370 6.

B. H. Stricker, *De maat der dingen*. Amsterdam, Elsevier-North Holland, 1976 (16 x 24 cm., 36 pp., 2 pls.) = *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 39, no. 7*. f 20.— - ISBN 0 72048324 7.

P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *Fünfunddreissig Wiener Papyri* (P. Vindob. Tandem). Zutphen, Uitgeverij Terra, 1976 (14.7 x 21.9 cm., XII + 319 S., Bilderband 29.8 x 39.8 cm., XIV Tafeln) = *Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia VI* - ISBN 90 6255 200 5/ 90 6255 203 X.

André Vila, *La prospection archéologique de la vallée du nil, au sud de la cataracte de Dal (Nubie Soudanaise)*, Fasc. 2,3,4. 2. Les districts de Dal (rive gauche) et de Sarkamatto (rive droite); 3. District de Ferka (Est et Ouest); 4. District de Mograkka (Est et Ouest), District de Kosha (Est et Ouest). Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975 et 1976 (20.9 x 27 cm., fasc. 1, 116 p., 117 figs.; fasc. 2, 102 p., 80 figs.; fasc. 3, 126 p., 65 figs.). F. 48.—; F. 38.—; F. 45.— - ISBN 2 222 01725 4; 2 222 01726 2; 2 222 01876 5.

ASSYRIOLOGIE

Antoine Cavigneaux, *Die sumerisch-akkadischen Zeichenlisten. Überlieferungsprobleme*. Paris, Antoine Cavigneaux, 1976 (8vo, VI + 178 pp.).

J. van Dijk, *Cuneiform Texts. Texts of Varying Content*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (4to, XVIII pp., LXXX pls.) = *Texts in the Iraq Museum, Volume IX*. f 76.— - ISBN 90 04 04736 0.

Oliver R. Gurney & Samuel Noah Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*. London, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1976 (4to, VIII + 113 pp., 58 pls.) = *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, Volume V*. £ 10.00 - ISBN 0 19 815450 X.

J. Harmatt & G. Komoróczy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976 (8vo, 540 S., Tafeln) = *Nachdruck aus den Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tom. 32. 1-4, 1974. \$ 34.00.

Sigrid-Eike Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet*. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1976 (14.6 x 20.6 cm., XVI + 274 S.) = *Habelt Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie*, H. 1 - ISBN 3 7749 1228 9.

Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness. A History of Mesopotamian Religion*. London, Yale University Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 273 pp., 8 pls.). \$ 15.00 - ISBN 0 300 01844 4.

L. Jakob-Rost, *Die Stempelsigel im Vorderasiatischen Museum*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1975 (16.6 x 24 cm., 102 S., 3 S. mit Illustrationen, 14 Tafeln). Lizenznummer 202. 100/- 198/75.

Evelyn und Horst Klengel, *Die Hethiter. Geschichte und Umwelt. Eine Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens von Catal Hüyük bis zu Alexander dem Grossen*. Wien, Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1975 (8vo, 247 S., 27 Abb. im Text und 68 Tafeln) - ISBN 3 7031 0091 5.

Samuel Noah Kramer, *Sumer Edebi Tablet ve Parçaları II* (Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments — II). Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1976 (23.8 x 31.1 cm., XII + 24 pp., 129 pls.) = *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları* — VI. Dizi, Sa. 13a.

Darlene Lodrig, *Ur Excavations. Texts IX. Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty*. Philadelphia, The University Museum, 1976 (23.3 x 31.3 cm., IV + 84 pp., CCXV pls.) = *Joint Expeditions of the British Museum and University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia*.

M. Stol, *Studies in Babylonian History*. Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1976 (4to, X + 114 pp., 3 pls.) = *Uitgaven van het Nederlands*

Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, XL. f 60.— - ISBN 90 6258 040 8.

Claus Wilcke, *Kollationen zu den sumerischen literarischen Texten aus Nippur in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1976 (20.7 x 29.5 cm., 92 S., VII Tafeln, 31 Autographien im Text) = *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Band 65. Heft 4. 33 M.

Sir Leonard Woolley & Sir Max Mallowan, Ed. T. C. Mitchell, *Ur Excavations, Volume VII. The Old Babylonian Period*. London, British Museum Publications Ltd., 1976 (23 x 33 cm., XVIII + 260 pp., 43 figs., 129 pls.). £ 45.— - ISBN 0 7141 1087 6.

CYPRUS

Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus*. Göteborg, Paul Aströms Förlag, 1976 (22.4 x 30.4 cm., 172 pp.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol. XLIV*. 75 Sw. Crowns - ISBN 91 85058 70 X.

Kyriakos Nicolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition*. Göteborg, Paul Aströms Förlag, 1976 (22.4 x 30.4 cm., XXXIV + 373 pp., 47 figs., XXXVII pls.) = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, Vol. XLIII*. 150 Sw. Crowns - ISBN 91 85058 64 5.

Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 1976. Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, 1976 (23.2 x 30.4 cm., IV + 274 pp., XLVI pls.).

UGARITICA

M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sammartin, EDV-Leitung H.-W. Kisker, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits. Teil 1. Transkription*. Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1976 (4to, XX + 507 S.) = *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Band 24. DM 115 - ISBN (Butzon & Bercker) 3 7666 8911 8 (Neukirchener Verlag) 3 7887 0485 3.

Michael Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit*. Wiesbaden, Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976 (16.9 x 23.8 cm., XII + 120 pp.). DM 32.— - ISBN 3 920153 61 8.

ARAMAICA

J. Hoftijzer & G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (4to, XII + 324 pp., 33 pls., 5 figs.) = *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui XIX*. f 184.— - ISBN 90 04 04574 0.

B. Jongeling, *Een Aramees Boek Job*. Amsterdam, Ton Bolland, 1974 (14.1 x 21.9 cm., 154 pp.) = *Exegetica, Nieuwe Reeks, Derde Deel*. f 16.90 - ISBN 90 70057 33 6.

SYRIA

A. Kuschke, S. Mittmann, U. Müller, *Archaeological Survey in der nördlichen Biqā'*, Herbst 1972. Ingrid A. Zoury, *Report on a Prehistoric Survey in the Northern Biqā'*. Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976 (17 x 24 cm., VI + 161 S., 12 Tafeln, 6 Karten, 58 Abb.) = Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B n. 11. DM 34.— - ISBN 3 920153 67 7.

OUDE TESTAMENT - JUDAICA

Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*. New York, KTAV Publishing House, 1977 (16 x 23.5 cm., XX + 457 pp.) = Moreshet Series; V. 1. \$ 25.00 - ISBN 0 87334 000 0.

Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. XLVI (Centennial Issue). Sheldon H. Blank, Editor. Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Annual, 1975 (15.5 x 23.3 cm, X + 532 + 29 pp., 1 frontispiece) - ISBN 0360 9049.

The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institution, Volume II. Edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern in Co-operation with D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik. Assen/Amsterdam, Van Gorcum, 1976 (16 x 24 cm., XII pp. 581-1283) = Compendium Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum. Section one. f 125.— - ISBN 90 232 1436 6.

Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1976 (8vo, XII + 186 pp.) = Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 141. DM 68.— - ISBN 3 11 005820 0.

Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings*. Lund, CWK Gleerup, 1976 (8vo, 342 pp.) = Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series. Sw. cr. 110 - ISBN 91 40 04349 5.

M. J. Mulder, *De Targum op het Hooglied*. Amsterdam, Ton Bolland, 1975 (14.1 x 21.9 cm., 128 pp.) = Exegetica, Nieuwe Reeks, vierde deel. f 16.90 - ISBN 90 700 57 352.

Peter H. A. Neumann (Hrsg.), *Zur neueren Psalmenforschung*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (8vo, VI + 484 S.) = Wege der Forschung, Band CXCII. DM 86.— - ISBN 3 534 04334 0.

Rolf Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*. Berlin, Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 177 S.) = Beiheft zur ZAW Bd. 147. DM 78.— - ISBN 3 11 06760 9.

David M. Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution 6 -74 C.E. A Political History Based on the Writings of Josephus*. Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1976 (8vo, VIII + 199 pp., 2 tables, 1 map, 1 plan). \$ 9.95 cloth, \$ 5.95 paper - ISBN 0 8006 0442 3.

Konrad Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. Gründung Salomos oder jebusitisches Erbe?* Berlin, Verlag Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, X + 109 S.) = Beiheft zur ZAW 144. DM 48.— - ISBN 3 11 006619 X.

Andrew Sharf, *The Universe of Shabbetai Donnolo*. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976 (8vo, VIII + 214 pp., 1 frt.). £ 7.50/£ 4.95 - ISBN 0 85668 052 4/0 85668 053 2.

August Strobel, *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm. Eine Forschungsüberblick mit Folgerungen zur biblischen Exodus-thematik*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1976 (8vo, XII + 291 S.) = Beiheft zur ZAW 145. DM 98.— - ISBN 3 11 006761 7.

ARABICA - ISLAM

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature, Part Two. The Arabic Jargon Texts. The Qaṣida Sāsāniyya of Abū Dulaf and Ṣafī d-Dīn*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (16 x 24.4 cm., VIII + pp. 181-361, 4 pls., 100 pp. of Arabic text). f 96.— - ISBN 90 04 04502 3.

Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*. Harlow, Longman Group Ltd., 1975 (14.5 x 22.2 cm, XIV + 378 pp., 4 photographs). £ 8.25 - ISBN 0 582 78045 4.

Dieter Fassnacht, *Islam*. Frankfurt, Verlag Moritz, Otto Salle Verlag, 1976 (13.6 x 21 cm., VIII + 97 S., 18 Abb., 1 Karte, 1 Figur) = Weltreligionen. Geschichte. Quellen. Materialien - ISBN 3 425 07692 2/3 466 36008 0.

John Hoag, *Islamische Architektur*. Stuttgart, Belser Verlag, 1976 (25 x 28.5 cm., 423 S., 513 Tafeln) = Weltgeschichte der Architektur. DM 128.— - ISBN 3 7630 1704 6.

Tāhā Ḥusain, *A Passage to France. The Third Volume of the Autobiography of Tāhā Ḥusain translated from the Arabic by Kenneth Cragg*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (14 x 20.3 cm., XVI + 165 pp.) = Arabic Translation Series, Volume 4. f 18.— - ISBN 90 04 04726 3.

International Congress on Seerat. March 3, 1976 thru' March 15, 1976. (Ca. 1st Rabi-ul-Awwal thr' 12th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1396 A.H.). Sponsored by National Seerat Committee, Pakistan. Under the auspices of Ministry of Religious Affairs, Government of Pakistan and Hamdard National Foundation, Pakistan, Karachi (13.8 x 22 cm., in loose pamphlets to a total of 376 pp.).

Khalil Jaouiche, *Le livre du Qarastūn de Tabit Ibn Qurra. Etude sur l'origine de la notion de travail et du calcul du moment statique d'une barre homogène*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (16.5 x 24.5 cm., XII + 185 pp.) = Collection de travaux de l'Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences, No. 25. f 76.— - ISBN 90 04 04727 1.

'Uṭmān Ibn Ginnī, *Kitāb al-Luma' fi-n-Nahw*. (Manuel de Grammaire Arabe), Edité et annoté par Hadi M. Kechrida. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, 1976 (15.5 x 22.3 cm., LXXX + 128 pp. of Arabic text, 16 photographs) = Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis/ Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 3 - ISBN 91 554 0426 X.

P. Sj. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*. Noordwijkerhout, P. Sj. van Koningsveld, 1976 (20.9 x 29.6 cm., VI + 96 pp.).

Denise Masson, *Monothéisme coranique et monothéisme biblique. Doctrines comparées*. Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1976 (8vo, 823 pp.) - ISBN 2 220 02046 0.

André Mercier (Hrsg.), *Islam und Abendland. Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Bern, Herbert Lang + Cie, 1976 (8vo, 317 S.) = Universität Bern, Kulturhistorische Vorlesungen 1974/75. Sfr. 48.— - ISBN 3 261 01620 5.

A. Moreh, *Modern Arabic Poetry 1800-1970*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (16 x 24.2 cm., XIV + 255 S.) = Studies in Arabic Literature, Supplement to Journal of Arabic Literature, Vol. V. f 36.— - ISBN 90 04 04795 6.

Sari J. Nasir, *The Arabs and the English*. Harlow, Longman Group Ltd., 1976 (14.3 x 22.2 cm., XII + 175 pp., 29 photographs). £ 7.50 - ISBN 0 582 78046 2.

J. D. Pearson & Ann Walsh, *Index Islamicus, 4th Supplement, Part V. A Catalogue of articles on Islamic subjects in periodicals and other collective publications*. London, Mansell, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 143 pp.). \$ 13.50 - ISBN 0 7201 0632 X.

Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Koran. Bilingual edition*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976 (8vo, XXXII + 826 pp., XII pp.). £ 14.50 - ISBN 0 04 297036 9.

Sylvia P. Powells, *Der Kalender der Samaritaner anhand des Kitāb Hisāb As-Sinīn und anderer Handschriften*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1977 (8vo, XVII + 382 S. und 6 Tafelseiten) = Studia Samaritana, Band III. DM 98.— - ISBN 3 11 004763 2.

Hortense Reintjens, *Die soziale Stellung der Frau bei den nordarabischen Beduinen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Ehe- und Familienverhältnisse*. Bonn, Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität (Harrassowitz), 1975 (8vo, XXII + 236 S.) = Bonner Orientalistische Studien Neue Serie, Band 30. DM 36.—.

William A. Rug, *Arab Perceptions of American Foreign Policy during the October War*. Washington D.C., The Middle East Institute, 1976 (8vo, IV + 52 pp.) = The Middle East Institute Special Study Number 2. \$ 2.50.

Frithiof Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluss auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik*. Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, 1976 (16 x 24.3 cm., pp. 8-26) = Acta

Universitatis Upsaliensis, Acta Societatis Linguisticae Upsaliensis, Nova Series 2: 5 - ISBN 91 554 0375 1.

R. B. Serjeant & R. L. Bidwell (Editors), *Arabian Studies III*. London, C. Hurst & Co, Published for the Middle East Centre, University of Cambridge, 1976 (14 x 22.2 cm. X + 198 pp., 2 maps, 4 pls., 2 figs., 3 photographs) - £ 9.50 - ISBN 0 903983 57 5.

S. Soucek, *Tunisia in the Kitāb-i bahriye by Piri Reis*. Lisse, Peter de Ridder Press, 1976 (8vo, 172 pp., 10 figs.) = f 40.00 - ISBN 90 316 0096 2.

Russell A. Stone and John Simmons (Editors), *Studies in the Social Sciences*. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1976 (8vo, XXIV + 333 pp., 6 figs., tables) \$ 30.00 - ISBN 0 87395 311 8.

Gary Troeller, *The Birth of Saudi Arabia. The Rise of the House of Sa'ud*. London, Frank Cass & Co., 1976 (14.5 x 22.3 cm., XXII + 287 pp.). £ 8.50 - ISBN 0 7146 3062 4.

TURCICA

János Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976 (8vo, 359 pp.) = Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXI. \$ 25.— - ISBN 963 05 0984 9.

H. Inalcik, *Application of the Tanzimat and its Social Effects*. Lisse, Peter de Ridder Press, 1976 (8vo, 33 pp.). f 8.— - ISBN 90 316 0095 4.

Gümeç Karamuk, *Ahmed Azmi Efendis Gesandtschaftsbericht als Zeugnis des osmanischen Machtverfalls und der beginnenden Reformära unter Selim III*. Bern, Verlag Herbert Lang, 1975 (8vo, 324 S., 45 Tafeln, Karte) = Geist und Werk der Zeiten Nr 44. Sfr. 44.— - ISBN 3 261 01609 4.

Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien. Teil I: Text und Tafeln. Teil II. Katalog*. Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1976 (19.9 x 26.9 cm., XIV + 220 S., 54 Tafeln, II Karten, und X + 560 S., 67 Abb.) = D.A.I. Istanbul Mitteilungen, Beiheft 13.

Marcell Restle, *Istanbul - Bursa - Edirne - Iznik. Bau- und Denkmäler und Museen*. Stuttgart, Philipp Reclam Jun., 1976 (12mo, 632 S., 184 Abb. und Pläne). DM 42.80 - ISBN 3 15 010262 6.

A. Adnan Saygun, Edited by László Vikár, Béla Bartók's Folk Music Research in Turkey. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976 (20.3 x 29.8 cm., 430 pp., 15 photographs, 1 map). \$ 36.00 - ISBN 963 05 0377 8.

Stanford Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis. The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1977 (15.4 x 23.3 cm., XVI + 351 pp., 1 map) = History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey I. £ 12.50/£ 4.95 (Paperback) - ISBN 0 521 21280 4 (Hardcovers), 0521 2916 31 (paperback).

IRANICA

Ludwig W. Adamec, *Historical Gazetteer of Iran*, Vol. I. Teheran and Northwestern Iran. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976 (19 x 28 cm., XVIII + 734 S., 62 Karten). öS 1.200 - ISBN 3 201 00992 X.

A. Boulvin, *Contes Populaires Persans du Khorasan*, Analyse thématique accompagné de la traduction de 34 contes. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1975 (8vo, XX + 166 pp.) = Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iranienues de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 6 - ISBN 2 252 01778 3.

A. Boulvin & C. Chocourzadeh, *Contes Populaires Persans du Khorasan*. Vol. II. Trente-six contes traduits par ... Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1975 (8vo, VIII + 123 p.) = Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iranienues de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 7 - ISBN 2 252 01809 7.

J. C. E. Bowen, *The Collected Persian Poems*. 1. Poems from the Persian. 2. A New Selection from the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam Rendered into English Verse. 3. The Golden Pomegranate. A selection from the poetry of the Mogul Empire in India 1526-1858. Rendered into English verse. Warminster, Aris & Phillips, Distributed in North America by Forest Grove, Oregon, International Scholarly Book Service, 1976 (8vo, 119 pp., XL + 136 pp., 120 pp.). £ 5.50 - ISBN 0 85668 038 9.

Manfred Mayrhofer, *Zum Namengut des Avesta*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977 (15.3 x 23.7 cm., 68 S.) = Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 308. Band, 5 Abhandlung. DM 30.— - ISBN 3 7001 0196 1.

Fritz Meier, *Abū Sa'īd abū l-Hayr (357-440/967-1049). Wirklichkeit und Legende*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (16 x 24.6 cm., 14 + 590 S.) = Acta Iranica 11. troisième série. Texts et Mémoires, Vol. IV - ISBN 90 04 03902 3/ 90 04 04539 2.

B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library. A Descriptive Catalogue*. London, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976 (4to, XXXII + 271 pp., 16 colour plates, 220 in black and white) - ISBN 085667 026 X.

Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah. Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1976 (8vo, XVIII + 233 pp., 62 figs., 16 pls.). £ 18.00 - ISBN 0 300 01915 7.

AFGHANISTAN

Micheline Centlivres-Demont, *Popular Art in Afghanistan. Paintings on Trucks, Mosques and Tea-Houses*. Wien, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976 (4to, 64 pp., 60 Photographs on 60 pls., 12 pls. in black and white) - ISBN 3 201 00976 8.

Gérard Fussman & Marc Le Berre, *Monuments bouddhiques de la région de Caboul I — Le monastère de Gul Dara*. Paris, Diffusion de Boccard, 1976 (22 x 27.4 cm., X + 110 pp., 77 figs sur LI pls.) = Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan XXII - ISBN 2 252 01420 2.

ETHIOPIA

Volker Janssen, *Politische Herrschaft in Äthiopien*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976 (14.7 x 21 cm., X + 543 S.) = Beiträge zur Soziologie Afrikas — Band 1. DM 52.— - ISBN 3 87997 052 1.

William F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*. Vol. II: Project Numbers 301-700. Collegeville, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1976 (4to, VI + 524 pp.). \$ 15.00.

VARIA

Afroasiatic Linguistics, Editor: Robert Hetzron, General Editor: Giorgio Buccellati, Vol. I, Issue 1-7; Vol. II, Issue 1-7. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1974/5. \$ 12.50 per volume.

R. Aubert, *Vom Kirchenstaat zur Weltkirche. 1848 bis zum zweiten Vatikanum*. Einsiedeln, Benziger Verlag, 1976 (17.6 x 26.2 cm., 368 S., 32 S. mit 48 Abb.) = Geschichte der Kirche, Band V/1. Sfr 85.00 - ISBN 3 545 25006 7.

Klaus Berger, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Deutung des Geschickes Jesu in frühchristlichen Texten*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976 (15.5 x 23.2 cm., 650 S.) = Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, Band 13. DM 98.— - ISBN 3 525 53365 9.

José Maria Blasquez, *Diccionario de las Religiones Preromanas de Hispania*. Madrid, Ediciones Istmo, 1975 (15.3 x 21.4 cm., 191 p., figs.) = Coleccion Colegio Universitario, 6 - ISBN 84 7090 071 4.

Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*. Band II, Kommentar, 2. Teil, und Plananhang. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (4to, VIII + 380 S. mit 61 Figuren im Text und 221 Abbildungen auf 76 Tafeln, 53 Pläne). DM 192.— und DM 66.— - ISBN 3 515 02005 5, Plananhang ISBN 3 515 02107 8.

Hans Drexler, *Die Catilinarische Verschwörung*. Ein Quellenheft. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (14 x 21.5 cm., XXII + 380 S.) = Texte zur Forschung, Band 25. DM 77.— - ISBN 3 534 04630 7.

Rudolf Drössler, *Als die Sterne Götter waren. Sonne, Mond und Sterne im Spiegel von Archäologie, Kunst und Kult*. Leipzig, Prisma Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 296 pp., 3 Karten, 84 Tafeln). 25.— M.

Richard Elste, *Überlegungen zu zwei minoischen Texten*. Hamburg, Senior Verlag Emmendingen, 1976 (15 x 23.5 cm., 12 S.).

Eleanor von Erdberg-Consten, *Die Architektur Taiwans. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der chinesischen Baukunst*. Düsseldorf, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1973 (16.3 x 23.9 cm., 72 S., 1 Karte, 21 Fig., 8 Tafeln, 24 Abb.) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vorträge G 189. DM 18.20 - ISBN 3 531 07189 0.

Paul Faure, *Kreta. Das Leben im Reich des Minos*. Aus dem französischen übersetzt von Isolde und Karl Friedrich Eisen. Stuttgart, Philip Reclam Jun., 1976 (8vo, 480 S., 19 Zeichnungen, 28 Abbildungen, 2 Karten). DM 29.80 - ISBN 3 15 010261 8.

Loven eng eloven. *Opstellen van collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. Nic. H. Ridderbos ter gelegenheid van zijn 25 jarig ambtsjubileum als hoogleraar aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, Ton Bolland, 1975 (15.3 x 23 cm., 307 pp., 1 frontispiece, 2 figs.). f 39.50 - ISBN 90 70057 38 7.

John E. Flint (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 5. From c. 1790 to c. 1870*. London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (8vo, XVI + 617 pp., 15 maps). £ 17.50 - ISBN 0 521 20701 0.

A. N. Galpern, *The Religions of the People in Sixteenth-Century Champagne*. Cambridge, Mass., London, Harvard University Press, 1976 (16 x 23.8 cm., X + 240 pp., 1 frontispiece, 7 ills., 3 maps) = Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XCII. £ 14.60 - ISBN 0 674 75836 6.

P. B. Golden, *The People*. Lisse, Peter de Ridder Press, 1976 (8vo, 17 pp.) = PdR Press Publications in Early Hungarian History I. f 4.20 - ISBN 90 316 0048 2.

Tilemann Grimm, *Meister Kung. Zur Geschichte des Konfuzius*. Wiesbaden, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 44 S., 4 Tafeln) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vorträge G 216. DM 16.— - ISBN 3 531 07216 1.

C. R. Hallpike, *Bloodshed and Vengeance in the Papuan Mountains. The Generation of Conflict in Tauade Society*. London, Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1977 (14.1 x 21 cm., XX + 317 pp., 1 frontispiece, VIII pls., 20 figs., 5 maps, 45 tables). £ 12.50 - ISBN 0 19 823192 X.

Richard Harris (Ed.), *The Political Economy of Africa*. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1976 (15.1 x 22.6 cm., X + 270 pp.). £ 9.80/£ 4.00 - ISBN 0470 35420 8 cloth/ 0 470 35421 6 paper.

Friedrich Heiler, *Die Frau in den Religionen der Menschheit*. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1977 (14.4 x 21.4 cm., IV + 194 S.) = Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, Bd. 33. DM 38.— - ISBN 3 11 006583 5.

Rolf Homan, *Pai Wen P'ien or the Hundred Questions. A dialogue between two Taoists on the macrocosmic and microcosmic system of correspondences*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (13.6 x 19.8 cm., X + 109 pp.) = Religious Texts Translation Series NISABA, Vol. 4. f 28.— - ISBN 90 04 04765 4.

Fritz Kelnhofer, *Die topografische Bezugsgrundlage der Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976 (4to, 43 S., 12 Tabellen, 16 Abb.) = Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Beiheft zu Band I - ISBN 3 7001 0182 1.

Lawrence D. Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule 1661-1684*. Chicago, London, The University of Chicago Press, 1976 (14.5 x 22.1 cm., XII + 251 pp.). £ 16.50 - ISBN 0 226 43203 3.

Issa H. Khayyar, *Le refus de l'école. Contribution à l'étude des problèmes de l'éducation chez les musulmans du Ouaddai (Tchad)*. Préface de Joseph Tubiana. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1976 (14.1 x 22.2 cm., 140 pp., 1 carte). F 38.00.

Hans G. Kippenberg (Hrsg.), *Seminar: Die Entstehung der antiken Klassengesellschaft*. Frankfurt, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977 (10.8 x 17.6 cm., 393 S.) = Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 130 - ISBN 3 518 07730 9.

Johannes Koder & Friedrich Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976 (4to, 316 S., 2 Karten) = Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Band 1. DM 130.— - ISBN 3 7001 0182 1.

Wilhelm Kraiker (Hrsg.), *Archaische Plastik der Griechen*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (13 x 19.8 cm., VI + 273 S. + 2 Bogen Kunstdruck) = Wege der Forschung Bd. 309. DM 56.— - ISBN 3 534 05319 2.

H. T. Lambrick, *Sind. A General Introduction (Second Edition 1975)*. London, Oxford University Press, 1975 (14.5 x 22.5 cm., XX + 274 pp.) = History of Sind Series, Vol. 1. £ 6.25 - ISBN 0 19 577 220 2.

Bruno Lewin, *Der koreanische Anteil am Werden Japans*. Wiesbaden, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 40 S., 24 Tafeln) = Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G. 215. DM 18.— - ISBN 3 531 07215 3.

Natalio Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio. Contribucion al Estudio de la Incubatio Christiana*. Madrid, Fernandez Marcos, 1975 (8vo, XXVIII + 409 pp.) = Manuales y Anejos de „Emerita" XXXI.

Martin E. Marty, *A Nation of Behavers*. Chicago, London, University of Chicago Press, 1976 (8vo, XII + 239 pp.). £ 6.75 - ISBN 0 226 50891 9.

Gregor Maurach (Hrsg.), *Römische Philosophie*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (12.8 x 19.7 cm., VI + 419 pp., 3 Abb.) = Wege der Forschung, Band CXIII. DM 74.— - ISBN 3 534 04353 7.

Wolfgang Metzger, Die letzte Reise des Apostels Paulus. Beobachtungen und Erwägungen zu seinem Itinerar nach den Pastoralbriefen. Stuttgart, Calwer Verlag, 1976 (8vo, 62 S.) = Arbeiten zur Theologie, Heft 59. DM 8.80 - ISBN 3 7668 0526 6.

Roland Oliver, The Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 3. from c. 1050 to c. 1600. London, Cambridge University Press, 1977 (8vo, XIV + 803 pp., 20 maps). £ 20.— - ISBN 0 521 20981 1.

Opuscula Romana XI. Lund, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1976 (23.1 x 30.3 cm., 142 pp., 124 ill. in the text) = Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, Series in 40, XXXV. Sw. Crs. 180.— - ISBN 91 7042 051 3.

Wolfgang Preiser, Frühe völkerrechtliche Ordnungen der aussereuropäischen Welt. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976 (16 x 24 cm., 184 S.) = Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main, Bd. IV Nr. 5. DM 48.— - ISBN 3 515 02303 8.

John R. Rae und Pieter J. Sijpesteijn, Griechische Texte II. Textband und Tafelband. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1976 (20.9 x 29.6 cm., X + 132 S., 44 Tafeln) = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Band V.

Römische Geschichte. Eine Bibliographie. Unter Mitwirkung von Reinhard Anders, Marianne und Bettina Kreck, bearbeitet von Karl Christ. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (12.5 x 19.3 cm., XXV + 544 S. + 14 Leerseiten für bibliographische Nachträge im Anhang). DM 100.— - ISBN 3 534 06074 1.

Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India (Fourth Edition). London, Oxford University Press, 1976 (14 x 22 cm., XII + 521 pp., 2 frontispieces, 20 pls.). £ 5.25 - SBN 19 560686 8.

Irmgard Schloegl, The Zen Way. London, Sheldon Press, 1977 (12.5 x 19.7 cm., VIII + 117 pp.). £ 2.95 - ISBN 0 85969 098 9.

Helmut Schneider (Hrsg.), Zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der späten Römischen Republik. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (13 x 19.8 cm., VI + 370 S.) = Wege der Forschung, Band CCCXIII - ISBN 3 534 06386 0.

J. S. Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax. Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1974 (16.8 x 24.5 cm, 101 S.) = Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I. Band, 6. Heft - ISBN 3 201 00906 7.

M. Aurel Stein, Ancient Khotan. Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan. Vol. I: Text, Vol. II. Plates of Photographs, Plans, Antiques and Mss. with a map of the Territory of Khotan from

original surveys. New York, Hacker Art Books, 1975 (26.2 x 34.2 cm, XXIV + 621 pp., 119 pls., 72 ill. in the text). \$ 100.— - ISBN 0 87817 146 0.

Waldemar Stöhr, Die altindonesischen Religionen. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976 (16 x 24.3 cm., VI + 273 pp.) = Handbuch der Orientalistik, 3. Abt., 2. Band, Abschnitt 2. f 140.— - ISBN 90 04 047662.

Bengt Sundkler, Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists. London, Oxford University Press, 1976 (14.3 x 22 cm., 337 pp., 25 photographs) = Oxford Studies in African Affairs. £ 8.00 - ISBN 0 19 822707 8.

Zofia Sztetyło, Les timbres céramiques (1965-1973). Warszawa, PWN, Editions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1976 (20.5 x 29.5 cm., 111 pp., 1 plan, 392 photographs).

Hildegard Temporini, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II. Principat, Neunter Band (1. Halbband). Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1976 (8vo, X + 544 S., 5 Faltafeln, 8 Kunstdrucktafeln). DM 240.— - ISBN 3 11 006876 1.

Burton Watson, Japanese Literature in Chinese, Volume 2: Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Later Period. New York, Columbia University Press, 1976 (14.3 x 21.5 cm., X + 191 pp.). \$ 11.00 - ISBN 0 231 04146 2.

Ingomar Weiler, Griechische Geschichte. Einführung, Quellenkunde, Bibliographie. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (13.5 x 21.5 cm. XII + 304 pp.). DM 60.— - ISBN 3 534 06358 9.

Eric Widmer, The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking during the 18th Century. Cambridge, Mass., London, Harvard University Press, 1976 (8vo, X + 262 pp., 1 map) = Harvard East Asian Monographs, 69. £ 11.25 - ISBN 0 674 78129 5.

Peter Wirth, Grundzüge der byzantinischen Geschichte. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976 (12.6 x 18.3 cm., VIII + 173 S., 7 Karten) = Grundzüge, Band 29 - ISBN 3 534 00704 2.

J. Y. Wong, Yeh-Ming-ch'en. Viceroy of Liang Kuang (1852-8). London, Cambridge University Press, 1976 (15.8 x 22.4 cm., XX + 260 pp., 10 maps) = Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions. £ 10.00 - ISBN 0 521 21023 2.

John Wood, Journey to the Source of the Oxus. With an Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus by Colonel Harry Yule CB and an Introduction by G. E. Wheeler. London, Oxford University Press, 1976 (14.3 x 22.5 cm., CV + 280 pp., 1 plate, 3 maps) = Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints (first publ. 1872). £ 11.00 - ISBN 0 19 577215 6.

STUDIES IN OLD BABYLONIAN HISTORY

BY

MARTEN STOL

(= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique de Stamboul, Vol. XL)
1976, 4to, X + 114 pp., 3 pls. f 60.—
ISBN 90 6258 040 8

This book investigates some aspects of the political and social history of the Old Babylonian Period.

The first chapters deal with chronology. A new Date List is published here establishing the correct order of the year names of Warad Sin of Larsa. Moreover, it presents Warad Sin as reigning thirteen years and not twelve years as has been assumed. This, of course, has some impact on the history of the dynasties of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. The author shows that Hammurabi undertook a hitherto little-known campaign to Northern Mesopotamia, probably in his 33rd year. During the reign of Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna, Rim-Sin II led a revolt in Southern Babylonia. A full description of the reign of this usurper is given; the author thinks it is possible that the name "Rim-Sin" was used by more than one usurper.

The last chapters of the book center on some problems in the social and economic history of this period. Mr. Stol investigates the meaning of the title *rabiānum* ("burgomaster") and its use by kings, sheikhs and aldermen. As a leader of a sedentary community, the "burgomaster" could recruit harvesters from the local population, as is known from the Dilbat texts. The last chapter shows that the *rabiānum* was middleman in the pertinent harvest labor contracts.

MIKHA'IL NU'AYMAH
PROMOTER OF THE ARABIC LITERARY REVIVAL

BY

C. NIJLAND

(= Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique de Stamboul, Vol. XXXIX)
1975, 4to, XIII + 132 pp. f 50.—

Mikha'il Nu'aymah is one of the Arab emigrants to the U.S.A., who, in the first decades of the twentieth century, took an active part in the renovation of Arabic literature.

He was born autumn 1889 in Biskinta, a mountain-village N.E. of Beirut. In his native village he attended the Greek-Orthodox elementary school, newly established under the auspices of the Russian "Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society". The same Society sent him to Nazareth and to Poltava, Ukraine, to pursue his schooling at intermediate and secondary levels. He stayed five years in Poltava, where he became well read in Russian literature.

In 1911 he joined his brothers in the U.S.A. who enabled him to study Law and English Literature at the University of Washington in Seattle. He took his B.A. degrees in both disciplines in 1916. He then went to New York to join the literary circle centred around Gibran Khalil Gibran and his school-days friend Nasib 'Aridah. The plan was that Nu'aymah should become the co-editor of the literary magazine *al-Funūn*, but the financial basis of this enterprise was far from solid and Nu'aymah had to look elsewhere for a livelihood. He first worked as a typist in the Russian trade-mission and then, after Russia's withdrawal from the war, had to serve in the U.S. army. He was shipped to France and sent to the front-line during the last days of the war. Back in the U.S.A. he worked as a commercial traveller whilst devoting his spare time to Arabic literature and the Pen-League (*al-Rābiṭah al-Qalamīyyah*), founded in 1921. In 1932 he returned to Lebanon, to "live for his pen".

Nu'aymah's literary fame is due, in the main, to the critical essays he wrote between 1914 and 1922 and which he collected eventually in *al-Ghirbāl* (The Sieve - Cairo, 1923). These essays contain Nu'aymah's ideas on the modernization of Arabic Literature, on literary criticism and also on traditional Arabic poetry and its chief representatives. The fact that he could publish his first collection in Cairo, where it was reprinted four times, is an indication of the approval he found outside the U.S.A.

He was active in other literary fields as well during these years. He composed some thirty poems in Arabic and less than a score in English and wrote a play, a few stories and some instalments of a serialized novel which he discontinued when leaving for France.

The years of great and prolonged literary activity commenced after his return to Lebanon. After more than sixty years of active penmanship Nu'aymah's bibliography includes one volume of poems, four volumes of short stories, one volume of aphorisms, four novels, ten volumes of essays, one travelogue, one volume of press interviews and what may be called a book of prayers, a total of thirty volumes of some 6000 pages.

The present study gives an outline of the Arabic literary scene and then proceeds to a bibliographical sketch of Nu'aymah. His poetry, his narrative prose, the biography of Gibran and Nu'aymah's autobiography, his literary essays and finally the other essays in which he expounds his beliefs with regard to human destiny, are studied in consecutive chapters.